

THE
True Intellectual System
OF THE
UNIVERSE:
THE FIRST PART;

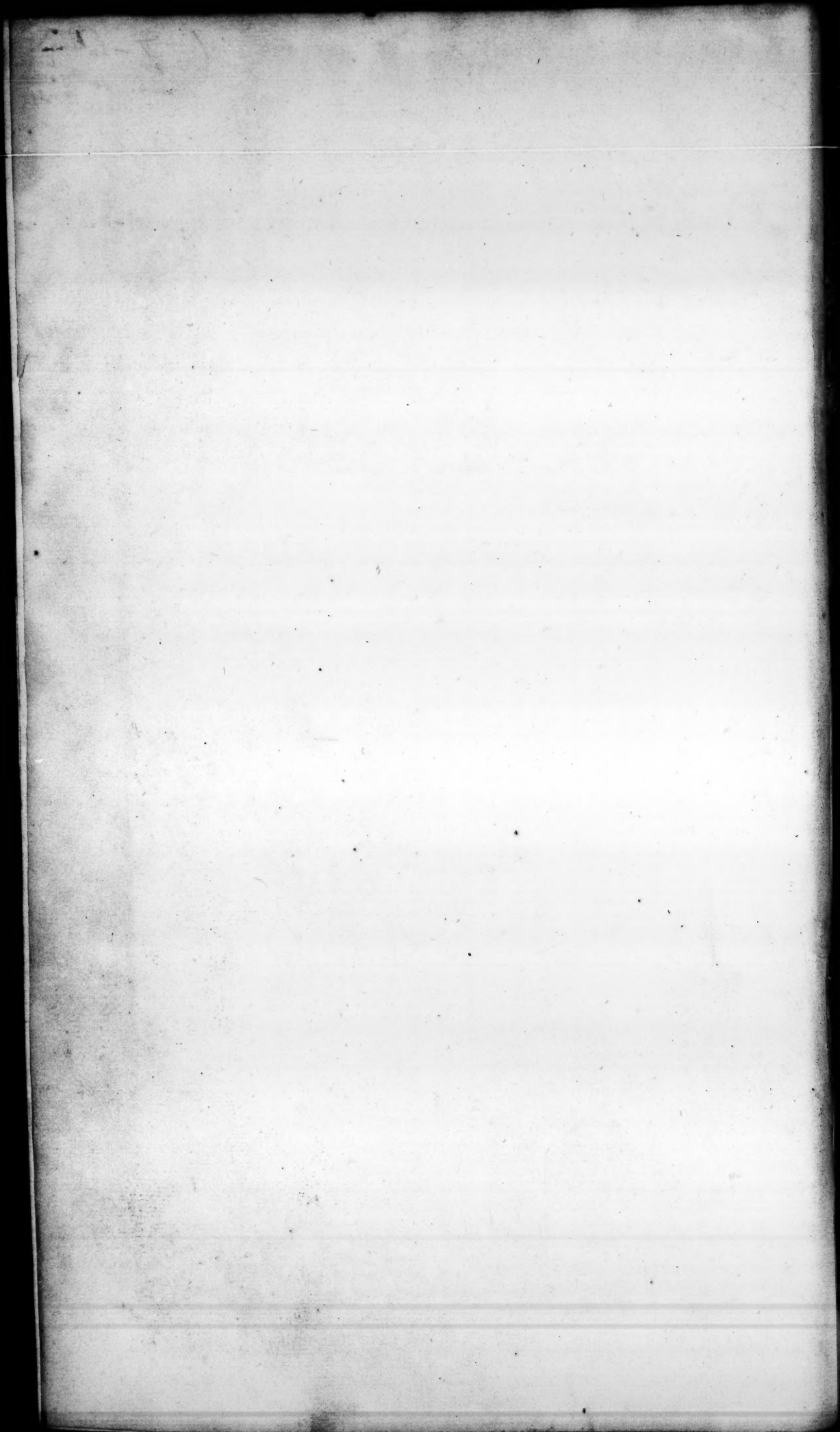
WHEREIN,
All the REASON and PHILOSOPHY
Of ATHEISM is Confuted ;

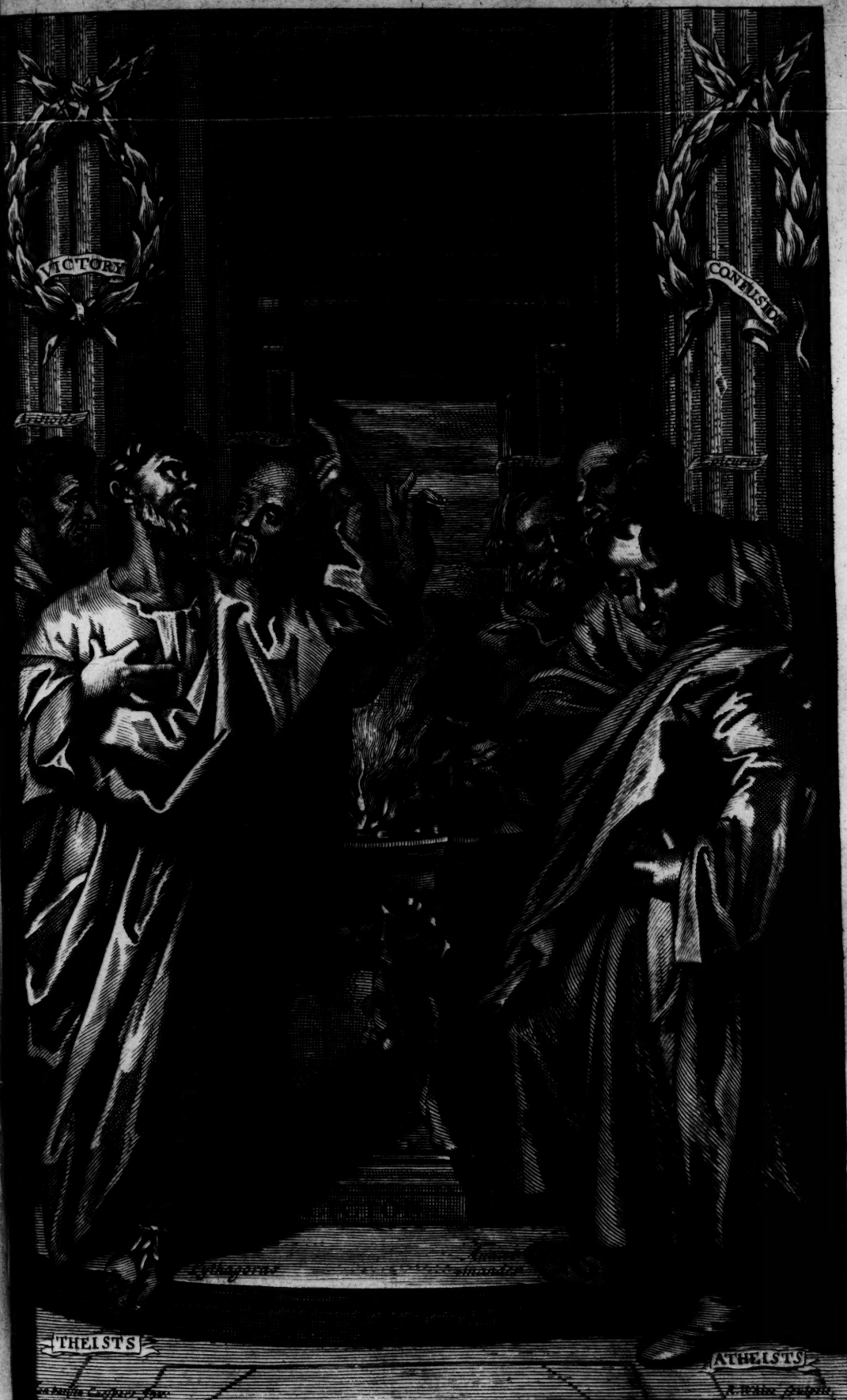
AND
Its IMPOSSIBILITY Demonstrated.

By R. CUDWORTH, D. D.

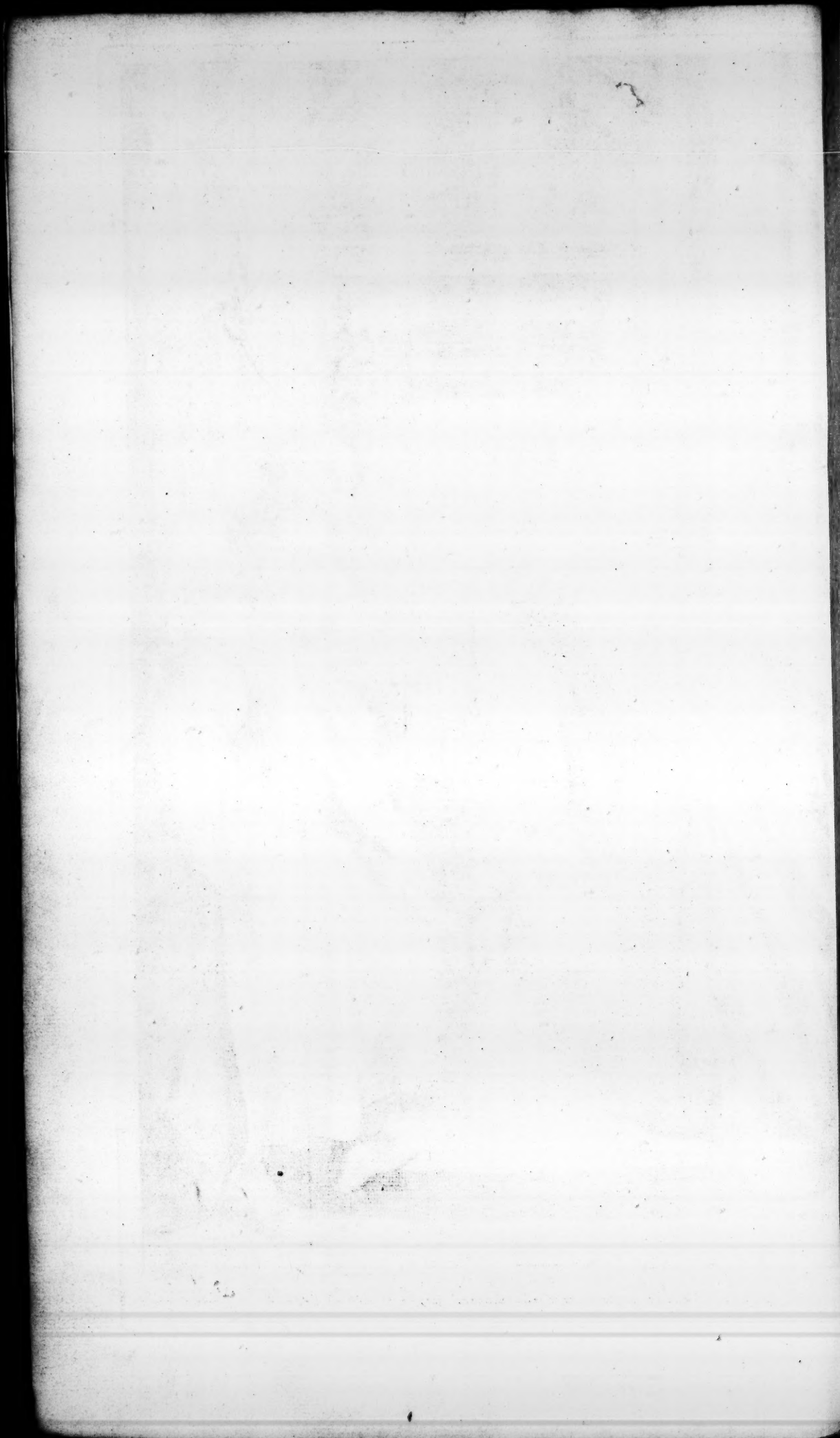
Origenes,
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Τέλ. δὲ Ἡ ΘΕΙΑ.

L O N D O N ,
Printed for *Richard Royston*, Bookseller to His most
Sacred MAJESTY, MDCLXXVIII.





ἐξε δὴ, πῶς αὖ τις μὴ θυμῷ λέγοι περὶ θεῶν ὥς εἰσὶν· ἀνάγκη γὰρ δὴ χαλεπῶς φέρειν
 μισεῖν ἐκείνους οἱ τέτταρ' ἡμῖν αἰῶνες τῶν λόγων γεγένηνται ὥς γιγνόνται. Πλάτ. L. 10. de leg.



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To the Right Honourable

H E N E A G E

LORD FINCH, BARON of *Daventry*,

Lord High CHANCELLOR of England,

and one of His M A J E S T Y's most

Honourable Privy Council.

MY LORD,

THE many Favours I have formerly Received from You, as they might justly challenge, whenever I had a fit opportunity, a Publick and Thankfull Acknowledgment; so have they encourag'd me at this time, to the Presumption of this Dedication to Your Lordship. Whom, as Your Perspicacious Wit, and Solid Judgment, together with Your Acquired Learning, render every way a most Accomplish'd and Desirable Patron; so did I perswade my self, that Your Hearty Affection to Religion, and Zeal for it, would make You not Unwilling, to take that into Your Protection, which is written wholly in the Defence thereof; so far forth, as its own Defects, or Miscarriages, should not render it incapable of

gen. Res. 31 Dec. 1678 E. S. Allen

The Epistle Dedicatory.

the same. Nor can I think it probable, that in an Age of so much Debauchery, Scepticism, and Infidelity, an Undertaking of this kind, should be judged by You, Useless or Unseasonable. And now, having so fit an Opportunity, I could most willingly expatiate in the large Field of Your Lordship's Praises; both that I might doe an Act of *Justice* to Your self, and provoke others to Your Imitation. But I am sensible, that as no Eloquence, less then that of Your own, could be fit for such a Performance; so the Nobleness and Generosity of Your Spirit is such, that You take much more pleasure in Doing Praise-worthy things, then in Hearing the Repeated Echo's of them. Wherefore in stead of pursuing Encomiums, which would be the least pleasing to Your self, I shall Offer up my Prayers to Almighty God, for the Continuation of Your Lordship's Life and Health; That so His MAJESTY may long have such a Loyal Subject and Wise Counsellour; the Church of *England*, such a Worthy Patron; the High Court of Chancery, such an Oracle of Impartial Justice; and the whole Nation, such a Pattern of Vertue and Piety. Which shall ever be the Hearty Desire of,

MY LORD,

YOUR LORDSHIP'S

Most Humble and

most Affectionate

Servant,

R. Cudworth.

THE PREFACE TO THE READER.

THOUGH, I confess, I have seldom taken any great pleasure, in reading other mens Apologies, yet must I at this time make some myself. First therefore, I acknowledge, that when I engag'd the Press, I intended onely a Discourse concerning Liberty and Necessity, or to speak out more plainly, Against the Fatall Necessity of all Actions and Events; which upon whatsoever Grounds or Principles maintain'd, will (as We Conceive) Serve The Design of Atheism, and Undermine Christianity, and all Religion; as taking away all Guilt and Blame, Punishments and Rewards, and plainly rendring a Day of Judgment, Ridiculous: And it is Evident that some have pursued it of late, in order to that End. But afterwards We consider'd, That this which is indeed a Controversy, concerning The True Intellectual System of the Universe, does, in the full Extent thereof, take in Other things; the Necessity of all Actions and Events being maintained by Several Persons, upon very Different Grounds, according to that Tripartite Fatalism, mentioned by us in the beginning of the First Chapter. For First, The Democritick Fate, is nothing but The Material Necessity of all things without a God: it supposing Senseless Matter, Necessarily Moved, to be the onely Original and Principle of all things: Which therefore is called by Epicurus, The Physiologick; by us, the Atheistick Fate. Besides which, The Divine Fate is also Bipartite; Some Theists supposing God, both to Decree and Doe all things in us, (Evil as well as Good) or by his Immediate Influence to Determine all Actions, and so make them alike Necessary to us. From whence it follows, That his Will is no way Regulated or Determined, by any Essentiall and Immutable Goodness, and Justice; or that he hath nothing of Morality in his Nature, he being onely Arbitrary Will Omnipotent. As also That all Good and Evil Morall, to us Creatures are

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meer Theticall or Positive things; *νόμος*, and not *φύσις*, by Law or Command onely, and not by Nature. This therefore may be called, The Divine Fate Immorall, and Violent. Again, There being other Divine Fatalists, who acknowledge such a Deity, as both suffers other things, besides it self, to Act, and hath an Essentiall Goodness and Justice in its Nature; and consequently, That there are things, Just and Unjust to us Naturally, and not by Law and Arbitrary Constitution onely; and yet nevertheless take away from men, all such Liberty, as might make them capable of Praise and Dispraise, Rewards and Punishments, and Objects of Distributive Justice: they conceiving Necessity to be Intrinsecall to the Nature of every thing, in the Actions of it; and nothing of Contingency to be found any-where; from whence it will follow, That nothing could possibly have been Otherwise, in the whole World, then it Is. And this may be called The Divine Fate Morall, (as the other Immorall,) and Naturall, (as the other Violent;) it being a Concatenation, or Implexed Series of Causes, all in themselves Necessary, depending upon a Deity Morall, (if we may so speak) that is, such as is Essentially Good, and Naturally Just, as the Head thereof; the First Contriver and Orderer of all. Which kind of Divine Fate, hath not onely been formerly asserted by the Stoicks, but also of late, by divers Modern Writers. Wherefore of the Three Fatalisms, or False Hypotheses of the Universe, mentioned in the beginning of this Book; One is Absolute Atheism: Another Immorall Theism, or Religion without any Naturall Justice and Morality: (all Just and Unjust, according to this Hypothesis, being meer Theticall or Factitious things, Made by Arbitrary Will and Command onely:) The Third and Last, such a Theism, as acknowledges not onely a God, or Omnipotent Understanding Being, but also Natural Justice and Morality, Founded in him, and Derived from him; nevertheless no Liberty from Necessity any-where, and therefore no Distributive or Retributive Justice in the World. Whereas these Three Things are, (as we conceive) the Fundamentals or Essentials of True Religion. First, That all things in the World, do not Float without a Head and Governour; but that there is a God, an Omnipotent Understanding Being, Presiding over all. Secondly, That this God being Essentially Good and Just, there is *φύσις καλὴ καὶ δίκαιος*, Something in its own Nature, Immutably and Eternally Just, and Unjust; and not by Arbitrary Will, Law, and Command onely. And Lastly, That there is Something *ἐν ἡμῖν*, or, That we are so far forth Principles or Masters of our own Actions, as to be Accountable to Justice for them, or to make us Guilty and Blame-worthy for what we doe Amis, and to Deserve Punishment accordingly. Which Three Fundamentals of

to the Reader.

of Religion, are Intimated by the Authour to the Hebrews, in these Words; He that Cometh to God, must Believe that He Is, and That He is a Rewarder of those who seek him out. For to Seek out God here, is nothing else, but to Seek a Participation of his Image, or the Recovery of that Nature and Life of his, which we have been Alienated from. And these Three Things, namely, That all things do not Float without a Head and Governour; but there is an Omnipotent Understanding Being Presiding over all: That this God, bath an Essentiall Goodness and Justice, and That the Differences of Good and Evil Morall, Honest and Dishonest, are not by meer Will and Law onely, but by Nature; and consequently, That the Deity cannot Ad, Influence, and Necessitate men, to such things as are in their Own Nature, Evil: and Lastly, That Necessity is not Intrinsecall to the Nature of every thing; But that men have such a Liberty, or Power over their own Actions, as may render them Accountable for the same, and Blame-worthy when they doe Amis; and consequently, That there is a Justice Distributive of Rewards and Punishments, running through the World; I say, These Three, (which are the most Important Things, that the Mind of man can employ it self upon) taken all together, make up the Wholeness and Entireness of that, which is here called by us, The True Intellectual System of the Universe; in such a Sense, as Atheism may be called, a False System thereof: The Word Intellectual, being added, to distinguish it from the other, Vulgarly so called, Systems of the World, (that is, the Visible and Corporeal World) the Ptolemaick, Tychonick, and Copernican; the Two Former of which, are now commonly accounted False, the Latter True. And thus our Prospect being now Enlarged, into a Threefold Fatalism, or Spurious and False Hypothesis of the Intellectual System, making all things Necessary upon several Grounds; We accordingly Designed the Contutation of them all, in Three Several Books. The First, Against Atheism, (which is the Democritick Fate) wherein all the Reason and Philosophy thereof is Refelled, and the Existence of a God Demonstrated; and so that ὁλικὴ ἀνάγκη, or Material Necessity of all things, Overthrown. The Second, For such a God as is not meer Arbitrary Will Omnipotent, Decreeing, Doing, and Necessitating all Actions, Evil as well as Good; but Essentially Moral, Good and Just; and For a Natural Discrimen Honestorum & Turpium; whereby another Ground of the Necessity of all Humane Actions will be Removed. And the Third and Last, Against Necessity Intrinsecall and Essentiall to all Action; and for such a Liberty, or Sui-Potestas, in Rational Creatures, as may render them Accountable, capable of Rewards and Punishments, and so Objects of Distributive or Retributive Justice:

by

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by which the now onely remaining Ground, of the Fatal Necessity of all Actions and Events, will be Taken away. And all these Three under that One General Title, of The True Intellectual System of the Universe. Each Book having besides, its own Particular Title: as, Against Atheism; For Natural Justice and Morality, Founded in the Deity; For Liberty from Necessity, and a Distributive Justice of Rewards and Punishments in the World. And this we conceive may fully satisfy, concerning our General Title, all those, who are not extremely Criticall or Captious, at least as many of them as have ever heard of the Astronomical Systems of the World: so that they will not think us hereby Obliged, to Treat of the Hierarchy of Angels, and of all the Several Species of Animals, Vegetables, and Minerals, &c. that is, to write De Omni Ente, of whatsoever is Contained within The Complexion of the Universe. Though the Whole Scale of Entity is here also taken notice of; and the General Ranks of Substantiall Beings, below the Deity, (or Trinity of Divine Hypostases) Consider'd: which yet, according to our Philosophy, are but Two; Souls of several Degrees, (Angels themselves being included within that Number) and Body or Matter: as also the Immortality of those Souls Proved. Which notwithstanding is Suggested by us, onely to Satisfy some mens Curiosity. Nevertheless we confess that this General Title, might well have been here spared by us, and this Volume have been Presented to the Reader's View, not as a Part or Piece, but a Whole Compleat and Entire thing by it self, had it not been for Two Reasons; First, Our beginning with those Three Fatalisms, or False Hypotheses of the Intellectual System, and Promising a Confutation of them all, then when we thought to have brought them within the Compass of One Volume; and Secondly, Every other Page's, throughout this whole Volume, accordingly bearing the Inscription, of Book the First, upon the Head thereof. This is therefore that which in the First place, we here Apologize for, our Publishing One Part or Book alone by it self; We being surprized in the Length thereof; Whereas we had otherwise Intended Two more along with it. Notwithstanding which, there is no Reason, why this Volume should therefore be thought Imperfect and Incomplete, because it hath not All the Three Things at first Designed by us; it containing All that belongeth to its own Particular Title and Subject, and being in that respect no Piece, but a Whole. This indeed must needs beget an Expectation, of the Two following Treatises, (especially in such as shall have receiv'd any Satisfaction from this First;) concerning those Two other Fatalisms, or False Hypotheses mentioned; to make up our Whole Intellectual System Compleat: The One, to Prove, That God is not meer Arbitrary Will Omnipotent, (without any Essential Goodness and Justice) Decreeing

to the Reader.

ing and Doing all things in the World, as well Evil as Good; and thereby making them alike Necessary to us; from whence it would follow, that all Good and Evil Moral, are meer Thetical, Positive, and Arbitrary things, that is, not Nature, but Will; Which is the Defence of Natural, Eternal, and Immutable Justice, or Morality: The Other, That Necessity is not Intrinsic to the Nature of Every thing, God and all Creatures, or Essentiall to all Action; but, That there is Something in us, or, That we have some Liberty, or Power over our own Actions: Which is the Defence of a Distributive or Retributive Justice, dispensing Rewards and Punishments throughout the whole World. Wherefore we think fit here to advertize the Reader concerning these, That though they were, and still are, really intended by us; yet the Compleat Finishing and Publication of them, will notwithstanding depend upon many Contingencies; not onely of our Life and Health, the Latter of which, as well as the Former, is to us very Uncertain; but also of our Leisure, or Vacancy from other Necessary Employments.

In the next place, We must Apologize also, for the Fourth Chapter; inasmuch as, though in regard of its Length, it might rather be called a Book, then a Chapter; yet it doth not Answer all the Contents Prefixed to it. Here therefore must we again, confess our selves Surprized; who when we wrote those Contents, did not suspect in the least, but that we should have Satisfied them all within a lesser Compass. And our Design then was, besides Answering the Objection, against the Naturality of the Idea of God, from the Pagan Polytheism, (we having then so fit an Occasion) to give such a further Account of the Idolatry and Religion of the Gentiles, as might prepare our way for a Defence of Christianity, to be subjoyned in the Close: it being not onely agreeable to the Sense of Ancient Doctors, but also exprestly declared in the Scripture, That One Design of Christianity, was to abolish and extirpate the Pagan Polytheism and Idolatry. And our Reasons for this Intended Defence of Christianity, were. First; Because we had Observed, that some Professed Opposers of Atheism, had either incurred a Suspicion, or at least suffered under the Imputation, of being meer Theists, or Natural Religionists onely, and no hearty Believers of Christianity, or Friends to Revealed Religion. From which either Suspicion or Imputation therefore, we thought it Justice to free our selves, we having so Unshaken a Belief, and firm Assurance, of the Truth of the whole Christian Doctrine. But, Secondly and Principally; Because we had further Observed it, to have been the Method of our Modern Atheists, to make their First Assault against Christianity, as thinking that to be the most Vulnerable; and that it would be an easy Step for them from thence, to Demolish all Religion, and
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Theism.

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Theism. However, since the Satisfying the Former Part of these Contents, had already taken up so much Room, that the Pursuit of the Remainder, would have quite Excluded, our principally Intended Confutation of all the Atheistick Grounds; the forementioned Objection being now sufficiently Answered; there was a necessity, that we should there break off, and leave the further Account of the Pagan Idolatry and Religion, together with our Defence of Christianity, to some other more convenient Opportunity.

And now we shall Exhibit to the Reader's view, a Brief and General Synopsis, of the whole following VWork, together with some Particular Reflexions upon several Parts thereof; either for his better Information concerning them, or for their Vindication: some of which therefore, will be of greater Use, after the Book has been read, then before. The First Chapter, is an Account of the Atomick Physiology, as made the Foundation of the Democritick Fate. Where the Reader is to understand, that this Democritick Fate, which is One of the Three False Hypotheses of the Intellectual System, there Mentioned, is the very Self-same thing with the Atomick Atheism; the onely Form of Atheism, that hath publickly appeared upon the Stage, as an Entire Philosophick System; or hath indeed been much taken notice of in the VWorld, for these Two Thousand years past. For, Though it be true, That Epicurus, (who was also an Atomick Atheist, (as is afterwards declared) having, in all probability, therefore a Mind to Innovate Something, that he might not seem to have borrowed all from Democritus,) did by violence introduce Liberty of Will, into his Hypothesis; for the Salving whereof, he ridiculously devized, That his Third Motion of Atoms, called by Lucretius,

———Exiguum Clinamen Principiorum:

Yet was this, as Cicero long since observed, a most Heterogeneous Patch, or Assumentum of his, and altogether as Contradictious to the Tenour of his own Principles, as it was to the Doctrine of Democritus himself. There can be nothing more Absurd, then for an Atheist to assert Liberty of Will: but it is most of all Absurd, for an Atomick One. And therefore our Modern Atheists do here plainly disclaim Epicurus, (though otherwise so much Admired by them;) and declare open War against this Liberty of Will: they Apprehending that it would unavoidably Introduce Incorporeal Substance; as also well Knowing, that Necessity, on the contrary, Effectually overthrows all Religion; it taking away Guilt and Blame, Punishments and Rewards; to which might be added also, Prayers and Devotions.

And as there was a necessity for us here, to give some Account of that Ancient

to the Reader.

Ancient Atomick Physiology, with which Atheism now became thus Blended and Complicated; so do we in this First Chapter, chiefly insist upon Two things concerning it. First, That it was no Invention of Democritus nor Leucippus, but of much greater Antiquity: not onely from that Tradition transfitted by Posidonius the Stoick, That it derived its Original from one Moschus a Phœnician, who lived before the Trojan Wars, (which plainly makes it to have been Mosaicall;) but also from Aristotle's Affirmation, That the greater part of the Ancient Philosophers entertained this Hypothesis; and further because it is certain, that divers of the Italicks, and particularly Empedocles, before Democritus, Physiologized Atomically: which is the Reason, he was so much applauded by Lucretius. Besides which, it is more then a Presumption, that Anaxagoras his Homœomery or Similar Atomology, was but a Degeneration from the True and Genuine Atomology of the Ancient Italicks, that was an Anomœomery, or Doctrine of Dissimilar and Unqualified Atoms. Wherefore all that is True concerning Democritus and Leucippus, is onely this, That these men were indeed, the First Atheizers of this Ancient Atomick Physiology, or the Inventors and Broachers of the Atomick Atheism. Which is Laërtius his True meaning, (though it be not commonly understood,) when he recordeth of them, that they were the First, who made Unqualified Atoms, the Principles of all things in the Universe without exception; that is, not onely of Inanimate Bodies, (as the other Ancient Religious Atomists, the Italicks, before had done) but also of Soul and Mind.

And whereas we conceive this Atomick Physiology, as to the Essentials thereof, to be Unquestionably True, viz. That the onely Principles of Bodies, are Magnitude, Figure, Site, Motion, and Rest; and that the Qualities and Forms of Inanimate Bodies, are Really nothing, but severall Combinations of these, Causing severall Phancies in us: (Which excellent Discovery therefore, so long agoe made, is a Notable Instance of the Wit and Sagacity of the Ancients:) So do we in the Next place, make it manifest, that this Atomick Physiology rightly understood, is so far from being either the Mother or Nurse of Atheism, or any ways Favourable thereunto, (as is Vulgarly supposed;) that it is indeed, the most directly Opposite to it of any, and the greatest Defence against the same. For, First, we have Discovered, That the Principle, upon which this Atomology is Founded, and from whence it Sprung, was no other then this, Nothing out of Nothing, in the True Sense thereof; or, That Nothing can be Caused by Nothing: from whence it was concluded, that in Natural Generations, there was no new Real Entity produced, which was not before: the Genuine Consequence whereof was Two-fold;

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That the Qualities and Forms of Inanimate Bodies, are no Entities Really distinct from the Magnitude, Figure, Site and Motion of Parts ; and, That Souls are Substances Incorporeal, not Generated out of Matter. Where we have shewed, That the Pythagorick Doctrine, of the Præ-Existence of Souls, was founded upon the very same Principle, with the Atomick Physiology. And it is from this very Principle rightly understood, that Ourselves afterwards, undertake to Demonstrate, The Absolute Impossibility of all Atheism. Moreover, we have made it undeniably Evident, That the Intrinsick Constitution of this Atomick Physiology also is such, as that whosoever admits it, and rightly understands it, must needs acknowledge Incorporeal Substance ; which is the Absolute Overthrow of Atheism. And from hence alone, is it certain to us, without any Testimonies from Antiquity, that Democritus and Leucippus, could not possibly be the First Inventors of this Philosophy, they either not rightly Understanding it, or else wilfully Depraving the same : and the Atomick Atheism, being Really nothing else, but a Rape committed upon the Atomick Physiology. For which Reason, we do by no means here Applaud Plato, nor Aristotle, in their Rejecting this most Ancient Atomick Physiology, and Introducing again, that Unintelligible First Matter, and those Exploded Qualities and Forms, into Philosophy. For though this were probably done by Plato, out of a Disgust and Prejudice against the Atomick Atheists, which made him not so well Consider nor Understand that Physiology ; yet was he much disappointed of his Expectation herein ; That Atomology which he Exploded, (rightly understood,) being really the Greatest Bulwark against Atheism ; and on the contrary, Those Forms and Qualities which he Espoused, the Natural Seed thereof ; they, besides their Unintelligible Darknes, bringing Something out of Nothing, in the Impossible Sense ; which we shew to be, the Inlet of all Atheism. And thus in this First Chapter, have we not onely quite Disarmed Atheism of Atomicism, or shewed that the Latter, (rightly understood,) affordeth no manner of Shelter or Protection to the Former ; But also made it manifest, that it is the greatest Bulwark and Defence against the same. Which is a thing afterwards further insfied on.

As to the Second Chapter, we have no more to say, but onely this ; That here we took the Liberty, to Reveal the Arcane Mysteries of Atheism, and to Discover all its Pretended Grounds of Reason, that we could find anywhere suggested in Writings ; those onely excepted, that are peculiar to the Hylozoick Form, (which is directly contrary to the Atomick ;) and that to their best advantage too : nevertheless to this end, that these being afterwards, all Baffled and Confuted, Theism might by this means, Obtain the Greater and Juster Triumph over Atheism.

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In the Third Chapter, we thought it necessary, in order to a fuller Confutation of Atheism, to consider all the other Forms thereof, besides the Atomick. And here do we first of all, make a Discovery of a certain Form of Atheism, never before taken notice of, by any Modern Writers, which we call the Hylozoick: which notwithstanding, though it were long since started by Strato, in way of Opposition to the Democritick and Epicurean Hypothesis; yet because it afterwards slept in perfect Silence and Oblivion, should have been here by us passed by Silently; had we not had certain Knowledge of its being of late Awakened and Revived, by some, who were so sagacious, as plainly to perceive, that the Atomick Form could never doe their business, nor prove Defensible: and therefore would attempt to carry on this Cause of Atheism, in quite a different way, by the Life and Perception of Matter: as also that this in all probability, would ere long publicly appear upon the Stage, though not Bare-faced, but under a Disguize. Which Atheistick Hypothesis, is partly Confuted by us, in the Close of this Third Chapter, and partly in the Fifth.

In the next place, it being certain, that there had been other Philosophick Atheists in the world before those Atomicks, Epicurus and Democritus; we declare, out of Plato and Aristotle, what that most Ancient Atheistick Hypothesis was; namely, the Eduktion of all things, even Life and Understanding it Self, out of Matter, in the way of Qualities; or as the Passions and Affections thereof, Generable and Corruptible. Which Form of Atheism is styled by us, not onely Hylopathian, but also Anaximandrian: however we grant some probability of that Opinion, That Anaximander held an Homœomery of Qualified Atoms, as Anaxagoras afterwards did; the difference between them being onely this, that the Latter asserted an Unmade Mind, whereas the Former Generated all Mind and Understanding, out of those Qualified Atoms, Hot and Cold, Moist and Dry, Compounded together: because we Judged this Difference not to be a sufficient Ground to multiply Forms of Atheism upon. And here do we give notice, of that strange kind of Religious Atheism, or Atheistick Theogonism, which asserted, not onely other Understanding Beings, Superiour to Men, called by them Gods; but also amongst those, one Supreme or Jupiter too; nevertheless Native, and Generated at First out of Night and Chaos, (that is, Senseless Matter) as also Mortal and Corruptible again into the same.

Besides which, there is yet a Fourth Atheistick Form taken notice of, out of the Writings of the Ancients, (though perhaps Junior to the rest, it seeming to be but the Corruption and Degeneration of Stoicism) which concluded the whole World, not to be an Animal, (as the Pagan

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Theists then generally Supposed) but onely One Huge Plant or Vegetable, having an Artificial, Plantal, and Plastick Nature; as its Highest Principle, Orderly disposing the Whole, without any Mind or Understanding. And here have we set down, the Agreement of all the Atheistick Forms, (however differing so much from one another) in this One General Principle, viz. That all Animality, Conscious Life and Understanding, is Generated out of Senseless Matter, and Corruptible again into it.

Wherefore in the Close of this Third Chapter, we insist Largely, upon an Artificial, Regular and Plastick Nature, devoid of express Knowledge and Understanding, as subordinate to the Deity: Chiefly in way of Confutation, of those Cosmo-Plastick, and Hylozoick Atheisms. Though we had a further Design herein also, for the Defence of Theism: forasmuch as without such a Nature, either God must be supposed to Doe all things in the world Immediately, and to Form every Gnat and Fly, as it were with his own hands; which seemeth not so Becoming of him, and would render his Providence, to Humane Apprehensions, Laborious and Distracting; or else the whole System of this Corporeal Universe, must result onely from Fortuitous Mechanism, without the Direction of any Mind: which Hypothesis once admitted, would Unquestionably, by degrees, Supplant and Undermine all Theism. And now from what we have declared, it may plainly appear, that this Digression of ours, concerning an Artificial, Regular and Plastick Nature, (Subordinate to the Deity) is no Wen, or Excrescency, in the Body of this Book; but a Natural and Necessary Member thereof.

In the Fourth Chapter; After the Idea of God fully declared, (where we could not omit his Essential Goodness and Justice, or (if we may so call it) the Morality of the Deity; though that be a thing properly belonging to the Second Book, The Confutation of the Divine Fate Immoral) There is a large Account given of the Pagan Polytheism; to satisfy a very considerable Objection, that lay in our way from thence, Against the Naturality of the Idea of God, as Including Oneliness and Singularity in it. For had that, upon enquiry, been found True, which is so commonly taken for granted, That the generality of the Pagan Nations, had constantly, Scattered their Devotions, amongst a multitude of Self-Existent, and Independent Deities, they acknowledging no One Sovereign Numen; This would much have Stumbled the Naturality of the Divine Idea. But now it being on the Contrary, clearly Proved, That the Pagan Theologers all along, acknowledged One Sovereign and Omnipotent Deity, from which all their other Gods were Generated or Created; we have thereby not onely Removed the forementioned Objection out of the way; but also Evinced, That the Generality of mankind, have

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have constantly had a certain Prolepsis or Anticipation in their Minds, concerning the Actual Existence of a God, according to the True Idea of him. And this was the rather done Fully and Carefully by us; because we had not met with it sufficiently performed before: A. Steuchus Eugubinus, having laboured most in this Subject: from whose profitable Industry though we shall no way detract; yet whosoever will compare, what he hath written, with ours, will find no Just Cause to think ours Superfluous and Unnecessary; much less, a Transcription out of his. In which, besides other things, there is no Account at all given, of the Many Pagan, Poetical and Political Gods, what they were; which is so great a part of our Performance, to prove them Really to have been, but the Polyonymy of one God. From whence it follows also, That the Pagan Religion, though sufficiently Faulty, yet was not altogether so Nonfensical, as the Atheists would represent it, out of design; that they might from thence infer, all Religion to be nothing but a meer Cheat and Imposture: they worshipping onely One Supreme God, in the several Manifestations of his Goodness, Power, and Providence throughout the World, together with his Inferiour Ministers. Nevertheless we cannot deny, that being once engaged in this Subject, we thought our Selves the more Concerned, to doe the business thoroughly and effectually, because of that Controversy lately Agitated, concerning Idolatry, (which cannot otherwise be Decided, then by giving a True Account of the Pagan Religion;) and the so Confident Affirmations of some, That none could possibly be Guilty of Idolatry, in the Scripture Sense, who Believed One God the Creator of the whole world: Whereas it is most certain on the contrary, that the Pagan Polytheism and Idolatry, consisted not in worshipping Many Creators, or Uncreateds, but in giving Religious Worship to Creatures, besides the Creator; they directing their Devotion, (as Athanasius plainly affirmeth of them,) ἐν ἀρχῇ, καὶ πολλοῖς γυντοῖς, To One Uncreated onely; but besides him, to many Created Gods. But as for the Polemick Management of this Controversy, concerning Idolatry, we leave it to other Learned Hands, that are already engaged in it.

Moreover, We have in this Fourth Chapter, largely Insisted also upon the Trinity. The Reason whereof was, Because it came in our way; and our Contents engaged us thereunto, in order to the giving a full Account of the Pagan Theology: it being certain, that the Platonicks and Pythagoreans at least, if not other Pagans also, had their Trinity, as well as Christians. And we could not well avoid, the Comparing of these Two together: Upon which Occasion we take notice of a Double Platonick Trinity; the One Spurious and Adulterated, of some latter Platonists; the Other True and Genuine, of Plato himself, Parmenides, and the Ancients. The Former of which, though it be Opposed by us to the Christian Trinity, and Con-

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futed; yet betwixt the Latter and that, do we find a Wonderfull Correspondence: which is Largely Pursued, in the Platonick Christians Apology. Wherein notwithstanding, nothing must be lookt upon, as Dogmatically Asserted by us, but onely Offered, and Submitted to the Judgment of the Learned in these Matters; We confining our selves, in this Mysterious Point of the Holy Trinity, within the Compass of those its Three Essentials declared: First, That it is not a Trinity of meer Names and Words, or of Logical Notions onely: But of Persons or Hypostases. Secondly, That none of those Persons or Hypostases, are Creatures, but all Uncreated. And Lastly, That they are all Three, Truly and Really One God. Nevertheless we acknowledge, That we did therefore, the more Copiously insist upon this Argument, because of our then Designed, Defence of Christianity; we conceiving that this Parallelism, betwixt the Ancient or Genuine Platonick, and the Christian Trinity, might be of some use to satisfy those amongst us, who Boggle so much at the Trinity, and look upon it as the Choak-Pear of Christianity; when they shall find, that the Freest Wits amongst the Pagans, and the Best Philosophers, who had nothing of Superstition, to Determine them that way, were so far from being shy of such an Hypothesis, as that they were even Fond thereof. And that the Pagans had indeed such a Cabbala amongst them, (which some perhaps will yet hardly believe, notwithstanding all that we have said,) might be further convinced, from that memorable Relation in Plutarch, of Thespisus Solensis, who after he had been lookt upon as Dead for Three days, Reviving; Affirmed amongst other things, which he thought he saw or heard in the mean time in his Ecstasy, This, Of Three Gods in the Form of a Triangle, pouring in Streams into one another; Orpheus his Soul, being said to have arrived so far; accordingly as from the Testimonies of other Pagan Writers, we have proved, that a Trinity of Divine Hypostases, was a part of the Orphick Cabbala. True indeed, our Belief of the Holy Trinity, is Founded upon no Pagan Cabbala's, but onely Scripture Revelation: it being that which Christians are, or should be, all Baptized into: Nevertheless these things are Reasonably noted by us to this end; That that should not be made a Prejudice Against Christianity, and Revealed Religion; nor lookt upon as such an Affrightfull Bugbear or Mormo in it; which even Pagan Philosophers themselves, and those of the most Accomplished Intellectuals, and Uncaptivated Minds, though having neither Councils, nor Creeds, nor Scriptures; had so great a Propensity and Readiness to entertain, and such a Veneration for.

In this Fourth Chapter, We were necessitated by the Matter it self, to run out into Philology and Antiquity; as also in the other Parts of the Book, we do often give an Account, of the Doctrine of the Ancients: which however some Over-severe Philosophers, may look upon Fastidiously, or Undervalue

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lue and Depretiate; yet, as we conceived it often Necessary, so possibly may the Variety thereof not be Ungratefull to others; and this Mixture of Philology, throughout the Whole, Sweeten and Allay the Severity of Philosophy to them: The main thing which the Book pretends to, in the mean time, being the Philosophy of Religion. But for our parts, we neither call Philology, nor yet Philosophy, our Mistress; but serve our selves of Either, as Occasion requireth.

As for the Last Chapter; Though it Promise onely a Confutation of all the Atheistick Grounds; yet do we therein also Demonstrate, the Absolute Impossibility of all Atheism, and the Actual Existence of a God. We say Demonstrate; not A Priori, which is Impossible and Contradictious; but by Necessary Inference, from Principles altogether Undeniable. For we can by no means grant to the Atheists; That there is no more, then a Probable Persuasion, or Opinion to be had, of the Existence of a God; without any Certain Knowledge or Science. Nevertheless it will not follow from hence, That whosoever shall Read these Demonstrations of ours, and Understand all the words of them, must therefore of Necessity, be presently Convinced, whether he will or no, and put out of all manner of Doubt or Hesitancy, concerning the Existence of a God. For we Believe That to be True, which some have Affirmed, That were there any Interest of Life, any Concernment of Appetite and Passion, against the Truth of Geometricall Theorems themselves; as of a Triangle's Having Three Angles Equall to Two Right; whereby mens Judgements might be Clouded and Bribed; Notwithstanding all the Demonstrations of them, many would remain, at least Sceptical about them. Wherefore meer Speculation, and Dry Mathematical Reason, in Minds Unpurified, and having a Contrary Interest of Carnality, and a heavy Load of Infidelity and Distrust sinking them down; cannot alone beget an Unshaken Confidence and Assurance of so High a Truth as this, The Existence of One Perfect Understanding Being, the Original of all things. As it is certain also on the contrary, That Minds Cleanfed and Purged from Vice, may without Syllogisticall Reasonings, and Mathematical Demonstrations, have an Undoubted Assurance of the Existence of a God, according to that of the Philosopher; ἡ καὶ θάρος ποιεῖ ἐν γνώσει καὶ ἀδείσει εἶναι, Purity Possesses men with an Assurance of the Best things: whether this Assurance be called a Vaticination or Divine Sagacity, (as it is by Plato and Aristotle) or Faith, as in the Scripture. For the Scripture-Faith, is not a meer Believing of Historicall Things, and upon Inartificiall Arguments, or Testimonies onely; but a Certain Higher and Diviner Power in the Soul, that peculiarly Correspondeth with the Deity. Notwithstanding which, Knowledge or Science, added to this Faith, (according

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ding to the Scripture Advice) will make it more Firm and Stedfast ; and the better able to resist those Assaults of Sophisticall Reasonings, that shall be made against it.

In this Fifth Chapter, as sometimes elsewhere, we thought Our selves concerned, in Defence of the Divine Wisdome, Goodness, and Perfection, against Atheists, to maintain, (with all the Ancient Philosophick Theists,) the Perfection of the Creation also ; or that the Whole System of things taken all together, could not have been Better Made and Ordered then it is. And indeed, This Divine Goodness and Perfection ; as Displaying and Manifesting it self in the Works of Nature and Providence, is supposed in Scripture, to be the very Foundation of our Christian Faith ; when that is Defined, to be the Substance and Evidence Rerum Sperandarum ; that is, Of Whatsoever is (by a Good man) to be hoped for. Notwithstanding which, it was far from our Intention, therefore to Conclude, That Nothing neither in Nature nor Providence, could be Otherwise then it is ; or, That there is Nothing left to the Free Will and Choice of the Deity. And though we do in the Third Section, insist largely, upon that Ancient Pythagorick-Cabbala, That Souls are always United to some Body or other ; as also, That all Rationall and Intellectuall Creatures, consist of Soul and Body ; and suggest several things, from Reason and Christian Antiquity, in favour of them both : yet would we not be Understood, to Dogmatize in either of them, but to Submit all to better Judgments.

Again, we shall here Advertise the Reader, (though we have Caution'd concerning it, in the Book it self) That in our Defence of Incorporeal Substance against the Atheists, However we thought our selves concerned, to say the utmost that possibly we could, in way of Vindication of the Ancients, who generally maintained it to be Unextended, (which to some seems an Absolute Impossibility ;) yet we would not be supposed Our selves, Dogmatically to Assert any more in this Point, then what all Incorporealists agree in, That there is a Substance Specifically distinct from Body ; namely such, as Consisteth Not of Parts Separable from one another ; and which can Penetrate Body ; and Lastly, is Self-Active, and hath an Internal Energy, distinct from that of Locall Motion. (And thus much is undeniably Evinc'd, by the Arguments before proposed.) But whether this Substance, be altogether Unextended, or Extended otherwise then Body ; we shall leave every man to make his own Judgment concerning it.

Furthermore, We think fit here to Suggest, That whereas throughout this Chapter and Whole Book, we constantly Oppose the Generation of Souls, that is, the Production of Life, Cogitation and Understanding, out of Dead and Senseless Matter ; and assert all Souls to be as Substantiall as Matter

it self; This is not done by us, out of any fond Addictedness to Pythagorick Whimseys, nor indeed out of a meer Partiall Regard to that Cause of Theism neither, which we were engaged in, (though we had great reason to be tender of that too;) but because we were enforced thereunto, by Dry Mathematicall Reason; it being as certain to us, as any thing in all Geometry, That Cogitation and Understanding, can never possibly Result out of Magnitudes, Figures, Sites, and Locall Motions, (which is all that ourselves can allow to Body) however Compounded together. Nor indeed in that other way of Qualities, is it better Conceivable, how they should emerge out of Hot and Cold, Moist and Dry, Thick and Thin; according to the Anaximandrian Atheism. And they who can persuade themselves of the Contrary, may Believe, That any thing may be Caused by any thing; upon which Supposition, we confess, it Impossible to us, to prove the Existence of a God, from the Phænomena.

In the Close of this Fifth Chapter; Because the Atheists do in the Last place Pretend, Theism and Religion to be Inconsistent with Civil Sovereignty; we were necessitated, briefly to Unravel and Confute, all the Atheistick Ethicks and Politicks, (Though this more properly belong to our Second Book Intended:) Where we make it plainly to appear, That the Atheists Artificiall and Factitious Justice, is Nothing but Will and Words; and That they give to Civil Sovereigns, no Right nor Authority at all, but onely Belluine Liberty, and Brutish Force. But on the contrary, as we Assert Justice and Obligation, not Made by Law and Commands, but in Nature; and Prove This, together with Conscience and Religion, to be the onely Basis of Civil Authority; so do we also maintain, all the Rights of Civil Sovereigns; giving both to Cæsar, the things that are Cæsar's; and to God, the things that are God's.

And now, having made all our Apologies and Reflexions, we have no more to adde, but onely the Retraction or Retraction of one Passage, Page 761. Where mentioning that Opinion of a Modern Atheistick Writer, That Cogitation is nothing else but Local Motion, we could not think Epicurus and Democritus to have sunk to such a Degree, either of Sottishness or Impudence, as this; whereas we found Cause afterwards, upon further Consideration, to Change our Opinion herein, Page 846. Forasmuch as when Epicurus Derived Liberty of Will in men, meerly from that Motion of Senseless Atoms Declining Uncertainly from the Perpendicular; it is Evident, that according to him, Volition it self must be really Local Motion. As indeed in the Democritick Fate, and Material Necessity of all things, it is Implied, That Humane Cogitations are but Mechanism and Motion. Notwithstanding which, both Democritus and Epicurus supposed, That the World was made without Cogitation, though by Local Motion. So

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that the meaning of these Besotted Atheists, (if at least they had any meaning) seems to have been this, That all Cogitation is Really Nothing else but Local Motion; nevertheless all Motion, not Cogitation; but one-ly in such and such Circumstances, or in Bodies so Modified.

And now we are not Ignorant, That some will be ready to condemn this whole Labour of ours, and of others in this Kind, Against Atheism, as altogether Useless and Superfluous; upon this Pretence, that an Atheist is a meer Chimæra, and there is no such thing any-where to be found in the World. And indeed we could heartily wish, upon that condition, that all this Labour of ours, were Superfluous and Useless. But as to Atheists, These so confident Exploders of them, are both Unskilled in the Monuments of Antiquity, and Unacquainted with the Present Age, they live in; others having found too great an Assurance, from their own Personal Converse, of the Reality of Them. Nevertheless this Labour of ours, is not Intended onely for the Conversion of Downright and Professed Atheists, (of which there is but Little Hope, they being sunk into so great a degree of Sottishness;) but for the Confirmation of Weak, Staggering, and Scepticall Theists. And unless these Exploders of Atheists, will affirm also, that all men have constantly, an Unshaken Faith, and Belief of the Existence of a God, without the least mixture of Doubtfull Distrust, or Hesitancy, (which if it were so, the world could not possibly be so bad as now it is) they must needs Grant, such Endeavours as these, for the Confirming and Establishing of mens Minds in the Belief of a God, by Philosophick Reasons, in an Age so Philosophicall, not to be Superfluous and Useless.

Imprimatur

*Hic Liber, cui Titulus, The True Intellectual
System of the Universe, &c.*

*Maii 29.
1671.*

*Sam. Parker, Reverend^{mo} in
Christo Patri ac Domino, Do-
mino Gilberto, Divinâ Provi-
dentiâ Archiep. Cantuar. à
Sacr. Dom.*

Place the Contents at the latter end of the Book.



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43. That

43. That Leucippus and Democritus, being Atheistically inclined, took the Atomical Physiology endeavouring to make it subservient to Atheism, and upon what occasion they did it, and how unsuccessfully.

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45. That Aristotle followed Plato herein, with a Commendation of Aristotle's Philosophy.



HEY that hold the Necessity of all humane Actions and Events, do it upon one or other of these two Grounds; Either because they suppose that Necessity is inwardly essential to all Agents whatsoever, and that Contingent Liberty is *πράγμα ἀνυπόστατον*, a Thing Impossible or Contradictory, which can have no Existence any where in Nature; The sense of which was thus expressed by the Epicurean Poet,

— *Quid res quæque Necessum
Intestinum habeat cunctis in rebus agendis, &c.*

That every thing Naturally labours under an Intestine Necessity: Or else, because though they admit Contingent Liberty not only as a thing Possible, but also as that which is actually Existent in the Deity, yet they conceive all things to be so determin'd by the Will and Decrees of this Deity, as that they are thereby made Necessary to us. The former of these two Opinions, that Contingent Liberty is *πράγμα ἀνυπόστατον*, such a Thing as can have no Existence in Nature, may be maintained upon two different Grounds; Either from such an Hypothesis as this, That the Universe is nothing else but Body, and Local motion, and Nothing moving it self, the Action of every Agent is determined by some other Agent without it; and therefore that *ὕλη ἀνάγκη*, Material and Mechanical Necessity must needs reign over all things: Or else, though Cogitative Beings be supposed to have a certain Principle of Activity within themselves, yet that there can be no Contingency in their Actions, because all Volitions are determined by a Necessary antecedent Understanding.

Plotinus makes another Distribution of Fatalists, which yet in the Conclusion will come to the same with the Former, *διῆδες ἂν τις ἁμύλοῦ τότ' εἴη ἢ ἂν τῷ ἀληθέσι ἀποτυγχάνοις οἱ, μὴ γὰρ ἀφ' ἐνός τινος τὰ πάντα ἀνερτῶσιν, οἱ ἢ ἐκ ἑαυτοῦ*. A man (saith he) will not do amiss that will divide all Fatalists first into these two General Heads, namely, That they derive all things from One Principle, or Not; The former of which may be called Divine Fatalists, the latter Atheistical. Which Divine Fatalists he again subdivides into such as First make God by Immediate Influence to do all things in us; as in Animals the Members are not determined by themselves, but by that which is the Hegemonick in every one: And Secondly, such as make Fate to be an *Inplexed Series* or Concatenation of Causes, all in themselves Necessary, whereof God is the chief. The Former seems to be a Description of that

very Fate that is maintained by some *Neoterick* Christians ; the Latter is the Fate of the *Stoicks*.

Wherefore Fatalists that hold the Necessity of all Humane Actions and Events, may be reduced to these Three Heads ; First, such as asserting the Deity, suppose it irrespectively to Decree and Determine all things, and thereby make all Actions necessary to us ; Which kind of Fate, though Philosophers and other ancient Writers have not been altogether silent of it, yet it has been principally maintained by some *Neoterick* Christians, contrary to the Sence of the Ancient Church. Secondly, such as suppose a Deity, that acting Wisely, but Necessarily, did contrive the General Frame of things in the World ; from whence by a Series of Causes doth unavoidably result whatsoever is now done in it. Which Fate is a Concatenation of Causes, all in themselves Necessary, and is that which was asserted by the Ancient *Stoicks* *Zeno* and *Chrysippus*, whom the Jewish *Essenes* seemed to follow. And Lastly, such as hold the Material Necessity of all things without a Deity ; which Fate *Epicurus* calls τὴν τῆ φυσικῶν ἐμπερισταμένην, *The Fate of the Naturalists*, that is, indeed, the *Atheists*, the Assertors whereof may be called also the Democritical Fatalists. Which three Opinions concerning Fate, are so many several *Hypotheses* of the Intellectual System of the Universe. All which we shall here propose, endeavouring to shew the Falseness of them, and then substitute the true Mundane System in the Room of them.

II. The Mathematical or Astrological Fate so much talked of, as it is a thing no way considerable for the Grounds of it, so whatsoever it be, it must needs fall under one or other of those two General Heads in the *Plotinical* Distribution last mentioned, so as either to derive all things from one Principle, or Not. It seems to have had its first Emerfion amongst the *Chaldeans*, from a certain kind of blind *Polytheism* (which is but a better sort of disguised Atheism) but it was afterwards Adopted and fondly nursed by the *Stoicks* in a way of subordination to their Divine Fate. For *Manilius*, *Firmicus* and other Masters of that Sect were great Promoters of it. And there was too much attributed to Astrology also, by those that were no Fatalists, both Heathen and Christian Philosophers, such as were *Plotinus*, *Origen*, *Simplicius* and others : Who though they did not make the Stars to necessitate all Humane Actions here below, yet they supposed that Divine Providence (fore-knowing all things) had contrived such a strange Coincidence of the Motions and Configurations of the Heavenly Bodies with such Actions here upon Earth, as that the former might be Prognosticks of the latter. Thus *Origen* determines that the Stars do not Make but Signifie; and that the Heavens are a kind of Divine Volume, in whose Characters they that are skilled, may read or spell out Humane Events. To the same purpose *Plotinus*, φέρειται μὲν ταῦτα ὑπὸ στωϊκῶν ὡς ὅταν, παρέχεται ἢ ἑ ἄλλω χεῖρον τῷ τῷ εἰς αὐτὰ ὥστε γεγραμμένα βλέποντας τὸς τοιαύτῳ γεγραμμένῳ εἰδότες ἀναγινώσκουσιν τὰ μέλλοντα ἐκ τῆς σχηματικῆς τοῦ ἀνάλογον μεθοδολογίας τὸ σημαίνοντες. ὥστε ἢ τῆς λέγει. ἐπειδὴ ὁ φιλόσοφος οὐκ οὐκ σημαίνει ὁ φιλόσοφος πᾶσι πράξεσιν. *The Motion of the Stars was intended for the Physical Good of the*

the whole; but they afford also another Use collaterally in order to Prognostication, namely that they who are skilled in the Grammar of the Heavens may be able from the several Configurations of the Stars, as it were Letters to spell out future Events, by making such Analogical Interpretations as they use to do in Augury: As when a Bird flies high, to interpret this of some High and Noble Exploit. And *Simplicius* in like manner, σύμφωνός ἐστιν ἡ εἰμαρμένη περὶ φασγ. τῇ προσβολῇ τῶν ψυχῶν τῇ καὶ αὐτῶν ἐρχομένη εἰς τὴν γένεσιν, ἐκ ἀναγκάζουσα μὲν τοῖς τῶνδε ὁρέγεσθαι ἢ τῶνδε, σύμφωνος ἢ ἕστα ἢ ἐξέειν αὐτῶν. The Fatal Conversion of the Heavens is made to correspond with the Production of Souls into Generation at such and such times, not Necessitating them to will this or that, but conspiring agreeably with such Appetites and Volitions of theirs. And these Philosophers were the rather inclinable to this Perswasion from a Superstitious Conceit which they had, that the Stars being animated, were Intellectual Beings of a far higher Rank than Men. And since God did not make them, nor any thing else in the World, singly for themselves alone, but also to contribute to the Publick Good of the Universe, their Physical Influence seeming inconsiderable, they knew not well what else could be worthy of them, unless it were to portend Humane Events. This indeed is the best Sence that can be made of Astrological Prognostication; But it is a business that stands upon a very weak and tottering, if not Impossible Foundation.

III. There is another Wild and Extravagant Conceit which some of the Pagans had, who though they Verbally acknowledged a Deity, yet supposed a certain Fate superiour to it, and not only to all their other Petty Gods, but also to *Jupiter* himself. To which purpose is that of the Greek Poet, Latin'd by *Cicero*, *Quod fore paratum est id summum exuperat Jovem*; and that of *Herodotus*, τῇ πεπεωμένῳ μοίῃ ἐν ἀδύνατον ἔστι ἀπὸ φύγειν ἐξ τῶν θεῶν. It is impossible for God himself to avoid the destin'd Fate; and δ' ἑλθὼν θεὸς ἀνάγκης, God himself is a Servant of Necessity. According to which Conceit, *Jupiter* in *Homer* laments his Condition, in that the Fates having determined that his beloved *Sarpedon* should be slain by the Son of *Menæti*, he was not able to withstand it. Though all these passages may not perhaps imply much more than what the Stoical Hypothesis it self imported; for that did also in some sence make God himself a Servant to the Necessity of the Matter, and to his own Decrees, in that he could not have made the smallest thing in the World otherwise than now it is, much less was able to alter any thing. According to that of *Seneca*, *Eadem Necessitas & Deos alligat. Irrevocabilis Divina pariter atque Humana cursus vehit. Ille ipse omnium Conditor ac Rector scripsit quidem Fata sed sequitur. Semper paret semel jussit. One and the same Chain of Necessity ties God and Men. The same irrevocable and unalterable Course carries on Divine and Humane things. The very Maker and Governour of all things that writ the Fates follows them. He did but once command but he always obeys.* But if there were this further meaning in the Passages before cited, that a Necessity without God, that was invincible by him, did determine his Will to all things; this was nothing but a certain Confused and Contradictious Jumble of Atheism and Theism both together; or an odd kind of Intimation, that however

La&I. i. c. ii.
Lucian. *Jupi-*
confutatus.

the Name of God be used in compliance with Vulgar Speech and Opinion, yet indeed it signifies nothing, but Material Necessity; and the blind Motion of Matter is really the Highest *Namen* in the World. And here that of *Balbus* the Stoick in *Cicero* is opportune: *Non est Natura Dei Præpotens & Excellems, siquidem ea subjecta est ei vel Necessitati vel Naturæ quæ Cælum, Mariæ, Terræque reguntur. Nihil autem est præstantius Deo. Nulli igitur est Naturæ obediens aut subjectus Deus.* God would not be the most Powerful and Excellent Being, if he were subject to that either Necessity or Nature, by which the Heavens, Seas and Earth are governed. But the Notion of a God implies the most Excellent Being. Therefore God is not Obedient or Subject to any Nature.

IV. And now we think fit here to suggest, that however we shall oppose those three Fatalisms before mentioned, as so many false *Hypotheses* of the Mundane System and Oeconomy, and endeavour to exclude that severe Tyranness (as *Epicurus* calls it) of Universal Necessity reigning over all, and to leave some Scope for Contingent Liberty to move up and down in, without which neither Rational Creatures can be blame worthy for any thing they do, nor God have any Object to display his Justice upon, nor indeed be justified in his Providence; Yet, as we vindicate to God the glory of all Good, so we do not quite banish the Notion of *Fate* neither, nor take away all Necessity; which is a thing the *Clazomenian* Philosopher of old was taxed for; Affirming *μὴδὲν τῶν γατομήτων γίνεσθαι κατ' ἐμαρμερίαν, ἀλλὰ εἶναι πυνόν τὸ τοῦτομα:* That Nothing at all was done by Fate, but that it was altogether a vain Name. And the *Sadduceans* among the Jews have been noted for the same: *τὴν μὲν ἐμαρμερίαν ἀναιροῦσιν ὅθεν εἶναι ταῦτ' ἄξιόν τε, ὅτι κατ' αὐτὴν τὰ ἀνθρώπινα τέλ' λαμβάνειν, ἅπαντα δ' ἐφ' ἡμῖν αὐτοῖς πθέντες.* They take away all Fate, and will not allow it to be any thing at all, nor to have any Power over Humane Things, but put all things entirely into the hands of Mens own Free-Will. And some of our own, seem to have approached too near to this Extreme, attributing, perhaps, more to the Power of Free-Will, than either Religion or Nature will admit. But the Hypothesis that we shall recommend, as most agreeable to Truth, of a *πρόνοια ἱλάσιμη* Placable Providence, of a Deity Essentially Good, presiding over all, will avoid all Extremes, asserting to God the Glory of Good, and freeing him from the Blame of Evil; and leaving a certain proportionate Contemperation and Commixture of Contingency and Necessity both together in the World: As Nature requires a mixture of Motion and Rest, without either of which there could be no Generation. Which Temper was observed by several of the Ancients; as the Pharisaick Sect amongst the Jews who determined *τινὰ καὶ ὅτι πάντα καὶ ἐμαρμερίως εἶναι ἔργον, τινὰ δ' ἐφ' ἑαυτοῖς ὑπάρχειν,* That some things and not all were the Effects of Fate, but some things were left in Mens own Power and Liberty. And also by *Plato* amongst the Philosophers, *πλάτων ἐκεῖνε μὲν ἐμαρμερίαν ὅτι καὶ ἀνθρώπων ψυχὰν καὶ βίαν, συνεισάγει δ' καὶ τὴν παρ' ἡμῶς αἰτίαν.* *Plato* inserts something of Fate into Humane Lives and Actions, and he joyns with it Liberty of Will also. He doth indeed suppose Humane Souls to have within themselves the Causes of their own Changes to a Better or Worser State, & every where declares God

God to be blameless for their Evils, and yet he somewhere makes the three Fatal Sisters notwithstanding, *Clotho*, *Lachesis* and *Atropos*, to be busie about them also. For according to the sense of the Ancients, Fate is a Servant of Divine Providence in the World, and takes place differently upon the different Actings of Free-willed Beings. And how Free a thing soever the Will of Man may seem to be, to some, yet I conceive it to be out of Question, that it may contract upon it self such Necessities and Fatalities, as it cannot upon a suddain rid it self of at pleasure. But whatsoever is said in the Sequel of this Discourse by way of Opposition to that Fatalism of the Neoterick Christians, is intended only to vindicate what was the constant Doctrine of the Christian Church in its greatest purity, (as shall be made manifest) and not to introduce any New-fangled conceit of our own.

V. We must now proceed to give a more full and perfect account of these three several Fates, or *Hypotheses* of the Mundane System before mentioned, together with the Grounds of them, beginning first with that which we Principally intend the Confutation of, the *Atheistical* or *Democritical* Fate. Which as it is a thing of the most dangerous Consequence of all, so it seems to be most spreading and infectious in these latter times.

Now this *Atheistical* System of the World that makes all things to be Materially and Mechanically Necessary, without a God, is built upon a peculiar Physiological *Hypothesis*, different from what hath been generally received for many Ages; which is called by some *Atomical* or *Corpuscular*, by others *Mechanical*: of which we must therefore needs give a full and Perfect Account. And we shall do it first in General, briefly, not descending to those minute Particularities of it, which are disputed amongst these Atomists themselves, in this manner.

The Atomical Physiology supposes that Body is nothing else but διατετατον ἀντίτυπον, that is, *Extended Bulk*; and resolves therefore that nothing is to be attributed to it, but what is included in the Nature and *Idea* of it, viz. more or less Magnitude with Divisibility into Parts, Figure, and Position, together with Motion or Rest, but so as that no part of Body can ever Move it Self; but is alwaies moved by something else. And consequently it supposes that there is no need of any thing else besides these simple Elements of Magnitude, Figure, Site and Motion (which are all clearly intelligible as different Modes of extended Substance) to salve the Corporeal *Phænomena* by; and therefore, not of any Substantial Forms distinct from the Matter; nor of any other Qualities really existing in the Bodies without, besides the Results, or Aggregates of those simple Elements, and the Disposition of the Insensible Parts of Bodies in respect of Figure, Site and Motion; nor of any Intentional *Species* or *Shews*, propagated from the Objects to our Senses; nor, lastly, of any other kind of Motion or Action really distinct from Local Motion (such as Generation and Alteration) they being neither Intelligible, as Modes of extended Substance, nor any ways necessary. Forasmuch as the Forms and Qualities

Qualities of Bodies may well be conceived, to be nothing but the Result of those simple Elements of Magnitude, Figure, Site and Motion, variously compounded together; in the same manner as Syllables and Words in great variety result from the different Combinations and Conjunctions of a few Letters, or the simple Elements of Speech; and the Corporeal Part of Sensation, and particularly that of Vision, may be salved only by Local Motion of Bodies, that is, either by Corporeal *Effluvia* (called *Simulachra*, *Membrana* and *Exuviae*) streaming continually from the Surface of the Objects, or rather, as the later and more refined Atomists conceived, by Pressure made from the Object to the Eye, by means of Light in the *Medium*. So that ὡς διὰ βαρυνείας τὸ ταχέως ἄερόν τὸ βλεπόμενον ἀναγέμεται. The Sense taking Cognizance of the Object by the Subtle Interposed *Medium* that is tense and stretched, (thrusting every way from it upon the Optick Nerves) doth by that as it were by a Staff touch it. Again, Generation and Corruption may be sufficiently explained by Concretion and Secretion, or Local Motion, without Substantial Forms and Qualities. And lastly, those sensible *Ideas* of Light and Colours, Heat and Cold, Sweet and Bitter, as they are distinct things from the Figure, Site and Motion of the insensible Parts of Bodies, seem plainly to be nothing else but our own *Phantasies*, *Passions* and *Sensations* however they be vulgarly mistaken for Qualities in the Bodies without us.

VI. Thus much may suffice for a General Accompt of the Atomical Physiologiy. We shall in the next Place consider the Antiquity thereof, as also what notice *Aristotle* hath taken of it, and what Account he gives of the same. For though *Epicurus* went altogether this way, yet it is well known that he was not the first Inventor of it. But it is most commonly fathered on *Democritus*, who was Senior both to *Aristotle* and *Plato*, being reported to have been born the year after *Socrates*; from whose Fountains *Cicero* saith that *Epicurus* watered his Orchards, and of whom *Sex. Empiricus* and *Laertius* testify that he did ἐκβάλλειν τὰς ποιότητας, cashier Qualities; and *Plutarch*, that he made the first Principles of the whole Universe ἀτόμους ἀπόρους καὶ ἀπαθείς, Atoms devoid of all Qualities and Passions. But *Laertius* will have *Leucippus*, who was somewhat Senior to *Democritus*, to be the first Inventor of this Philosophy, though he wrote not so many Books concerning it as *Democritus* did. *Aristotle* who often takes notice of this Philosophy, and ascribes it commonly to *Leucippus* and *Democritus* jointly, gives us this description of it in his *Metaphysics*, ἡ δὲ λευκίππου καὶ ἡ δὲ ἐταίρου αὐτῶν διμόμορον σιγήα μὲν τὸ πλήρες καὶ τὸ κενὸν εἶναι φασὶ λέγοντες οἷον τὸ μὲν ὄν τὸ δὲ μὴ ὄν, καὶ τὰς διαφορὰς αἰτίας τῶν ἄλλων φασὶ ταύτας μίμνοι τρεῖς, σχῆμα τε καὶ τάξις καὶ θέσις, διαφέρειν γὰρ τὸ ὄν εὐσμοῦ καὶ διατριγῆ καὶ τρεσπῇ. *Leucippus and his Companion Democritus make the first Principles of all things to be Plenum and Vacuum (Body and Space) whereof one is Ens the other Non-ens, and the differences of Body, which are only Figure, Order and Position, to be the Causes of all other things.* Which Differences they call by these Names *Rysmus*, *Diathigte* and *Trope*. And in his Book *De Anima*, having declared that *Democritus* made Fire and the Soul to consist of Round Atoms, he describes those

those Atoms of his after this manner, οἷον ἐν τῇ ἀέρι τὰ καλόμενα εἴματα
ταῦτα αἰ ταῖς διὰ τῆς οὐελίδος αἰτίαι ἐν τὴν πάντοτε ῥαίαν στήθεα λέγει Δημόκριτος ὅτι
ἐλὴς φύσεως ὁμοίως ἢ τῇ ἀδύκπιπτος. They are (saith he) like those Ramenta or
dusty Particles which appear in the Sun-Beams, an Omnifarious Schéma-
ry whereof Democritus makes to be the first Elements of the whole U-
niverse, and so doth Leucippus likewise. Elsewhere the same Aristotle
tells us, that these two Philosophers explained Generation and Al-
teration without Forms and Qualities by Figures and Local Motion.
Δημόκριτος ἢ ἀδύκπιπτος ποιῶσαι τὰ χήματα τῶν αἰμοίων ἢ τῶν γένεσιν ἐκ
τότων ποῖσι, διακρίσει μὲν ἢ συνκρίσει γένεσιν ἢ φθορῶν, τάξει ἢ ἢ δια-
αἰμοίων. Democritus and Leucippus having made Figures, (or vari-
ously figured Atoms) the first Principles, make Generation and Altera-
tion out of these; namely Generation together with Corruption, from the
Concretion and Secretion of them, but Alteration from the change of
their Order and Position. Again he elsewhere takes notice of that
Opinion of the Atomists, that all sense was a kind of Touch, and
that the Sensible Qualities of Bodies were to be resolved into Figures,
imputing it not only to Democritus, but also to the Generality of
the old Philosophers, but very much disliking the same; Δημόκριτος
ἢ οἱ πλείους τῶν φυσολόγων ἀτομωτάτων τι ποῖσι, πάντα γὰρ τὰ αἰσθητὰ ἀπὸ
ποῖσι ἢ εἰς χήματα ἀνάγναι τὰς χήμας. Democritus and most of the Phys-
iologers here commit a very great Absurdity, in that they make all sense
to be Touch, and resolve sensible Qualities into the Figures of insensible
Parts or Atoms. And this Opinion he endeavours to confute by these
Arguments. First, because there is Contrariety in Qualities, as in
Black and White, Hot and Cold, Bitter and Sweet, but there is no
Contrariety in Figures; for a Circular Figure is not Contrary to a
Square or Multangular; and therefore there must be Real Qualities
in Bodies distinct from the Figure, Site and Motion of Parts. Again,
the variety of Figures and Dispositions being Infinite, it would follow
from thence, that the Species of Colours, Odours, and Tastes should be
Infinite likewise, and Reducible to no certain Number. Which Ar-
guments I leave the Professed Atomists to answer. Furthermore Ari-
stotle somewhere also censures that other Fundamental Principle of
this Atomical Physiology, That the sensible Ideas of Colours and
Tastes, as Red, Green, Bitter and Sweet, formally considered, are on-
ly Passions and Phantries in us, and not real Qualities in the Object
without. For as in a Rainbow there is really nothing without our
fight, but a Rorid Cloud diversely refracting and reflecting the Sun-
Beams, in such an Angle; nor are there really such Qualities in the
Diaphanous Prisme, when refracting the Light, it exhibits to us
the same Colours of the Rainbow: whence it was collected, that
those things are properly the Phantasms of the Sentient, occasioned
by different Motions on the Optick Nerves: So they conceived the
case to be the same in all other Colours, and that both the Colours
of the Prisme and Rainbow were as real as other Colours, and all
other Colours as Phantastical as they: And then by parity of Rea-
son they extended the business further to the other Sensibles. But
this Opinion Aristotle condemns in these words, οἱ περὶ τὸν φυσολόγον
τὸ τοιοῦτον ἔλεγον ὅτι οἱ ὁμοῖοι ἔτι λευκὸν ἔτι μελανόν ἔστι φέας, ἔτι χύμων
ἀνευ γένεως. The former Physiologers were generally out in this, in that
they

they thought there was no Black or White without the Sight, nor no Bitter or Sweet without the Taste. There are other Passages in Aristotle concerning this Philosophy, which I think superfluous to insert here; and I shall have occasion to cite some of them afterward for other Purposes.

V I I. But in the next place it will not be amiss to shew that *Plato* also hath left a very full Record of this Mechanical or Atomical Physiology (that hath hardly been yet taken notice of) which notwithstanding he doth not impute either to *Democritus* (whose name *Laertius* thinks he purposely declined to mention throughout all his Writings) or to *Leucippus*, but to *Protagoras*. Wherefore in his *Theætetus*, having first declared in general that the *Protagorean* Philosophy made all things to consist of a Commixture of Parts (or Atoms) and Local Motion, he represents it, in Particular concerning Colours, after this manner; ὑπολαβε τοίνυν ἑταυρίῳ καὶ τὰ ὀμμάτια πρῶτον, ὃ ἡ καλεῖς χρώμα λευκὸν μὴ εἶναι αὐτὸ ἕτερόν τι ἔξω τῆς σῶν ὀμμάτων μηδ' ἐν τοῖς ὀμμασι ἀλλὰ μέλαν τε καὶ λευκὸν καὶ ὅτις ἄλλο χρώμα ἐκ τῆς προσβολῆς τῆς ὀμμάτων πρὸς τὴν προσήκουσαν φορὰν φανέται γινωσκόμενον, καὶ ὃ ἡ ἕκαστον εἶναι φαμεν χρώμα ὅτε τὸ προσβάλλον ὅτε τὸ προσβαλλόμενον ἀλλὰ μεταξύ τι ἐκάσῳ ἴδιον γινόντος. First as to that which belongs to the Sight, you must conceive that which is called a White or a Black Colour not to be any thing absolutely existing either without your Eyes or within your Eyes; but Black and White and every other Colour, is caused by different Motions made upon the Eye from Objects differently modified: so that it is nothing either in the Agent nor the Patient absolutely, but something which arises from between them both. Where it follows immediately, ἢ σὺ διχυροσταίῳ ἂν ὡς οἷόν σοι φαίνεται ἕκαστον χρώμα τοῖστων καὶ κύνι καὶ ὁσῶν ζώων. Can you or any man else be Confident, that as every Colour appears to him, so it appears just the same to every other Man and Animal, any more than Tastes and Touches, Heat and Cold do? From whence it is plain that *Protagoras* made Sensible Qualities, not to be all absolute things existing in the Bodies without, but to be Relative to us, and Passions in us; and so they are called presently after τίνα ἐν ἡμῖν φάσματα, certain Phantasies, Seemings, or Appearances in us. But there is another Passage in which a fuller Account is given of the whole *Protagorean* Doctrine, beginning thus; Ἀρχὴ ἡ ἐξ ἧς ἂν ναῦ δὴ ἐλέγομεν πάντα ἡγεῖται ἡδε αὐτῇ, ὡς τὸ πᾶν κίνησις ἢν καὶ ἄλλο. Ὅθεν τὸτο εἶδεν, τὸ ἢ κινήσεως δύο εἶδη πλήθει μὲν ἀπειρον ἑκάτερον, δύναμιν ἢ τὸ μὲν ποιεῖν ἔχον, τὸ ἢ πάχυν, ἐκ ἧς τῶν ὀμμάτων καὶ τῆς τελευτῆς πρὸς ἄλληλα γίνεσθαι ἐκγονα πλήθει μὲν ἀπειρον δίδυμα καὶ, τὸ μὲν αἰσθητὸν, τὸ ἢ αἰσθητὸς αἰεὶ συνεκπίπτουσα καὶ γινωσκόμενη μετὰ τῷ αἰσθητῷ, &c. The Principle upon which all these things depend is this, That the whole Universe is Motion (of Atoms) and nothing else besides; which Motion is considered two ways, and accordingly called by two Names, Action and Passion; from the mutual Congress, and as it were Attrition together of both which, are begotten innumerable Off-springs, which though infinite in Number, yet may be reduced to two general Heads, Sensibles and Sensations, that are both generated at the same time; the Sensations are Seeing and Hearing and the like, and the Correspondent Sensibles, Colours, Sounds, &c. Wherefore when the Eye, or such a proportionate

proportionate Object meet together, both the αἰσθητὸν and the αἰσθητής, the Sensible Idea of White and black and the Sense of Seeing are generated together, neither of which would have been produced if either of those two had not met with the other. καὶ τ' ἄλλα ἃ ἔτι ψυχρὸν καὶ θερμὸν καὶ πᾶσι τ' αὐτὸν τρόπον ὑποληπτέον αὐτὸ μὲν καθ' αὐτὸ μὴ εἶναι, ἐν δὲ τῇ πρὸς ἄλληλα ὁμιλίᾳ πᾶσι γίνεσθαι, καὶ πάντοτε ἀπὸ τῆς κινήσεως. The like is to be conceived of all other Sensibles, as Hot and Cold, &c. that none of these are Absolute things in themselves, or Real Qualities in the Objects without, but they are begotten from the mutual Congress of Agent and Patient with one another, and that by Motion: So that neither the Agent has any such thing in it before its Congress with the Patient, nor the Patient before its Congress with the Agent. ἐκ δὲ ἀμφοτέρων τῶ ποιῶντος καὶ τοῦ πάχοντος πρὸς τὰ ἄλλα συναγόμενων καὶ τὰς αἰσθήσεως καὶ τὰ αἰσθητὰ ἀποτιθέμενων, τὰ μὲν ποῖα ἄρα γίνεσθαι τὰ δὲ αἰσθανόμενα. But the Agent and Patient meeting together, and begetting Sensation and Sensibles, both the Object and the Sentient are forthwith made to be so and so qualified, as when Honey is tasted, the Sense of Tasting and the Quality of Sweetness are begotten both together, though the Sense be vulgarly attributed to the Taster and the Quality of Sweetness to the Honey. The Conclusion of all which is summed up thus εἰς δὲ εἶναι αὐτὸ καθ' αὐτὸ ἄλλὰ πρὸς αἰεὶ γίνεσθαι, That none of those Sensible things is any thing absolutely in the Objects without, but they are all generated or made Relatively to the Sentient. There is more in that Dialogue to this purpose, which I here omit; but I have set down so much of it in the Authour's own Language, because it seems to me to be an excellent Monument of the Wisdom and Sagacity of the old Philosophers. That which is the main Curiosity in this whole business of the Mechanical or Atomical Philosophy, being here more fully and plainly expressed, than it is in *Lucretius* himself, viz. That Sensible things, according to those Ideas that we have of them, are not real Qualities absolutely Existing without us, but ἐν ἡμῖν φάσματα, Phantasies or Phantasms in us: So that both the Latin Interpreters *Ficinus* and *Serranus*, though probably neither of them at all acquainted with this Philosophy, as being not yet restored, could not but understand it after the same manner: the one expressing it thus, *Color ex Aspectu Motuque Medium quiddam resultans est. Talis circa Oculos Passio*; and the other *Ex varia Aspicientis diathesi, variæque sensilis specie colores varios & videri & fieri, ita tamen ut sint φαντάσματα nec nisi in animo subsistant*. However it appears by *Plato's* manner of telling the story, and the Tenour of the whole Dialogue, that himself was not a little prejudiced against this Philosophy. In all probability the rather, because *Protagoras* had made it a Foundation both for Scepticism and Atheism.

VIII. We have now learnt from *Plato*, that *Democritus* and *Leucippus* were not the sole Proprietaries in this Philosophy, but that *Protagoras*, though not vulgarly taken notice of for any such thing (being commonly represented as a Sophist only) was a sharer in it likewise: which *Protagoras* indeed *Laertius* and others affirm to have been an Auditor of *Democritus*; and so he might be, notwithstanding what *Plutarch* tells us, that *Democritus* wrote against his taking away

way the Absolute Natures of things. However we are of Opinion that neither *Democritus*, nor *Protagoras*, nor *Leucippus* was the first Inventour of this Philosophy; and our reason is, because they were all three of them Atheists (though *Protagoras* alone was banished for that Crime by the *Athenians*) and we cannot think that any Atheists could be the Inventours of it, much less that it was the Genuine Spawn and Brood of Atheism it self, as some conceit, because however these Atheists adopted it to themselves, endeavouring to serve their turns of it, yet if rightly understood, it is the most effectual Engin against Atheism that can be. And we shall make it appear afterwards, that never any of those Atheists, whether Ancient or Modern (how great Pretenders soever to it) did thoroughly understand it, but perpetually contradicted themselves in it. And this is the Reason why we insist so much upon this Philosophy here, not only because without the perfect knowledge of it, we cannot deal with the Atheists at their own Weapon; but also because we doubt not but to make a Sovereign Antidote against Atheism, out of that very Philosophy, which so many have used as a *Vehiculum* to convey this Poyson of Atheism by.

IX. But besides Reason, we have also good Historical probability for this Opinion, that this Philosophy was a thing of much greater Antiquity than either *Democritus* or *Leucippus*: and first, because *Posidonius*, an Ancient and Learned Philosopher, did (as both *Empiricus* and *Strabo* tell us) avouch it for an old Tradition, that the first Inventour of this Atomical Philosophy was one *Moschus* a *Phœnician*, who, as *Strabo* also notes, lived before the *Trojan Wars*.

X. Moreover it seems not altogether Improbable, but that this *Moschus* a *Phœnician* Philosopher, mentioned by *Posidonius*, might be the same with that *Mochus* a *Phœnician* Physiologer in *Jamblichus*, with whose Successors, Priests and Prophets, he affirms that *Pythagoras*, sometimes sojourning at *Sidon* (which was his native City) had conversed: Which may be taken for an Intimation, as if he had been by them instructed in that Atomical Physiology which *Moschus* or *Mochus* the *Phœnician* is said to have been the Inventour of. *Mochus* or *Moschus* is plainly a *Phœnician* Name, and there is one *Mochus* a *Phœnician* Writer cited in *Athenæus*, whom the Latin Translator calls *Moschus*; and Mr. *Selden* approves of the Conjecture of *Arcerius*, the Publisher of *Jamblichus*, that this *Mochus* was no other than the Celebrated *Moses* of the *Jews*, with whose Successors the Jewish Philosophers, Priests and Prophets, *Pythagoras* conversed at *Sidon*. Some Phantastick Atomists perhaps would here catch at this, to make their Philosophy to stand by Divine Right, as owing its Original to Revelation; whereas Philosophy being not a Matter of Faith but Reason, Men ought not to affect (as I conceive) to derive its Pedigree from Revelation, and by that very pretence seek to impose it Tyrannically upon the minds of Men, which God hath here purposely left Free to the use of their own Faculties, that so finding out Truth by them, they might enjoy that Pleasure and Satisfaction

Satisfaction which arises from thence. But we aim here at nothing more, than a Confirmation of this Truth, That the Atomical Physiology was both older than *Democritus*, and had no such Atheistical Original neither. And there wants not other Good Authority for this, That *Pythagoras* did borrow many things from the *Jews*, and translate them into his Philosophy.

XI. But there are yet other Considerable Probabilities for this, that *Pythagoras* was not unacquainted with the Atomical Physiology. And first from *Democritus* himself, who as he was of the *Italic* Row, or *Pythagorick* Succession ; so it is recorded of him in *Laertius*, that he was a great Emulator of the *Pythagoreans*, and seemed to have taken all his Philosophy from them : Insomuch that if Chronology had not contradicted it, it would have been concluded, that he had been an Auditor of *Pythagoras* himself, of whom he testified his great admiration in a Book entitled by his Name. Moreover some of his Opinions had a plain Correspondency with the *Pythagorick* Doctrines, forasmuch as *Democritus* did not only hold, φέρεσθαι ἁτόμους ἐν τῷ ὅλῳ διδυσμένους, *That the Atoms were carried round in a Vortex* ; but also together with *Leucippus*, τὴν γλῶσσαν ὀχεῖσθαι περὶ τὸ μέσον διδυσμένῳ, *That the Earth was carried about the Middle or Centre of this Vortex (which is the Sun) turning in the mean time round upon its own Axis* ; And just so the *Pythagorick* Opinion is expressed by *Aristotle*, τὴν γῆν ἐν τῶν ἀστέρων ἕσταν κύκλῳ φερομένῳ περὶ τὸ μέσον νύκτα καὶ τὴν ἡμέραν ποιῆν. *That the Earth, as one of the Stars (that is a Planet) being carried round about the Middle or Centre (which is Fire or the Sun) did in the mean time by its Circumgyration upon its own Axis make day and night.* Wherefore it may be reasonably from hence concluded, that as *Democritus* his Philosophy was *Pythagorical*, so *Pythagoras* his Philosophy was likewise *Democritical* or *Atomical*.

XII. But that which is of more Moment yet; we have the Authority of *Ecphantus* a famous *Pythagorean* for this, that *Pythagoras* his Monads, so much talked of, were nothing else but Corporeal Atoms. Thus we find it in *Stobæus*, τὰς πυθαγορικὰς μονάδας εἶναι πρῶτον ἀπεφῆναι σωματικὰς, *Ecphantus* (who himself asserted the Doctrine of Atoms) first declared that the *Pythagorick Monads* were Corporeal, i.e. Atoms. And this is further confirmed from what *Aristotle* himself writes of these *Pythagoreans* and their Monads, τὰς μονάδας ὑπολαμβάνουσιν ἔχειν μέγεθος. *They suppose their Monads to have Magnitude* ; And from that he elsewhere makes Monads and Atoms to signify the same thing, εἰδὲν διαφέρει μονάδας λέγειν ἢ σωματίον σμικρὸν. *It is all one to say Monads or small Corpuscula.* And *Gassendus* hath observed out of the Greek Epigrammatist, that *Epicurus* his Atoms were sometimes called Monads too ;

μάτῳ ἐπίμαχον ἴδον
πῶς τὸ κενὸν ζῆτεῖν καὶ τινες αἱ μονάδες.

XIII. But to pass from *Pythagoras* himself ; That *Empedocles*, who was a *Pythagorean* also, did *Physiologize* Atomically, is a thing that could hardly be doubted of, though there were no more Proof for it than that one Passage of his in his *Philosophick* Poems ;

φύσις ὁδενός ἔστιν ἐκείνη
 Ἄλλὰ μόνον μίξεις τε διάλαξις τε μιν γέννῃται.

Nature is nothing but the Mixture and Separation of things mingled ; or thus, *There is no production of anything anew, but only mixture and separation of things mingled.* Which is not only to be understood of *Animals*, according to the *Pythagorick* Doctrine of the Transmigration of Souls, but also, as himself expounds it, *Universally* of all Bodies, that their Generation and Corruption is nothing but *Mixture and Separation* ; or as *Aristotle* expresses it, σύμμιξις καὶ διάκρισις, *Concretion and Secretion* of Parts, together with Change of Figure and Order. It may perhaps be objected, that *Empedocles* held four Elements, out of which he would have all other Bodies to be compounded ; and that as *Aristotle* affirms, he made those Elements not to be transmutable into one another neither. To which we reply, that he did indeed make four Elements, as the first general Concretions of Atoms, and therein he did no more than *Democritus* himself, who, as *Laertius* writes, did from Atoms moving round in a *Vortex* πάντα συσχημάτια γινώσκειν πρὸς ὕδαρ ἀέρα γῆν, εἶναι γὰρ καὶ ταῦτα ἐξ ατόμων τινῶν συσχημάτια, *Generate all Concretions, Fire, Water, Air and Earth, these being Systems made out of certain Atoms.* And *Plato* further confirms the same ; for in his Book *De Legibus* he describes (as I suppose) that very Atheistical Hypothesis of *Democritus*, though without mentioning his Name, representing it in this Manner ; That by the Fortuitous Motion of Senseless Matter were first made those four Elements, and then out of them afterward Sun, Moon, Stars and Earth. Now both *Plutarch* and *Stobæus* testify, that *Empedocles* compounded the four Elements themselves out of Atoms. Ἐμπεδοκλῆς ἢ ὅα μιν ἐτέρων ὄντων τὰ στοιχεῖα συσχηματίζει ἀπὸ ἐστὶν ἐλάχισα, καὶ οἷον ἐστὶν ἐλάχισα στοιχείων. *Empedocles makes the Elements to be compounded of other small Corpuscula, which are the least, and as it were the Elements of the Elements.* And the same *Stobæus* again observes, Ἐμπεδοκλῆς πρὸς τῶν τεσσάρων στοιχείων θραύσματ' ἐλάχισα. *Empedocles makes the smallest Particles and Fragments of Body (that is, Atoms) to be before the four Elements.* But whereas *Aristotle* affirms that *Empedocles* denied the Transmutation of those Elements into one another, that must needs be either a slip in him, or else a fault in our Copies ; not only because *Lucretius*, who was better versed in that Philosophy, and gives a particular Account of *Empedocles* his Doctrine (besides many others of the Ancients) affirms the quite contrary ; but also because himself, in those Fragments of his still preserved, expressly acknowledges this Transmutation :

καὶ φθίνει εἰς ἀλλήλα καὶ αὐξεται ἐν μέρει αἰσῶς.

Besides all this, no less Author than *Plato* affirms, that according to *Empedocles*, Vision and other Sensations were made by ἀπορροαὶ χημάτων, the *Defluxions of Figures*, or *Effluvia of Atoms*, (for so *Democritus* his Atoms are called in *Aristotle* χήματα, because they were Bodies which had only *Figure* without *Qualities*) he supposing that some of these Figures or Particles corresponded with the Organs of one Sense, and some with the Organs of another. Οὐκ ἔστιν λέγειτε ἀπορροὰς τινὰς τῶν ὄντων καὶ ἑμπεδοκλέα, καὶ πόρος εἰς ἑς, καὶ δι' ὧν αἱ ἀπορροαὶ πορεύονται, καὶ τῶν ἀπορροῶν τὰς μὲν ἀρμόζειν ἐνίοις τῶν πόρων, τὰς δ' ἐλάττωσιν ἢ μείζωσιν εἶναι. You say then according to the Doctrine of *Empedocles*, that there are certain Corporeal Effluvia from Bodies of different Magnitudes and Figures, as also several Pores and Meatus's in us diversely Corresponding with them: So that some of these Corporeal Effluvia agree with some pores, when they are either too big or too little for others. By which it is evident, that *Empedocles* did not suppose Sensations to be made by intentional Species or Qualities; but as to the Generality, in the Atomical way; in which notwithstanding there are some differences among these Atomists themselves. But *Empedocles* went the same way here with *Democritus*, for *Empedocles*'s ἀπορροαὶ χημάτων, *Defluxions of figured Bodies*, are clearly the same thing with *Democritus* his εἰδῶλων εἰσβολαίς, *Insinuations of Simulachra*, or *Exuvions Images of Bodies*. And the same *Plato* adds further, that according to *Empedocles*, the Definition of Colour was this, ἀπορροὴ χημάτων ὅψις σύμμετρον καὶ αἰσθητὸν, *The Defluxion of Figures, or figured Corpuscula (without Qualities) Commensurate to the Sight and Sensible*. Moreover, that *Empedocles* his Physiology was the very same with that of *Democritus*, is manifest also from this Passage of *Aristotle*'s; οἱ μὲν ἔν τῳ ἑμπεδοκλέα καὶ Δημόκριτον λαμβάνουσιν αὐτοὺς ἑαυτοὺς, ὡς γένεσιν ἐξ ἀλλήλων ποιεῖντες, ἀλλὰ φαινομένῳ γένεσιν ἐνυπάρχον γὰρ ἕκαστον ἐκκεῖναι φασιν ὥσπερ ἐξ ἀγέλης τῆς γένεσως ὅσης. *Empedocles and Democritus deceiving themselves, unawares destroy all Generation of Things out of one another, leaving a seeming Generation only: For they say that Generation is not the Production of any new Entity, but only the Secretion of what was before Inexistant; as when divers kinds of things confounded together in a Vessel, are separated from one another*. Lastly, we shall confirm all this by the clear Testimony of *Plutarch*, or the Writer *de Placitis Philosophorum*: ἑμπεδοκλῆς καὶ ἐπίκουρος καὶ πάντες ὅσοι καὶ συναθερισμὸν τῶν λεπτομερῶν σωμάτων κοσμοποιεῖσι, συσχεῖσθαι μὲν καὶ διακχεῖσθαι εἰσάγει, γένεσιν δ' καὶ φθορῇ δ' οὐκ ἔστιν ὡς γὰρ καὶ ποῖον ἐξ ἀλλοιώσεως, καὶ ὅσον ἐκ συναθερισμοῦ ταύτας γίνεσθαι. *Empedocles and Epicurus, and all those that compound the World of small Atoms, introduce Concretions and Secretions, but no Generations or Corruptions properly so called; neither would they have these to be made according to Quality by Alteration, but only according to Quantity by Aggregation*. And the same Writer sets down the Order and Method, of the *Cosmopœia* according to *Empedocles*; ἑμπεδοκλῆς δ' αὖ μὲν αἰδέσθαι πρῶτον διακχεῖναι, ὁ δ' ὅτι καὶ τὸ πᾶν, ἐφ'

ἐφ' ᾧ τὸ γλῶττὸν ἐξ ἄρχης ἀποφυγισμένους τῇ εὐμῇ ὁ ἀποφυγεῖς, ἀναελίσσαι
 τὸ ὕδωρ, ἐξ ὧς συμαβλῦσαι ἃ αἰεταί, καὶ γενέσθαι ἃ μὲν ἕρπονιν ἐκ τῆς αἰθέρος,
 ἃ δὲ ἥλιον ἐκ πυρός. Empedocles writes, that *Æther* was first of all
 secreted out of the Confused Chaos of Atoms, afterward the Fire,
 and then the Earth, which being Constringed, and as it were squeezed
 by the Force of Agitation, sent forth Water bubbling out of it; from
 the Evaporation of which did proceed Air. And from the *Æther* was
 made the Heavens, from Fire the Sun. We see therefore that it was
 not without cause that *Lucretius* did so highly extol *Empedocles*, since
 his Physiology was really the same with that of *Epicurus* and *Democritus*;
 only that he differed from them in some Particularities, as
 in excluding *Vacuum*, and denying such Physical *Minima* as were
 Indivisible.

XV. As for *Anaxagoras*, though he Philosophized by Atoms
 too, substituting Concretion and Secretion in the Room of Genera-
 tion and Corruption, insisting upon the same Fundamental Principle
 that *Empedocles*, *Democritus* and the other Atomists did; which was
 (as we shall declare more fully afterward) That Nothing could be
 made out of Nothing, nor reduced to Nothing; and therefore that
 there were neither any new Productions nor Destructions of any
 Substances or Real Entities: Yet, as his *Homæomeria* is represented
 by *Aristotle*, *Lucretius* and other Authours, that Bone was made of
 Bony Atoms, and Flesh of Flethy, Red things of Red Atoms, and
 Hot things of Hot Atoms; these Atoms being supposed to be en-
 dued originally with so many several Forms and Qualities Essential
 to them, and Inseparable from them, there was indeed a wide
 difference betwixt his Philosophy and the Atomical. However,
 this seems to have had its Rise from nothing else but this Philoso-
 phers not being able to understand the Atomical Hypothesis, which
 made him decline it, and substitute this Spurious and Counterfeit
 Atomism of his own in the room of it.

XVI. Lastly, I might adde here, that it is recorded by Good
 Authours concerning divers other Ancient Philosophers, that were
 not addicted to Democriticism or Atheism, that they followed
 this Atomical way of Physiologizing, and therefore in all probabi-
 lity did derive it from those Religious Atomists before *Democritus*.
 As for Example; *Ecphantus* the *Syracusan* Pythagorist, who, as *Sto-
 bæus* writes, made τὰ ἀδιαίρετα σώματα καὶ τὸ κενόν, Indivisible Bodies
 and *Vacuum* the Principles of Physiology, and as *Theodoret* also
 testifies, taught ἐκ τῶν ἀτόμων συνεσθῆναι ἃ κόσμον, That the Corporeal World
 was made up of Atoms; *Zenocrates* that made μεγέθη ἀδιαίρετα, Indi-
 visible Magnitudes the first Principles of Bodies; *Heracleides* that re-
 solved all Corporeal things into ἰσχυμῶτα καὶ θραύσματ' ὅσα ἐλάχιστα,
 certain smallest Fragments of Bodies; *Asclepiades*, who supposed all
 the Corporeal World to be made ἐξ ἀνομοίων καὶ ἀνόμοιων ὄψεων, not of
 Similar Parts (as *Anaxagoras*) but of Dissimilar and inconcinn Mole-
 cule, i. e. Atoms of different Magnitude and Figures; and *Diodorus*
 that

that salved the Material *Phænomena* by ἀμερῇ τὰ ἐλάχισα, the smallest Indivisibles of Body. And Lastly, *Metrodorus* (not *Lamæcenus* the Epicurean, but) *Chius*, who is reported also to have made Indivisible Particles and Atoms the first Principles of Bodies. But what need we any more proof for this, that the Atomical Physiology was ancienter than *Democritus* and *Leucippus*, and not confined only to that Sect, since *Aristotle* himself in the Passages already cited doth expressly declare, that besides *Democritus*, the Generality of all the other Physiologers went that way; Δημόκριτος καὶ οἱ πλεῖστοι τῶν φυσιολόγων, &c. *Democritus and the most of the Physiologers make all Sense to be Touch, and resolve sensible Qualities, as the Tastes of Bitter and Sweet, &c. into Figures.* And again he imputes it generally to all the Physiologers that went before him, οἱ πρότερον φυσιολόγοι, *The former Physiologers (without any exception) said not well in this, that there was no Black and White without the Sight, nor Bitter and Sweet without the Taste.* Wherefore, I think, it cannot be reasonably doubted, but that the Generality of the Old Physiologers before *Aristotle* and *Democritus*, did pursue the Atomical way, which is to resolve the Corporeal *Phænomena*, not into Forms, Qualities and Species, but into Figures, Motions and Phancies.

XVII. But then there will seem to be no small difficulty in reconciling *Aristotle* with himself, who doth in so many places plainly impute this Philosophy to *Democritus* and *Leucippus*, as the first Source and Original of it: As also in salving the Credit of *Laertius*, and many other ancient Writers, who do the like: *Democritus* having had for many Ages almost the general cry and vogue for Atoms. However, we doubt not but to give a very good account of this Business, and reconcile the seemingly different Testimonies of these Ancient Writers, so as to take away all Contradiction and Repugnancy between them. For although the Atomical Physiology was in use long before *Democritus* and *Leucippus*, so that they did not Make it but Find it; yet these two with their confederate Atheists (whereof *Protagoras* seems to have been one) were undoubtedly the first that ever made this Physiology to be a complete and entire Philosophy by it self, so as to derive the Original of all things in the whole Universe from senseless Atoms, that had nothing but Figure and Motion, together with *Vacuum*, and made up such a System of it; as from whence it would follow, that there could not be any God, not so much as a Corporeal one. These two things were both of them before singly and apart. For there is no doubt to be made, but that there hath been Atheism lurking in the minds of some or other in all Ages; and perhaps some of those Ancient Atheists did endeavour to Philosophize too, as well as they could, in some other way. And there was Atomical Physiology likewise before, without Atheism. But these two thus complicated together, were never before Atomical-Atheism or Atheistical Atomism. And therefore *Democritus* and his Comrade *Leucippus* need not be envied the glory of being reputed the first Inventors or Founders of the Atomical Philosophy Atheized and Adulterated.

XVIII. Before *Leucippus* and *Democritus*, the Doctrine of Atoms was not made a whole entire Philosophy by it self, but look'd upon only as a Part or Member of the whole Philosophick System, and that the meanest and lowest part too, it being only used to explain that which was purely Corporeal in the World; besides which they acknowledged something else, which was not meer Bulk and Mechanism, but Life and Self Activity, that is, Immaterial or Incorporeal Substance; the Head and Summity whereof is a Deity distinct from the World. So that there has been two Sorts of Atomists in the World, the One Atheistical, the Other Religious. The first and most ancient Atomists holding Incorporeal Substance, used that Physiology in a way of Subordination to Theology and Metaphysicks. The other allowing no other Substance but Body, made senseless Atoms and Figures, without any Mind and Understanding (*i. e.* without any God) to be the Original of all things; which latter is that that was vulgarly known by the Name of Atomical Philosophy, of which *Democritus* and *Leucippus* were the Source.

XIX. It hath been indeed of late confidently asserted by some, that never any of the ancient Philosophers dream'd of any such thing as *Incorporeal Substance*; and therefore they would bear men in hand, that it was nothing but an upstart and new fangled Invention of some Bigotical Religionists; the falsity whereof we shall here briefly make to appear. For though there have been doubtless in all Ages such as have disbelieved the Existence of any thing but what was Sensible, whom *Plato* describes after this manner; οἱ διατείνοντ' ἂν πᾶν ὃ μὴ δυνατόν ἐστι χερεὶ συμπιέζειν εἶναι, ὡς ἄρα τὸ τοιοῦτον τὸ ἀσώματον ἐστὶ· That would contend, that whatsoever they could not feel or grasp with their hands, was altogether nothing; yet this Opinion was professedly opposed by the best of the Ancient Philosophers and condemned for a piece of Sottishness and Stupidity. Wherefore the same *Plato* tells us, that there had been always, as well as then there was, a perpetual War and Controversie in the World, and as he calls it, a kind of Gigantomachy betwixt these two Parties or Sects of men; The one that held there was no other Substance in the World besides Body; The Other that asserted Incorporeal Substance. The former of these Parties or Sects is thus described by the Philosopher; οἱ μὲν εἰς γῆν ἐξ ἑρῶς καὶ τῷ ἀόρατῷ πάντα ἔλκεσσι καὶ χερσὶν ἀτεχνῶς πέτεσθαι καὶ δεῦς πειλαμένεσσι, καὶ γὰρ τοῖσταν ἐφαπτόμενοι πάντων, διχρυσίζονται τὸ τοιοῦτον εἶναι μόνον ὃ παρὲχ' ἐρεσέσθην καὶ ἐπαφῶν τινα, ταυτὸν σῶμα καὶ εἶναι ὁμομόχου καὶ ἑλλαν ἔτις φησὶ μὴ σῶμα ἔχον εἶναι, καὶ ἀφρονέσθαι τὸ παρὰ πᾶν καὶ εἶδ' ἐν ἐθέλοντες ἄλλο ἀνέειν. These (*said he*) pull all things down from Heaven and the Invisible Region, with their hands to the Earth, laying hold of Rocks and Oaks; and when they grasp all these hard and gross things, they confidently affirm, that that only is Substance which they can feel, and will resist their Touch, and they conclude that Body and Substance are one and the self same thing; and if any one chance to speak to them of something which is not Body, *i. e.* of Incorporeal Substance, they will altogether despise him, and not hear a word more from him. And many such the Philosopher there says

says he had met withal. The other he represents in this manner. οἱ πρὸς αὐτὸς ἀμφοτερότεροι μάλ᾽ ἀλαβῶς ἀνέθεν ἐξ ἀόρατος τόπος ἀμαυροῦται νοῦν δ' ἄλλα καὶ αἰσώματα εἶδν, βιαζόμενοι τῷ ἀληθινῷ σοῖαν εἶναι. ἐν μέσῳ ὃ ὧδε ταῦτα ἀπλῶς ἀμφοτέρων μάλ᾽ οἱ αἰεὶ ἐνέσκηκε. *The Adversaries of these Corporealists do cautiously and piously assault them from the Invisible Region, fetching all things from above by way of Descent, and by strength of Reason convincing, that certain Intelligible and Incorporeal Forms are the true or First Substance, and not Sensible things. But betwixt these two there hath always been (saith he) a great War and Contention. And yet in the Sequel of his Discourse he adds, that those Corporealists were then grown a little more modest and shame-faced than formerly their great Champions had been, such as Democritus and Protagoras; for however they still persisted in this, that the Soul was a Body, yet they had not (it seems) the Impudence to affirm, that Wisdom and Vertue were Corporeal Things, or Bodies, as others before and since too have done. We see here that Plato expressly asserts a Substance distinct from Body, which sometimes he calls σοῖαν αἰσώματων, Incorporeal Substance, and sometimes σοῖαν νοῦν, Intelligible Substance, in opposition to the other which he calls αἰσθητῶν Sensible. And it is plain to any one, that hath had the least acquaintance with Plato's Philosophy, that the whole Scope and Drift of it, is to raise up mens Minds from Sense to a belief of Incorporeal Things as the most Excellent: τὰ γὰρ αἰσώματα καλλίστα ὄντα καὶ μέγιστα λόγῳ μόνον, ἄλλα ὃ ὁδῶν, σαφῶς δ' ἐκινῶται, as he writes in another place. For Incorporeal Things, which are the greatest and most excellent things of all, are (saith he) discoverable by Reason only and nothing else. And his Subterraneous Cave, so famously known, and so elegantly described by him, where he supposes men tied with their backs towards the Light, placed at a great distance from them, so that they could not turn about their Heads to it neither, and therefore could see nothing but the shadows (of certain Substances behind them) projected from it, which Shadows they concluded to be the only Substances and Realities, and when they heard the Sounds made by those Bodies that were betwixt the Light and them, or their reverberated Echo's, they imputed them to those shadows which they saw. I say, all this is a Description of the State of those Men, who take Body to be the only Real and Substantial thing in the World; and to do all that is done in it; and therefore often impute Sense, Reason and Understanding, to nothing but Blood and Brains in us.*

XX. I might also shew in the next place, how Aristotle did not at all dissent from Plato herein, he plainly asserting ἄλλω σοῖαν ὧδε τὰ αἰσθητὰ, another Substance beside Sensibles, σοῖαν χωριστὴν καὶ κεχωρισμένην ἤ ἀπὸ αἰσθητῶν, a Substance separable and also actually separated from Sensibles, ἀκίνητον σοῖαν, an Immoveable Nature or Essence (subject to no Generation or Corruption) adding that the Deity was to be sought for here: Nay such a Substance ἢν μέγιστον ὅσον ἐνδεχέσθαι ἔχῃ, ἀλλὰ ἀμερῆς καὶ ἀδιακρετόν ἐστι, as hath no Magnitude at all; but is Impartible and Indivisible. He also blaming Zeno (not the Stoick, who was junior to Aristotle, but an ancienter Philosopher of that Name) for making God to be a Body, in these words; αὐτὸς γὰρ εἰμυι λέγει εἶναι

τὸ θεῖον· εἴτε ἢ τὸδε τὸ πᾶν, εἴτε ὅτι δὴποτε αὐτὶς λέγων· ἀσώματον γὰρ ἂν πῶς ἂν σφαιροειδὴς εἴη; ὅταν ἕτως ἔτ' ἂν κινῶιτο, ἔτ' ἂν ἡρεμῶι μνηστέτε ἂν· ἐπεὶ ἢ σῶμα ἔστι, τί ἂν αὐτὸ καλύει κινεῖσθαι; *Zeno implicitly affirms, God to be a Body, whether he mean him to be the whole Corporeal Universe, or some particular Body; for if God were Incorporeal, how could he be Spherical? nor could he then either Move or Rest, being not properly in any Place; but if God be a Body, then nothing hinders but that he may be moved.* From which, and other Places of *Aristotle*, it is plain enough also, that he did suppose Incorporeal Substance to be Unextended, and as such, not to have Relation to any Place. But this is a thing to be disputed afterwards. Indeed some learned men conceive *Aristotle* to have reprehended *Zeno* without Cause, and that *Zeno* made God to be a Sphear, or Spherical, in no other sence, than *Parmenides* did in that known Verse of his;

πάντοθεν δυνάμει σφαίρας ἐναλίσιμον ὄναι.

Wherein he is understood to describe the Divine Eternity. However, it plainly appears from hence, that according to *Aristotle's* sence, God was ἀσώματον, an Incorporeal Substance distinct from the World.

XXI. Now this Doctrine, which *Plato* especially was famous for asserting, that there was εἶδος ἀσώματον, Incorporeal Substance, and that the Souls of Men were such, but principally the Deity; *Epicurus* taking notice of it, endeavoured with all his might to confute it, arguing sometimes after this manner; *There can be no Incorporeal God (as Plato maintained) not only because no man can frame a Conception of an Incorporeal Substance, but also because whatsoever is Incorporeal must needs want Sense, and Prudence, and Pleasure, all which things are included in the Notion of God; and therefore an Incorporeal Deity is a Contradiction.* And concerning the Soul of Man; οἱ λέγοντες ἀσώματον εἶναι τὴν ψυχὴν ματαιάζουσιν, &c. *They who say that the Soul is Incorporeal, in any other sence, than as that word may be used to signifie a Subtil Body, talk Vainly and Foolishly; for then it could neither be able to Do nor Suffer any thing. It could not Act upon any other thing, because it could Touch nothing; neither could it Suffer from any thing, because it could not be Touch'd by any thing; but it would be just like to Vacuum or Empty Space, which can neither Do nor Suffer any thing, but only yield Bodies a Passage through it:* From whence it is further evident, that this Opinion was professedly maintained by some Philosophers before *Epicurus* his time.

XXII. But *Plato* and *Aristotle* were not the first Inventors of it: For it is certain, that all those Philosophers who held the Immortality of the Humane Soul, and a God distinct from this visible World, (and so properly the Creator of it and all its parts) did really assert Incorporeal Substance. For that a Corporeal Soul cannot be in its own Nature Immortal and Incorruptible, is plain to every one's Understanding, because of its parts being separable from one another; and whosoever denies God to be Incorporeal, if he make him any thing at all, he must needs make him to be either the whole Corporeal

porcal World, or else a part of it: Wherefore if God be neither of these, he must then be an Incorporeal Substance. Now *Plato* was not the first who asserted these two things, but they were both maintained by many Philosophers before him. *Pherecydes Syrus*, and *Thales*, were two of the most ancient Philosophers among the Greeks; and it is said of the former of them, that by his Lectures and Disputes concerning the Immortality of the Soul, he first drew off *Pythagoras* from another Course of life to the study of Philosophy. *Pherecydes Syrus* (saith *Cicero*) *Primus dixit animos hominum esse sempiternos*. And *Thales* in an Epistle directed to him, congratulates his being the First that had designed to write to the Greeks concerning *Divine Things*, which *Thales* also (who was the Head of the Ionick Succession of Philosophers, as *Pythagoras* of the Italic) is joyned with *Pythagoras* and *Plato*, by the Writer *De Placitis Philosophorum*, after this manner. *Ἔτοι πάντες οἱ περὶ τεταγμένοι ἀνθρώπων τῷ ψυχῇ υποτίθενται φύσιν λέγοντες αὐτοκίνητον καὶ ἴσταν νοητῶν*. All these determined the Soul to be Incorporeal, making it to be Naturally Self-moving (or Self-active) and an Intelligible Substance, that is, not Sensible: Now he that determines the Soul to be Incorporeal, must needs hold the Deity to be Incorporeal much more. *Aquam dixit Thales esse initium rerum* (saith *Cicero*) *Deum autem eam Mentem quæ ex aqua cuncta fingeret*. *Thales* said that Water was the first Principle of all Corporeal things, but that God was that Mind which formed all things out of Water. For *Thales* was a Phœnician by Extraction, and accordingly seemed to have received his two Principles from thence, Water, and the Divine Spirit moving upon the Waters. The First whereof is thus expressed by *Sanchuniathon* in his Description of the Phœnician Theology, *ἄρδου δολερόν, ἐρεβώδες*, a Turbid and Dark Chaos, and the Second is intimated in these words, *ἡ ἐξ ἑαυτῆς ἰσίων ἀρχὴν*, the Spirit was affected with love towards its own Principles, perhaps expressing the Force of the Hebrew word *Merachepeth*, and both of them implyng an Understanding Prolifical Goodness, Forming and Hatching the Corporeal World into this perfection; or else a Plastick Power, subordinate to it. *Zeno* (who was also originally a Phœnician) tells us, that *Hesiod's* Chaos was Water; and, that the Material Heaven, as well as Earth was made out of Water, (according to the Judgment of the best Interpreters) is the genuine sense of Scripture, *2 Pet. 3. 5.* by which water some perhaps would understand, a Chaos of Atoms confusedly moved. But whether *Thales* were acquainted with the Atomical Physiology or no; it is plain that he asserted, besides the Soul's Immortality, a Deity distinct from the Corporeal World.

We pass to *Pythagoras* whom we have proved already to have been an Atomist; and it is well known also that he was a professed Incorporealist. That he asserted the Immortality of the Soul, and consequently its Immateriality, is evident from his Doctrine of Pre-existence and Transmigration: And that he likewise held an Incorporeal Deity distinct from the World, is a thing not questioned by any. But if there were any need of proving it, (because there are no Monuments of his Extant) perhaps it might be done from hence, because

because he was the chief Propagator of that Doctrine amongst the Greeks, concerning Three Hypostases in the Deity.

For, that *Plato* and his Followers held τρεῖς ἀρχαὶς ὑποστάσεις, *Three Hypostases in the Deity, that were the first Principles of all things*, is a thing very well known to all. Though we do not affirm that these *Platonick Hypostases* are exactly the same with those in the Christian Trinity. Now, *Plato* himself sufficiently intimates this not to have been his own Invention; and *Plotinus* tells us, that it was παλαιὰ δόξα, an Ancient Opinion before *Plato's* time, which had been delivered down by some of the *Pythagoricks*. Wherefore, I conceive, this must needs be one of those *Pythagorick Monstrosities*, which *Xenophon* covertly taxes *Plato* for entertaining, and mingling with the *Socratical* Philosophy, as if he had thereby corrupted the Purity and Simplicity of it. Though a Corporealist may pretend to be a Theist; yet I never heard, that any of them did ever assert a Trinity, respectively to the Deity, unless it were such an one, as I think not fit here to mention.

XXIII. That *Parmenides*, who was likewise a *Pythagorean*, acknowledged a Deity distinct from the Corporeal World, is evident from *Plato*. And *Plotinus* tells us also, that he was one of them that asserted the Triad of Divine *Hypostases*. Moreover, whereas there was a great Controversie amongst the Ancient Philosophers before *Plato's* time, between such as held all things to Flow, (as namely *Heraclitus* and *Cratylus*;) and others who asserted that some things did Stand, and that there was ἀκίνητος ὅλος, a certain *Immutable Nature*, to wit, an Eternal Mind, together with Eternal and Immutable Truths, (amongst which were *Parmenides* and *Melissus*) the former of these were all Corporealists, (this being the very Reason why they made all things to Flow, because they supposed all to be Body) though these were not therefore all of them Atheists. But the latter were all both Incorporealists and Theists; for whosoever holds Incorporeal Substance must needs (according to Reason) also assert a Deity.

And although we did not before particularly mention *Parmenides* amongst the Atomical Philosophers, yet we conceive it to be manifest from hence, that he was one of that Tribe, because he was an eminent Asserter of that Principle, ὅτι οὐδ' ἐστὶ γένεσις οὐδ' ἀφαιρεσις οὐδ' αὐτῶν, *That no Real Entity is either Made or Destroyed, Generated or Corrupted*. Which we shall afterwards plainly shew, to be the grand Fundamental Principle of the Atomical Philosophy.

XXIV. But whereas we did evidently prove before, that *Empedocles* was an Atomical Physiologer, it may notwithstanding with some Colour of Probability be doubted, whether he were not an Atheist, or at least a Corporealist, because *Aristotle* accuses him of these following things. First, of making Knowledge to be Sense; which is indeed a plain sign of a Corporealist; and therefore in the next place also, of compounding the Soul out of the four Elements; making

making it to understand every corporeal thing, by something of the same within it self, as Fire by Fire, and Earth by Earth; and Lastly, of attributing much to Fortune, and affirming that divers of the Parts of Animals were made such by chance, and that there were at first certain Mongrel Animals fortuitously produced, that were *βεβηνὴ καὶ ἀνδρῶδες*, such as had something of the shape of an Oxe, together with the Face of a Man, (though they could not long continue) which seems to give just Cause of Suspicion, that Empedocles Atheized in the same manner that Democritus did.

To the first of these we reply, that some others who had also read Empedocles's Poems, were of a different Judgment from Aristotle as to that, conceiving Empedocles not to make Sense, but Reason the Criterion of Truth. Thus Empiricus informs us: Others say that according to Empedocles, the Criterion of Truth is not Sense but Right Reason; and also that Right Reason is of two sorts, the one *θεῖον*, or Divine, the other *ἀνθρώπινον*, or Humane: Of which the Divine is inexpressible, but the Humane declarable. And there might be several Passages cited out of those Fragments of Empedocles his Poems yet left, to confirm this, but we shall produce only this one.

Γέγον' ἔστιν ἔθηκε νόσ' ὅ' ἢ δ' ἄλλον ἔκαστον.

To this Sence; *Suspend thy Assent to the Corporeal Senses, and consider every thing clearly with thy Mind or Reason.*

And as to the Second Crimination, Aristotle has much weakened his own Testimony here, by accusing Plato also of the very same thing. *πλατῶν τὴν ψυχὴν εἶναι τῇ στοιχείῳ ποιεῖ, γινώσκειται γὰρ ὁμοίως ὁμοίων, τοὶ δὲ στοιχεῖα εἶναι τῇ ἀρχῶν εἶναι.* Plato compounds the Soul out of the four Elements, because Like is known by Like, and things are from their Principles. Wherefore it is probable that Empedocles might be no more guilty of this fault (of making the Soul Corporeal, and to consist of Earth, Water, Air, and Fire) than Plato was, who in all mens Judgments was as free from it, as Aristotle himself, if not more. For Empedocles did in the same manner, as Pythagoras before him, and Plato after him, hold the Transmigration of Souls, and consequently, both their Future Immortality and Preexistence; and therefore must needs assert their Incorporeity; *Πλάτωνος* rightly declaring this to have been his Opinion; *εἶναι καὶ τὸς μὲν ἐπεὶ γεγονότας καὶ τὸς ἔτι τεθνηνότες.* That as well those who are yet Unborn, as those that are Dead, have a Being. He also asserted Humane Souls to be here in a Lapsed State, *μεταναστεύουσιν, καὶ ξένους, καὶ φυγάδας,* Wanderers, Strangers, and Fugitives from God; declaring, as Plotinus tells us, that it was a Divine Law, *ἀμαρτανόσαις τῇ ψυχῇ πρὸς ἐν ταῦθα,* That Souls sinning should fall down into these Earthly Bodies. But the fullest Record of the Empedoclean Philosophy concerning the Soul is contained in this of Hierocles; *κάτεισι καὶ ἀποπίπτει τὸ διδάλμων χάρις ὁ ἀνθρώπων, ὡς Ἐμπεδοκλῆς φησὶν ὁ Πυθαγόρειος, — φυγὰς θεοῦ καὶ ἀλήτης Νείκει μαينوμένο πρὸς τὸν. —* Ἄνθρωποι δὲ καὶ τὴν ἀρχαίαν ἔξιν ἀπολαμβάνει.

ἔει πόδες τὰ θεῶν γλῶ καὶ τ' ἀτερπέα χῶρον,
 ἔνθα φόνος τε καὶ ἄλλων ἔθνεα κηρῶν.

Εἰς ὃν οἱ ἄκροστοντες — Ἄτης

— ἀνὰ λειμῶνα τε καὶ σκότος ἡλάσκουσιν.

Ἡ δὲ ἔφεσις τῶ φάλογος τ' Ἄτης λειμῶνα πρὸς τ' ἄληθείας ἐπείγεται λειμῶνα, ὃν ἀπολιπὼν τῇ ὁρμῇ τ' ἡγερέθυστος εἰς γήινον ἔρχεται σῶμα, ὀλβίς — αἰῶντος ἀμελθείς. *Man falleth from his Happy State, as Empedocles the Pythagorean saith, — By being a Fugitive, Apostate, and Wanderer from God, acted with a certain Mad and Irrational Strife or Contention. — But he ascends again and recovers his former State, — if he decline and avoid these Earthly things, and despise this unpleasant and wretched Place, where Murder and Wrath, and a Troop of all other Mischiefs reign. Into which Place, they who fall, wander up and down through the Field of Ate and Darkneß. But the desire of him that flees from this Field of Ate, carries him on towards the Field of Truth; which the Soul at first relinquishing, and losing its Wings, fell down into this Earthly Body, deprived of its Happy Life. From whence it appears that Plato's ἡγερέθυστος was derived from Empedocles and the Pythagoreans.*

Now from what hath been already cited it is sufficiently manifest, that *Empedocles* was so far from being either an Atheist or Corporealist, that he was indeed a Rank *Pythagorist*, as he is here called. And we might adde hereunto, what *Clemens Alexandrinus* observes, that according to *Empedocles*, ἢν ὁσὼς καὶ δικαίως διαβιάσωμεν, μακάριοι μὲν ἐν ταῦθα, μακαριώτεροι δὲ μετὰ τῷ ἐνθένδε ἀπαλλαγῶντες ἔχοντες, ἀλλὰ ἐν αἰῶνι ἀναπαύεσθαι δυνατόμενοι, Ἀθανάτοις ἄλλοισιν ὁμέσιοι, ἐν δὲ τροπείαις, &c. *If we live holily and justly, we shall be happy here, and more happy after our departure hence; having our Happiness not necessarily confined to time, but being able to rest and fix in it to all Eternity; Feasting with the other Immortal Beings, &c.* We might also take notice, how, besides the Immortal Souls of men, he acknowledged *Demons* or *Angels*; declaring that some of these fell from Heaven, and were since prosecuted by a Divine *Nemesis*. or these in *Plutarch* are called, οἱ θεήλατοι καὶ ἔργον πείεις ἐκείνοι τῶ ἑμπεδοκλέους δαίμονες. *Those Empedoclean Demons lapsed from Heaven, and pursued with Divine Vengeance; Whose restless Torment is there described in several Verses of his.* And we might observe likewise how he acknowledged a Natural and Immutable Justice, which was not Topical and confined to Places and Countries, and Relative to particular Laws, but Catholick and Universal, and every where the same, through Infinite Light and Space; as he expresses it with Poetick Pomp and Bravery.

Ἀλλὰ τὸ μὲν πάντων νόμιμον διὰ τ' ἀνυμνέοντος
 Αἰθέρος, ἡνεκίας τέταται διὰ τ' ἀπλέτους αὐγῆς.

And the asserting of *Natural Morality*, is no small Argument of a Theist.

But

But what then shall we say to those other things which *Empedocles* is charged with by *Aristotle*, that seem to have so rank a smell of Atheism? Certainly those Mongril and Biforme Animals, that are said to have sprung up out of the Earth by chance, look as if they were more a-kin to *Democritus* than *Empedocles*, and probably it is the Fault of the Copies that it is read otherwise, there being no other Philosopher that I know of, that could ever find any such thing in *Empedocles* his Poems. But for the rest, if *Aristotle* do not misrepresent *Empedocles*, as he often doth *Plato*, then it must be granted, that he being a Mechanical Physiologer, as well as Theologer, did something too much indulge to Fortuitous Mechanism: which seems to be an Extravagancy that Mechanical Philosophers, and Atomists, have been always more or less subject to. But *Aristotle* doth not charge *Empedocles* with resolving all things into Fortuitous Mechanism, as some Philosophers have done of late, who yet pretend to be Theists and Incorporealists, but only that he would explain some things in that way. Nay he clearly puts a difference betwixt *Empedocles* and the *Democritick* Atheists in those words subjoyned, Εἰσὶ δ' ἔτι τινές, &c. which is as if he should have said, *Empedocles* resolved some things in the *Fabrick and structure of Animals* into Fortuitous Mechanism; but there are certain other Philosophers, namely *Leucippus* and *Democritus*, who would have all things whatsoever in the whole World, Heaven and Earth and Animals, to be made by Chance and the Fortuitous Motion of Atoms, without a Deity. It seems very plain that *Empedocles* his *Philia* and *Nichos*, his *Friendship* and *Discord*, which he makes to be the ἀρχὴ κινήσεως, the *Active Cause*, and Principle of Motion in the Universe, was a certain Plastick Power, superiour to Fortuitous Mechanism: and *Aristotle* himself acknowledges somewhere as much. And *Plutarch* tells us, that according to *Empedocles*, The Order and System of the World is not the Result of Material Causes and Fortuitous Mechanism, but of a Divine Wisdom, assigning to every thing ἐκ ἢν ἡ φύσις δίδωσι χώραν, ἀλλ' ἢν ἡ πρὸς τὸ κοινὸν ἔργον ποθεῖ συνέταξις, Not such a Place as Nature would give it, but such as is most convenient for the Good of the whole. *Simplicius*, who had read *Empedocles*, acquaints us, that he made two Worlds, the one *Intellectual*, the other *Sensible*; and the former of these to be the Exemplar and Archetype of the latter. And so the Writer *De Placitis Philosophorum* observes, that *Empedocles* made δύο ἡλίας, ἢ μὲν ἀρχέτυπον ἢ δὲ φαινόμενον, Two Suns, the one Archetypal and Intelligible, the other Apparent or Sensible.

But I need take no more pains, to purge *Empedocles* from those two Imputations of Corporealism and Atheism, since he hath so fully confuted them himself, in those Fragments of his still extant. First, by expressing such a hearty Resentment of the Excellency of Piety, and the Wretchedness and Sottishness of Atheism in these Verses.

ὉΛΕΙΘ' ὡς θεῶν περὶ δὴν ἐκλήσατο πλάστον,
Δειλὸς δ' ὧ σκοπέεσθαι θεῶν πέρι δόξα μέμνηεν.

To this Sence : He is happy who hath his mind richly fraught and stored with the Treasures of Divine Knowledge; but he miserable, whose mind is Darkened, as to the Belief of a God. And, Secondly, by denying God to have any Humane Form, or Members,

οὐ μὲν γὰρ ἔροται κεφαλὴ καὶ γῆα νέκασται, &c.

Or otherwise to be Corporeal,

οὐκ ἔστιν πελάσσειν ἑὸν ὀφθαλμοῖσιν ἐφικτὸν
ἡμετέροισι, ἢ χερσὶ λαβεῖν.

And then positively affirming what he is,

Ἄλλὰ φησὶ ἱερὴ καὶ ἀσφατὶς ἐπλετο μῶνον,
φρύντι κόσμον ἅπαντα κατέλασσα θοῶσιν.

Only a Holy and Ineffable Mind, that by Swift Thoughts agitates the whole World.

XXV. And now we shall speak something also of *Anaxagoras*, having shewed before that he was a Spurious Atomist. For he likewise agreed with the other Atomists in this, that he asserted Incorporeal Substance in general as the Active Cause and Principle of Motion in the Universe, and Particularly, an Incorporeal Deity distinct from the World. Affirming, that there was besides Atoms, Νῆς ὁ διακοσμῶν τε καὶ πνέων αἴτις, (as it is express'd in *Plato*) *An Ordering and Disposing Mind that was the Cause of all things*. Which Mind (as *Aristotle* tells us) he made to be μόνον καὶ ὅντων ἀπλὸν καὶ ἀμυγνὴ καὶ καθαρόν. *The only Simple, Unmixed, and Pure thing in the World*. And he supposed this to be that which brought the Confused *Chaos* of Omnisfarious Atoms into that Orderly *Campages* of the World that now is.

XXVI. And by this time we have made it evident that those Atomical Physiologers, that were before *Democritus* and *Leucippus*, were all of them Incorporealists; joyning Theology and Pneumatology, the Doctrine of Incorporeal Substance and a Deity, together with their Atomical Physiology. This is a thing expressly noted concerning *Ecphantus* the Pythagorean in *Stobæus*, Ἐκφαντὸς ἐκ μὲν καὶ αἰσμάτων συνεσθῆναι τὸν κόσμον, διοικεῖσθαι δὲ ἀπὸ προνοίας. *Ecphantus held the Corporeal World to consist of Atoms, but yet to be Ordered and Governed by a Divine Providence*, that is, he joyned Atomology and Theology both together. And the same is also observed of *Arcehilas*, or perhaps *Archelaus*, by *Sidonius Apollinaris*;

Post hos Arcehilas Divinâ Mente paratam
Conjicit hanc Molem, confectam Partibus illis
Quas Atomos vocat ipse leves.

Now, I say, as *Ecphantus*, and *Archelaus*, asserted the Corporeal World

World to be made of Atoms, but yet notwithstanding held an Incorporeal Deity distinct from the same, as the First Principle of Activity in it; so in like manner did all the other ancient Atomists generally before *Democritus*, joyn Theology and Incorporealism with their Atomical Physiology. They did Atomize as well as he, but they did not Atheize; but that Atheistical Atomology was a thing first set on foot afterward by *Leucippus* and *Democritus*.

XXVII. But because many seem to be so strongly possessed with this Prejudice, as if *Atheism* were a Natural and Necessary Appendix to *Atomism*, and therefore will conclude that the same persons could not possibly be Atomists, and Incorporealists or Theists, we shall further make it Evident, that there is not only, no Inconsistency betwixt the Atomical Physiology and Theology, but also that there is on the Contrary, a most Natural Cognation between them.

And this we shall do two manner of ways; First, by inquiring into the Origin of this Philosophy, and considering what Grounds or Principles of Reason they were, which first led the Antients into this Atomical or Mechanical way of Physiologizing. And Secondly, by making it appear that the Intrinsic Constitution of this Physiology is such, that whosoever entertains it, if he do but thoroughly understand it, must of necessity acknowledge that there is something else in the World besides Body.

First therefore, this Atomical Physiology seems to have had its Rise and Origin from the Strength of Reason exerting its own Inward Active Power and Vigour, and thereby bearing it self up against the Prejudices of Sense, and at length prevailing over them, after this manner. The Ancients considering and revolving the *Idea's* of their own Minds, found that they had a clear and distinct Conception of Two things, as the General Heads and Principles of whatsoever was in the Universe; the one whereof was *Passive Matter*, and the other *Active Power, Vigour and Vertue*. To the Latter of which belongs both Cogitation, and the Power of Moving Matter, whether by express Consciousness or no. Both which together, may be called by one General Name, of Life; so that they made these two General Heads of Being or Entity, Passive Matter or Bulk, and Self Activity or Life. The Former of these was commonly called by the Ancients, the τὸ παχὺον, *that which suffers and receives*, and the Latter the τὸ ποῖον, *the Active Principle*, and the τὸ ὅθεν ἡ κίνησις, *that from whence Motion Springs*. αἰνὸν δυνάμει καὶ μαθητῶν. Philo. In rerum Natura (saith Cicero) according to the General Sence of the Ancients) Duo querenda sunt; Unum, quæ Materia sit, ex qua quæque res efficiatur; Alterum, quæ res sit quæ quicquid Efficiat: There are two things to be enquired after in Nature; One, what is the Matter out of which every thing is made; Another, what is the Active Cause or Efficient. To the same purpose Seneca; Esse debet aliquid Unde fiat, deinde à Quo fiat; hoc est Causa, illud Materia: There

must be something Out of which a thing is made, and then something By which it is made; the Latter is properly the Cause, and the Former the Matter. Which is to be understood of Corporeal things and their Differences, that there must be both Matter, and an Active Power, for the production of them. And so also that of Aristotle, ἕως αὐτῆς μίας μὲν εἶναι τῷ ἀρχῷ εἶναι φανερὸν ὡς ἀνάστατος, μίας δὲ τῆς ὕλης. That from whence the Principle of Motion is, is one Cause, and the Matter is another. Where Aristotle gives that name of Cause to the Matter also, though others did appropriate it to the Active Power. And the Writer de Placitis Philosopharum expresses this as the General Sense of the Ancients. ἀδύνατον ἀρχῷ μίαν ὕλιν ὅτι ὅλων ἐξ ἧς τὰ πάντα ὑποστάναι, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ ποιεῖν αἴτιον χρὴ ὑποτιθέναι, οἷον ἐν ἀργυρῷ ἀρκεῖ πρὸς τὸ ἐκποιεῖν γυνέσθαι ἀν μὴ καὶ τὸ ποιεῖν ᾗ, τῷ τῆς δὲ ἀργυροποιᾶς, ὁμοίως καὶ ἐπὶ τῷ χαλκῷ, καὶ τῷ ξύλῳ, καὶ τῷ ἄλλῳ ὕλιν. It is impossible that Matter alone should be the sole Principle of all things, but there must of necessity be supposed also an Agent or Efficient Cause. As Silver alone is not sufficient to make a Cup, unless there be an Artificer to work upon it. And the same is to be said concerning Brass, Wood, and other Natural Bodies.

Now as they apprehended a Necessity of these two Principles, so they conceived them to be such, as could not be confounded together into one and the same Thing or Substance; they having such distinct Ideas and Essential Characters from one another: The Stoicks being the only Persons, who offering Violence to their own apprehensions, rudely and unskillfully attempted to make these two distinct things to be one and the same Substance. Wherefore as the First of these, viz. Matter, or Passive Extended Bulk, is taken by all for Substance, and commonly called by the name of Body; so the other, which is far the more Noble of the Two, being that which acts upon the matter and hath a Commanding Power over it, must needs be Substance too, of a different kind from Matter or Body; and therefore Immaterial or Incorporeal Substance. Neither did they find any other Entity to be conceivable, besides these two, Passive Bulk or Extension, which is Corporeal Substance; and Internal Self-Activity or Life, which is the Essential Character of Substance Incorporeal; to which Latter belongs not only Cogitation, but also the Power of Moving Body.

Moreover, when they further considered the First of these, the Material or Corporeal Principle, they being not able clearly to conceive any thing else in it, besides Magnitude, Figure, Site, and Motion or Rest, which are all several Modes of Extended Bulk, concluded therefore according to Reason, that there was Really nothing else existing in Bodies without, besides the various Complexions and Conjugations of those Simple Elements, that is, nothing but Mechanism. Whence it necessarily followed, that whatsoever else was supposed to be in Bodies, was, indeed, nothing but our Modes of Sensation, or the Phancies and Passions in us begotten from them, mistaken for things really existing without us. And this is a thing so obvious, that some of those Philosophers who had taken little notice of the Atomical Physiology, had notwithstanding

ing a suspicion of it; as for Example *Plotinus*, who writing of the *Criterion* of Truth, and the power of Reason, hath these words, καὶ τὰ ἐν αἰσθησεὶ ἃ δὲ δοκῇ πρὶν ἔχειν ἐναργεστὶ, ἀπιστεῖται μήποτε ἐν τοῖς ὑποκειμένοις, ἀλλ' ἐν τοῖς πείθεσιν ἔχει τὴν δεκτικὴν ὑπόστασιν, καὶ οὕτως δ' αἱ ἢ διανοίας τῶν μενόντων. *Though the things of Sense seem to have so clear a Certainty, yet notwithstanding it is doubted concerning them, whether (the Qualities of them) have any Real Existence at all in the things without us, and not rather a Seeming Existence only, in our own Passions; and there is need of Mind or Understanding to judge in this Case, and to determine the Controversie, which Sense alone cannot decide.* But the ancient Physiologists concluded without any hesitancy, ὅτι τὸ αὐτὸ ὅτι τὸ μέλι τῷ γλυκαίνεισθαι με, καὶ τὸ ἀλφειὸν τῷ πικραίνεισθαι, *That the Nature of Honey in itself, is not the same thing with my being sweetened, nor of Wormwood with that Sense of bitterness which I have from it; διαφέρειν δὲ τὸ πᾶσι τῷ ὅτι ὑποκειμένης, καὶ ταῖς αἰσθήσεσιν, τὰ μὲν ἐκτὸς ὑποκειμένας ὡς καταλαμβάνειν, μὲν δὲ εἰ ἄρα τὰ ἐαυτῶν πείθη.* *But that the Passion of Sense differ'd from the Absolute Nature of the thing it self without; the Senses not comprehending the Objects themselves, but only their own Passions from them.*

I say therefore, that the Ancients concluded the Absolute Nature of Corporeal things in themselves, to be nothing but a certain Disposition of Parts, in respect of Magnitude, Figure, Site, and Motion, which in Taste cause us to be differently affected with those *Senses* of Sweetness and Bitterness, and in Sight with those *Phancies* of Colours, and accordingly in the other Senses with other *Phancies*; and that the Corporeal World was to be explained by these Two things, whereof one is Absolute in the Bodies without us, the various Mechanism of them, the other Relative only to us, the different Phancies in us, caused by the respective Differences of them, in themselves. Which Phancies or Phantastick *Idea's* are no *Modes* of the *Bodies* without us, but of that only in our selves which is *Cogitative* or *Self-Active*, that is, *Incorporeal*. For the *Sensible Idea's* of Hot and Cold, Red and green, &c. cannot be clearly conceived by us as *Modes* of the *Bodies* without us, but they may be easily apprehended as *Modes* of *Cogitation*, that is, of Sensation, or *Sympathetical Perception* in us.

The Result of all which was; That whatsoever is either in Our Selves, or the Whole World, was to be reduced to one or other of these two Principles; *Passive Matter*, and *Extended Bulk*, or *Self-Active Power* and *Vertue*; *Corporeal* or *Incorporeal Substance*; *Mechanism* or *Life*; or else to a Complication of them both together.

XXVIII. From this General Account, which we have now given of the Origin of the Atomical Physiology, it appears that the Doctrine of Incorporeal Substance sprung up together with it. But this will be further manifest, from that which follows. For we shall in the next place shew, how this Philosophy did, in especial manner, owe its Original, to the Improvement of one Particular

Principle of Reason, over and besides all the rest ; namely, that famous *Axiom*, so much talked of amongst the Ancients,

De Nihilo Nihil, in Nihilum Nil posse reverti ;

That *Nothing* can come from *Nothing*, nor go to *Nothing*. For though *Democritus*, *Epicurus* and *Lucretius* abused this Theorem, endeavouring to carry it further than the Intention of the first Atomists, to the disproving of a Divine Creation of any thing out of *Nothing* by it ; *Nullam rem à Nihilo gigni Divinitus unquam* ; and consequently of a Deity : Yet as the meaning of it was at first confined and restrained, That *Nothing* of it self could come from *Nothing* nor go to *Nothing*, or that according to the Ordinary Course of Nature (without an Extraordinary Divine Power) *Nothing* could be rais'd from *Nothing*, nor reduc'd to *Nothing* ; it is not only an undoubted Rule of Reason in it self, but it was also the Principal Original of that Atomical Physiology, which, discarding Forms and Qualities, acknowledged really nothing else in Body besides Mechanism.

Wherefore it was not in vain, or to no purpose that *Laertius* in the Life of *Democritus* takes notice of this as one of his *Dogmata*, *μὴδ' ἐκ τῆς μὴ οὐσίας γίνεσθαι μὴδ' εἰς τὸ μὴ ὂν φερέσθαι*. That *Nothing* was made or Generated out of *Nothing*, nor Corrupted into *Nothing*. This being a Fundamental Principle, not only of his Atheism, but also of that very Atomical Physiology it self, which he pursued. And *Epicurus* in his Epistle to *Herodotus* plainly fetches the beginning of all his Philosophy from hence. *πρῶτον μὲν ὅτι ἔσθ' ἐκ τῆς μὴ οὐσίας, καὶ ἔσθ' ἐκ τῆς μὴ οὐσίας εἰς τὸ μὴ ὂν. εἰ μὲν γὰρ ἐξ ἡνέτο τὸ ἐκφανόμενον ἐκ τῆς μὴ οὐσίας, πᾶν ἐκ πάντων ἐγίνοιτο, σπερματικῶς ἔσθ' ἐκ τῆς οὐσίας καὶ εἰ ἐφείθετο δὲ τὸ ἀφανιζόμενον εἰς τὸ μὴ ὂν, πάντα ἀνὰ πολὺν χρόνον ἐκ πάντων ἔσθ' εἰς ἀδελφείαν*. We fetch the beginning of our Philosophy (saith he) from hence, that *Nothing* is made out of *Nothing* or destroy'd to *Nothing* ; for if things were made out of *Nothing*, then every thing might be made out of every thing, neither would there be any need of Seeds. And if whatsoever is Corrupted were destroyed to *Nothing*, then all things would at length be brought to *Nothing*. *Lucretius* in like manner beginning here, insists more largely upon those Grounds of Reason hinted by *Epicurus* : And first, That *Nothing* can be made out of *Nothing* he proves thus ;

*Nam si de nihilo fierent, ex omnibus rebus
Omne Genus nasci posset : Nil Semine egeret :
E mare primum Homines & terra posset oriri
Squamigerum Genus, &c.
Nec Fructus iidem Arboribus constare solerent,
Sed mutarentur : Ferre omnes omnia posset.
Præterea cur Vere Rosam, Frumenta Calore,
Vites Autumno, fundi, suadente videmus ? &c.
Quid si de Nihilo fierent, subito exorerentur
Incerto spatio atq; alienis Partibus anni.*

In like manner he argues, to prove that Nothing is Corrupted into Nothing.

*Huc accedit nil quicque in sua Corpora rursus
Dissolvat Natura ; neque ad Nihilum interimat res :
Nam si quid Mortale à cunctis Partibus esset,
Ex oculis res quæque repente crepta periret.
Præterea quæcunque Vetustate amovet ætas,
Si penitus perimit, consumens Materiam omnem,
Unde Animale Genus generatim in Lumina Vita
Redducit Vensus ? aut redductum Dedala Tellus
Unde alit atque auget ? generatim pabula præbens, &c.
Hand igitur penitus pereunt quæcunque videntur,
Quando aliud ex alio reficit Natura ; nec ullam
Rem gigni patitur nisi morte adjunctam alienâ.*

In which Passages, though it be plain that *Lucretius* doth not immediately drive at Atheism, and nothing else ; but primarily at the establishing of a peculiar kind of Atomical Physiology, upon which indeed these *Democriticks* afterward endeavoured to graft Atheism ; yet to take away that suspicion, we shall in the next place shew, that generally the other Ancient Physiologers also, who were Theists, did likewise build the structure of their Philosophy upon the same Foundation, that Nothing can come from Nothing, nor go to Nothing : As for Example, *Parmenides*, *Melissus*, *Zeno*, *Xenophanes*, *Anaxagoras* and *Empedocles* ; of *Parmenides* and *Melissus*, *Aristotle* thus writes, ὅθεν ὁδὲ γίνεσθαι φασὶν ὁδὲ φθείρεσθαι ὅψ' οὐ γάρ. They say that no Real Entity is either Generated or Corrupted, that is, made anew out of Nothing or destroy'd to Nothing. And *Simplicius* tells us, that *Parmenides* gave a notable Reason for the Confirmation of this Assertion, that Nothing in Nature could be Made out of Nothing, αἴτιαν τῷ θεῖν πολὺν ἔξ οὐκ γίνεσθαι τὸ γινόμενον, ἰσχυρίζεται ὁ Παρμενίδης περὶ τοῦτον, ὅπως γὰρ φησὶν, εἰ ἐκ τοῦ μη οὐκ, τίς ἢ ἀπολήγειται τῷ τότε γίνεσθαι ὅτε γίνετο, ἀλλὰ μὴ πρότερον ἢ ὕστερον. Because if any thing be made out of Nothing, then there could be no cause why it should be then made, and neither sooner nor later. Again *Aristotle* testifies of *Xenophanes* and *Zeno*, that they made this a main Principle of their Philosophy μὴ εἰδέσθαι γίνεσθαι μὲν ἐκ μὲνός. That it cannot be that any thing should be made out of Nothing : And of this *Xenophanes*, *Sextus* the Philosopher tells us, that he held ὅτι εἰς καὶ ἀσώματος θεός. That there was but one God, and that he was Incorporeal, speaking thus of him ;

Εἰς θεός ἐντε θεῶν καὶ ἀνθρώπων μέγας.

οὐτε δέμας οὐδ' ὀστέον ὀμνύει, ὅτε νοῦμα.

Aristotle also writes in like manner concerning *Empedocles*, ἀπείρη ταῦτα καὶ ἐν ὁμοιοῦσι ὅτι ἐκ τοῦ μη οὐκ ἀμείνων ὅτι γίνεσθαι, τὸ τε δὲ ἐξ ὁλλυεσθαι ἀνήνυσον καὶ ἀρρηκτόν. *Empedocles* acknowledges the very same with other Philosophers, that it is impossible any thing should be Made out

out of Nothing or Perish into Nothing. And as for *Anaxagoras*, it is sufficiently known to all, that his *Homœomeria* or Doctrine of Similar Atoms, (which was a certain Spurious kind of Atomism) was nothing but a superstructure made upon this Foundation. Besides all which, *Aristotle* pronounces universally concerning the Ancient Physiologers without any exception, that they agreed in this one thing, *ὅτι ταῦτα ἐμπεριλαμβανόμενα τῷ δόξαν οἱ ὡς ἐφύετο, ἐπὶ τὸ γινόμενον ἐκ μὴ οὐτιᾶς γίνεσθαι ἀδύνατον*. The Physiologers generally agree in this (laying it down for a grand Foundation) that it is Impossible that any thing should be made out of Nothing. And again he calls this *κοινὴ δόξαν τῶν φυσικῶν*, the common Opinion of Naturalists; intimating also, that they concluded it the greatest absurdity, that any Physiologer could be guilty of, to lay down such Principles, as from whence it would follow, that any Real Entity in Nature did come from Nothing and go to Nothing.

Now it may well be supposed, that all these Ancient Physiologers (the most of which were also Theists) did not keep such a stir about this business for nothing; and therefore we are in the next place to show, what it was that they drove at in it. And we do affirm that one thing, which they all aimed at, who insisted upon the forementioned Principle, was the establishing some Atomical Physiology or other, but most of them at such as takes away all Forms and Qualities of Bodies (as Entities really distinct from the Matter and Substance) and resolves all into *Mechanism* and *Phancy*. For it is plain, that if the Forms and Qualities of Bodies be Entities really distinct from the Substance, and its various Modifications, of Figure, Site, and Motion, that then in all the Changes and Transmutations of Nature, all the Generations and Alterations of Body, (those Forms and Qualities being supposed to have no Real Existence any where before) something must of necessity be Created or produced miraculously out of Nothing; as likewise reduced into Nothing in the Corruptions of them, they having no Being any where afterward. As for Example; when ever a Candle is but lighted or kindled into a flame, there must needs be a new Form of fire, and new Qualities of Light and Heat, really distinct from the Matter and Substance, produced out of Nothing, that is, Created, and the same again Reduced into Nothing, or Annihilated, when the flame is extinguished. Thus, when Water is but Congealed at any time into Snow, Hail, or Ice, and when it is again Dissolved; when Wax is by Liquefaction made Soft and Transparent, and changed to most of our Senses; when the same kind of Nourishment taken in by Animals, is turned into Blood, Milk, Flesh, Bones, Nerves, and all the other Similar Parts; when that which was in the Form of bright Flame, appears in the Form of dark Smoak; and that which was in the Form of Vapour, in the Form of Rain or Water, or the like: I say, that in all these Mutations of Bodies there must needs be something made out of Nothing. But that in all the Protean Transformations of Nature, which happen continually, there should be Real Entities thus perpetually produced out of Nothing and reduced to Nothing, seemed to be so great a Paradox

Paradox to the Ancients, that they could by no means admit of it. Because as we have already declared, First they concluded it clearly impossible by Reason, that any Real Entity should of it self rise out of Nothing; and Secondly, they thought it very absurd to bring God upon the Stage, with his Miraculous extraordinary Power, perpetually at every turn; As also, that every thing might be made out of every thing, and there would be no Cause in Nature, for the Production of one thing rather than another, and at this time rather than that, if they were Miraculously made out of Nothing. Wherefore they sagaciously apprehended, that there must needs be some other Mystery or Intrigue of Nature, in this business, than was commonly dream'd of, or suspected; which they concluded to be this, That in all these Transformations, there were no such Real Entities of *Forms* and *Qualities* distinct from the Matter, and the various Disposition of its Parts, in respect of Figure, Site and Motion (as is vulgarly supposed) Produced and Destroyed; but that all these Feats were done, either by the Concretion and Secretion of actually Inexistent Parts, or else by the different Modifications of the same Preexistent Matter, or the Insensible parts thereof. This only being added hereunto, that from those different Modifications of the small Particles of Bodies, (they being not so distinctly perceived by our Senses) there are begotten in us, certain confused *Phasmata* or *Phantasmata*, *Apparitions*, *Phancies*, and *Passions*, as of Light and Colours, Heat and Cold, and the like, which are those things, that are vulgarly mistaken for real Qualities existing in the Bodies without us; whereas indeed there is Nothing Absolutely in the Bodies themselves like to those *Phantastick Idea's* that we have of them; and yet they are wisely contriv'd by the Author of Nature, for the Adorning and Embellishing of the Corporeal World to us.

So that they conceived, Bodies were to be considered two manner of ways, either as they are Absolutely in themselves, or else as they are Relatively to us: And as they are absolutely in themselves, that so there never was any *Entity* really distinct from the Substance, *produced in them out of Nothing, nor Corrupted or Destroyed to Nothing*, but only the *Accidents* and *Modifications* altered. Which *Accidents* and *Modifications* are no *Entities* really distinct from their *Substance*; for as much as the same Body may be put into several Shapes and Figures, and the same Man may successively Stand, Sit, Kneel and Walk, without the production of any new Entities really distinct from the substance of his Body. So that the Generations, Corruptions and Alterations of Inanimate Bodies are not terminated in the Production or Destruction of any Substantial Forms, or real Entities distinct from the Substance, but only in different Modifications of it. But secondly, as Bodies are considered Relatively to us, that so besides their different Modifications and Mechanical Alterations, there are also different *Phancies*, *Seemings* and *Apparitions* begotten in us from them; which unwary and unskilful Philosophers mistake for Absolute Forms and Qualities in Bodies themselves. And thus they concluded, that all the *Phænomena* of Inanimate Bodies, and their various Transformations, might be

be clearly resolved into these two things, Partly something that is Real and Absolute in Bodies themselves, which is nothing but their different Mechanism, or Disposition of Parts in respect of Figure, Site and Motion ; and Partly something that is Phantastical in the Sentient.

That the Atomical Physiology did emerge after this manner, from that Principle of Reason, that *Nothing comes from Nothing, nor goes to Nothing*, might be further convinced from the testimony of *Aristotle*, writing thus concerning it : Ἐκ τῆς γίνεσθαι ἐξ ἀλλήλων τ' ἀναπλῆξαι ἐνυπὶρχεν ἄρα· εἰ γὰρ πᾶν τὸ γινόμενον ἀνάσκει γίνεσθαι ἢ ἐξ ὄντων ἢ ἐξ μὴ ὄντων· τῶν δὲ τὸ μὴ, ἐκ μὴ ὄντων γίνεσθαι ἀδύνατον, ὥστε γὰρ ταύτης ὁμογενεῖς τ' ὁδὸς ἀπαιτεῖται οἱ ὥστε φύσεως τὸ λειπὸν ἥδη συμβαίνειν ἐξ ἀνάγκης ἐνόμισαν· ἐξ ὄντων μὲν καὶ ἐνυπαρχόντων γίνεσθαι, διὰ δὲ τὴν σμικροτήτητα τῶν ὁμογενῶν ἐξ ἀναμεικτῶν ἡμῶν. *The ancient Physiologers concluded, that because Contraries were made out of one another, that therefore they were before (one way or other) Inexistent, Arguing in this manner. That if whatsoever be made, must needs be made out of Something or out of Nothing, and this latter (that any thing should be made out of Nothing) is Impossible, according to the general Consent of all the ancient Physiologers ; then it follows of Necessity, that all Corporeal things are Made or Generated, out of things that were really before and Inexistent ; though by reason of the smallness of their Bulks they were Insensible to us. Where Aristotle plainly intimates that all the ancient Philosophers, whosoever insisted upon this Principle, that Nothing comes from Nothing, nor goes to Nothing, were one way or other Atomical, and did resolve all Corporeal things into ὅσας τινας διὰ τὴν σμικροτήτητα ἀναμεικτῶν ἡμῶν, Certain Molecularæ or Corpuscula which by Reason of their smallness were insensible to us, that is, into Atoms. But yet there was a difference between these Atomists, forasmuch as Anaxagoras was such an Atomist, as did notwithstanding hold Forms and Qualities, really distinct from the Mechanical Modifications of Bodies. For he not being able (as it seems) well to understand that other Atomical Physiology of the Ancients, that, exploding Qualities, saved all Corporeal Phenomena by Mechanism and Phancy ; and yet acknowledging, that that Principle of theirs which they went upon, must needs be true, That Nothing could of it self come from Nothing nor go to Nothing ; framed a new kind of Atomology of his own, in supposing the whole Corporeal World or Mass of Matter, to consist of Similar Atoms, that is, such as were originally endued with all those different Forms and Qualities that are vulgarly conceived to be in Bodies, some Bony, some Flethy, some Firie, some Watery, some White, some Black, some Bitter, some Sweet, and the like, so that all Bodies whatsoever had some of all sorts of these Atoms (which are in a manner Infinite) specifically differing from one another in them. πᾶν ἐν παντὶ μίχεται, διότι πᾶν ἐκ παντός γίνεται, φαίνεται δὲ διαφέρειν, καὶ προσγορεύεσθαι ἕτερον ἀλλήλων ἐκ τῆς μάλης ὑπερέχοντος διὰ τὸ πλεονεξεῖν ἐν τῇ μίξει τῶν ἀπέρων, &c. That all things were in every thing mingled together, because they saw that every thing was made of every thing ; but that things seemed to differ from one another and were denominated to be this or that, from those Atoms which are most predominant in the Mixture, by reason of their*

their Multiplicity: Whence he concluded that all the Generations, Corruptions and Alterations of Bodies were made by nothing but the Concretions and Secretions of Inexistent and Preexistent Atoms of different Forms and Qualities, without the Production of any new Form and Qualitie out of Nothing, or the Reduction of any into Nothing. This very account Aristotle gives of the *Anaxagorean Hypothesis*. *Ἵναρ Ἀναξαγόρας ἑταρ ἀπειρὰ διησιναι τὰ στοιχεα, διὰ τὸ ὑπολαμβάνειν, τὼ κοινῶ ἀέρι τῶ φυσικῶ ἔναι ἀληθῆ, ὡς ἔγνωρξεν ἑδενός ἐα τὸ μὴ εἶναι*. Anaxagoras seemeth therefore to make Infinite Atoms endued with several Forms and Qualities to be the Elements of Bodies, because he supposed that Common opinion of Physiologists to be true, that Nothing is Made of Nothing. But all the other ancient Physiologists that were before Anaxagoras, and likewise those after him, who insisting upon the same Principle of Nothing coming from Nothing did not Anaxagorize, as Empedocles, Democritus and Protagoras, must needs make ὁμοῖα ἀτομοῖς, dissimilar Molecules, and ἀτομας ἀτομας, Atoms unformed and unqualified, otherwise than by Magnitude, Figure and Motion, to be the Principles of Bodies, and cashiering Forms and Qualities (as real Entities distinct from the Matter) resolve all Corporeal Phenomena into Mechanism and Phancie. Because, if no Real Entity can come from Nothing, nor go to Nothing, then one of these two things is absolutely Necessary, that either these Corporeal Forms and Qualities, being real Entities distinct from the Matter, should exist before Generations and after Corruptions, in certain insensible Atoms originally such, according to the *Anaxagorean Doctrine*; Or else, that they should not be Real Entities distinct from the Matter, but only the different Modifications and Mechanisms of it, together with different Phancies. And thus we have made it evident that the genuine Atomical Physiology did spring originally from this Principle of Reason, that no Real Entity does of it self come from Nothing nor go to Nothing.

XXIX. Now we shall in the next place show how this very same Principle of Reason which induced the Ancients to reject Substantial Forms and Qualities of Bodies, and to Physiologize Atomically, led them also unavoidably to assert Incorporeal Substances, and that the Souls of Men and Animals were such, neither Generated nor Corrupted. They had argued against Substantial Forms and Qualities as we have shewed, in this manner, that since the Forms and Qualities of Bodies are supposed by all to be Generated and Corrupted, made anew out of Nothing and destroyed to Nothing, that therefore they could not be Real Entities distinct from the Substance of Matter, but only different Modifications of it in respect of Figure, Site and Motion, causing different Sensations in us; and were all to be resolved into Mechanism and Fancie. For as for that Conceit of Anaxagoras, of Præ and Post-existent Atoms, endued with all those several Forms and Qualities of Bodies Ingenerably and Incorruptibly; it was nothing but an Adulteration of the genuine Atomical Philosophy, and a mere Dream of his, in which very few follow'd him. And now they argue contrariwise for the Souls of Men and Animals, in this manner; Because they are plain-ly

ly Real Entities distinct from the Substance of Matter and its Modification, and Men and Brutes are not mere Machins, neither can Life and Cogitation, Sense and Consciousness, Reason and Understanding, Appetite and Will, ever result from Magnitudes, Figures, Sites and Motions, that therefore they are not Corporeally Generated and Corrupted, as the Forms and Qualities of Bodies are. Ἀδύνατον γὰρ εἶναι τι ἐκ μὴδενός γενέσθαι καὶ φθίρειν. *It is impossible for a real Entity to be made or Generated from Nothing preexisting.* Now there is Nothing of Soul and Mind, Reason and Understanding, nor indeed of Cogitation and Life, contained in the Modifications and Mechanism of Bodies; and therefore to make Soul and Mind to rise out of Body whensoever a man is generated, would be plainly to make a real Entity to come out of Nothing, which is impossible. I say, because the Forms and Qualities of Bodies are Generated and Corrupted, Made and Unmade, in the ordinary course of Nature, therefore they concluded, that they were not real Entities distinct from the Substance of Body and its various Modifications: but because Soul and Mind is plainly a real Entity distinct from the Substance of Body, its Modification and Mechanism; that therefore it was not a thing Generated and Corrupted, Made and Unmade, but such as had a Being of its own, a Substantial Thing by it self. Real Entities and Substances are not Generated and Corrupted, but only Modifications.

Wherefore these Ancients apprehended that there was a great difference betwixt the Souls of Men and Animals, and the Forms and Qualities of other inanimate Bodies, and consequently betwixt their several Productions. Forasmuch as in the Generation of Inanimate Bodies there is no new real Entity acquired distinct from the Substance of the thing it self, but only a peculiar Modification of it. The Form of Stone, or of Timber, of Blood, Flesh and Bone, and such other Natural Bodies Generated, is no more a distinct Substance or Entity from the Matter, than the Form of an House, Stool or Table is: There is no more new Entity acquired in the Generation of Natural Bodies, than there is in the Production of Artificial ones. When Water is turn'd into Vapour, Candle into Flame, Flame into Smoak, Grass into Milk Blood and Bones, there is no more miraculous Production of Something out of Nothing, than when Wool is made into cloth, or Flax into Linnen, when a rude and Unpolish'd Stone is hewen into a beautiful Statue, when Brick, Timber and Mortar, that lay together before disorderly, is brought into the Form of a stately Palace; there being Nothing neither in one nor other of these but only a different Disposition and Modification of preexistent Matter. Which Matter of the Universe is alwaies Substantially the same, and neither more nor less, but only *Proteanly* transformed into different Shapes. Thus we see that the Generation of all Inanimate Bodies is nothing but the change of Accidents and Modifications, the Substance being really the same both before and after. But in the Generations of Men and Animals, besides the new disposition of the Parts of Matter and its Organization, there is also the Acquisition and Conjunction of another Real Entity or Substance distinct from the Matter,

ter, which could not be Generated out of it, but must needs come into it some other way. Though there be no Substantial difference between a Stately House or Palace standing, and all the Materials of the same ruined and demolished, but only a difference of Accidents and Modifications; yet between a living Man and a dead Carcase, there is besides the Accidental Modification of the Body, another Substantial difference, there being a Substantial Soul and Incorporeal Inhabitant, dwelling in the one and acting of it, which the other is now deserted of. And it is very observable that *Anaxagoras* himself, who made Bony and Fleishy Atoms, Hot and Cold, Red and Green, and the like, which he supposed to exist before Generations and after Corruptions, alwaies immutably the same, (that so Nothing might come from Nothing and go to Nothing) yet he did not make any Animalish Atoms Sensitive and Rational. The Reason whereof could not be because he did not think Sense and Understanding to be as Real Entities as Hot and Cold, Red and Green; but because they could not be supposed to be Corporeal Forms and Qualities, but must needs belong to another Substance that was Incorporeal. And therefore *Anaxagoras* could not but acknowledge, that all Souls and Lives did Præ and Post-exist by themselves, as well as those Corporeal Forms and Qualities, in his *Similar Atoms*.

XXX. And now it is already manifest, that from the same Principle of Reason before mentioned, That *Nothing of it self can come from Nothing nor go to Nothing*, the Ancient Philosophers were induced likewise to assert the Soul's Immortality, together with its Incorporeity or Distinctness from the Body. No substantial Entity ever vanisheth of it self into Nothing; for if it did, then in length of time all might come to be Nothing. But the Soul is a Substantial Entity, Really distinct from the body, and not the mere Modification of it; and therefore when a Man dies, his Soul must still remain and continue to have a Being somewhere else in the Universe. All the Changes that are in Nature, are either *Accidental Transformations* and different *Modifications* of the same Substance, or else they are *Conjunctions* and *Separations*, or *Anagrammatical Transpositions* of things in the Universe; the Substance of the whole remaining alwaies entirely the same. The Generation and Corruption of Inanimate Bodies, is but like the making of a House, Stool or Table, and the Unmaking or Marring of them again, either different Modifications of one and the same Substance, or else divers Mixtures and Separations, Concretions and Secretions. And the Generation and Corruption of Animals is likewise nothing but

————— μίξις τε διάσπαξις τε μυστήτων,

The Conjunction of Souls together with such Particular Bodies, and the Separation of them again from one another, and so as it were the Anagrammatical Transposition of them in the Universe. That Soul and Life that is now fled and gone, from a lifeless Carcase, is only
E
a loss

a loss to that particular Body or Compages of Matter, which by means thereof is now disanimated; but it is no loss to the whole, it being but Transposed in the Universe, and lodged somewhere else.

XXXI. It is also further evident that this same Principle which thus led the Ancients to hold the Souls Immortality, or its Future Permanency after Death, must needs determine them likewise to maintain its *Προϋπάρχεις*, or *Preexistence*, and consequently its *μετεμω- μωσις*, or *Transmigration*. For that which did preexist before the Generation of any Animal, and was then somewhere else, must needs Transmigrate into the Body of that Animal where now it is. But as for that other Transmigration of Human Souls into the Bodies of Brutes, though it cannot be denied but that many of these Ancients admitted it also, yet *Timæus Locrus*, and divers others of the *Pythagoreans*, rejected it, any otherwise than as it might be taken for an Allegorical Description of that Beastly Transformation, that is made of Mens Souls by Vice. *Aristotle* tells us again, agreeably to what was declared before, ὅτι μάλιστα φοβούμενοι διετέλεισαν οἱ παλαιοὶ τὸ ἐκ μηδενὸς γινεσθαι τὴν προϋπάρχοντι. That the Ancient Philosophers were afraid of Nothing more, than this one thing, that any thing should be made out of Nothing Preexistent: And therefore they must needs conclude, that the Souls of all Animals Preexisted before their Generations. And indeed it is a thing very well known that according to the Sence of Philosophers, these two things were alwaies included together, in that one opinion of the Soul's Immortality, namely its *Preexistence* as well as its *Postexistence*. Neither was there ever any of the Ancients before Christianity, that held the Souls future Permanency after Death, who did not likewise assert its *Preexistence*; they clearly perceiving, that if it were once granted, that the Soul was Generated, it could never be proved but that it might be also Corrupted. And therefore the Assertors of the Souls Immortality, commonly begun here; first, to prove its *Preexistence*, proceeding thence afterward to establish its *Permanency* after Death. This is the Method used in *Plato*, ὡς περὶ ἡμῶν ἡ ψυχὴ πρὶν εἶναι τὰδε τὰ ἀνθρώπων εἶδει γινέσθαι ὥς καὶ ταύτῃ ἀθάνατον τὴν εἶναι ἡ ψυχὴ εἶναι. Our Soul was somewhere, before it came to exist in this present Humane Form, and from thence it appears to be Immortal, and such as will subsist after Death. And the chief demonstration of the Soul's *Preexistence* to the Ancients before *Plato* was this, because it is an Entity Really distinct from Body or Matter and the Modifications of it; and no real Substantial Entity can either spring of it self out of Nothing, or be made out of any other Substance distinct from it, because Nothing can be made ἐκ μηδενὸς ἐνυπάρχοντι ἢ προϋπάρχοντι, from nothing either inexisting or preexisting; all Natural Generations being but the various Dispositions and Modifications of what was before existent in the Universe. But there was Nothing of Soul and Mind, Inexisting and Preexisting in Body before, there being Nothing of *Life* and *Cogitation* in *Magnitude*, *Figure*, *Site*, and *Motion*. Wherefore this must needs be, not a thing Made or Generated, as Corporeal Forms and Qualities are, but such

as hath a *Being* in Nature *Ingenerably* and *Interruptibly*. The Mechanism of Humane Body was a thing *Assile* and *Generated*, being only a different Modification of what was before existent, and having no new Entity in it distinct from the Substance: And the *Totum* or *Compositum* of a Man or Animal may be said to be *Generated* and *Corrupted*, in regard of the Union and Disunion, Conjunction and Separation of those two parts, the Soul and Body. But the Soul it self, according to these Principles, is neither a thing Generable nor Corruptible, but was as well before the Generation, and will be after the Deaths and Corruptions of men, as the Substance of their Body, which is supposed by all to have been from the first Creation, and no Part of it to be annihilated or lost after Death, but only scatter'd and dispersed in the Universe. Thus the Ancient Atomists concluded, That Souls and Lives being Substantial Entities by themselves, were all of them as old as any other Substance in the Universe, and as the whole Mass of Matter, and every smallest Atom of it is. That is, they who maintained the Eternity of the World, did consequently assert also *Aternitatem Animarum* (as Cicero calls it) the Eternity of Souls and Minds. But they who conceived the World to have had a Temporary Beginning or Creation, held the Coevity of all Souls with it, and would by no means be induced to think that every Atom of Senseless Matter and Particle of Dust, had such a Privilege and Preeminency over the Souls of Men and Animals, as to be Senious to them. *Symeon* though a Christian, yet having been educated in this Philosophy, could not be induced by the hopes of a Bishoprick, to luse or dissemble this Sentiment of his Mind, *ἐπεὶ τὸ πνεῦμα οὐκ ἐστὶν νεώτερον τοῦ σώματος* & *ὅτι οὐκ ἐστὶν νεώτερον τοῦ σώματος*. I shall never be perswaded to think my Soul to be younger than my Body. But such, it seems, was the temper of those times, that he was not only dispensed withal as to this, but also as to another Heterodoxy of his, concerning the Resurrection.

XXXII. It is already plain also, that this Doctrine of the Ancient Atomists concerning the Immateriality and Immortality, the *Præ* and *Post*-existence of Souls, was not confined by them to Humane Souls only, but extended universally to all Souls and Lives whatsoever. It being a thing that was hardly ever called into doubt or question by any, before *Cartesius*, whether the Souls of Brutes had any Sense, Cogitation or Conscience in them or no. Now all Life, Sense and Cogitation was universally ascribed by them, to be an Entity Really distinct from the Substance of Body, and not the mere Modification, Motion or Mechanism of it; Life and Mechanism being two distinct Ideas of the Mind, which cannot be confounded together. Wherefore they resolved that all Lives and Souls whatsoever, which now are in the World; ever were from the first Beginning of it, and ever will be; that there will be no new ones produced which are not already, and have not always been, nor any of those which now are destroyed, any more than the Substance of any Matter will be Created or Annihilated. So that the whole System of the Created Universe, Consisting of Body, and particular Incorporeal Substances or Souls, in the succes-

five Generations and Corruptions or Deaths, of Men and other Animals, was according to them, Really nothing else, but one and the same Thing perpetually *Anagrammatized*, or but like many different Syllables and Words variously and successively composed out of the same preexistent Elements or Letters.

XXXIII. We have now declared how the same Principle of Reason which made the Ancient Physiologers to become Atomists, must needs induce them also to be Incorporealists; how the same thing which perswaded them that Corporeal Forms were no Real Entities distinct from the Substance of the Body, but only the different Modifications and Mechanisms of it, convinced them likewise, that all Cogitative Beings, all Souls and Lives whatsoever, were Ingenerable and Incorruptible, and as well Preexistent before the Generations of Particular Animals, as Postexistent after their Deaths and Corruptions. Nothing now remains but only to show more particularly, that it was *de facto* thus, that the same persons did from this Principle (that Nothing can come from Nothing and go to Nothing) both Atomize in their Physiology, taking away all Substantial Forms and Qualities, and also Theologize or Incorporealize, asserting Souls to be a Substance really distinct from Matter and Immortal, as also to preexist; and this we shall do from Empedocles, and first from that Passage of his cited before in part.

Ἄλλο δὲ οὐ ἔστι φῶς ἑνός ἔτι ἐκείνῳ
οὐκ ἔστι, εἰς τὴν ἀπορίαν δαίμονα γινώσκον, (αὐτὸν καὶ τὸν)
Ἄλλὰ μόνον μῆτις τε δίαλλαξις τε μιν γένετον
ἔστι, φῶς δ' ἔστι τοῖς ἐννοούμενοις ἀνθρώποις.

Which I find Latin'd thus,

*Alit' aliud dico; nihil est Mortalibus Ortus,
Est nihil Interitus, qui rebus morte paratur;
Nihil sed solum est, & Conciliatio rerum
Mistilium; hæc dicæ solita est Mortalibus Ortus.*

The full Sense whereof is plainly this, That there is no *φῶς* or Production of any thing which was not before; no new Substance Made, which did not really Preexist; and therefore that in the Generations and Corruptions of Inanimate Bodies, there is no Form or Quality really distinct from the Substance produced and destroyed, but only a various Composition and Modification of Matter: But in the Generations and Corruptions of Men and Animals, when the Souls are Substances really distinct from the Matter, that there, there is Nothing but the Conjunction and Separation of Souls and particular Bodies, existing both before and after, not the Production of any new Soul into Being which was not before, nor the absolute Death and Destruction of any into Nothing. Which is further expressed in these following Verses.

Νήπιοι, ὃ γὰρ σφιν δολιχόφρονες εἰσι μέμναι,
οἳ δὲ γίνεσθαι πᾶρα ἐν ἔδν ἐλπίζουσιν,
ἦτοι καὶ ἀνθρώπων τε καὶ ἐξόλωνσθαι ἀπάντη.

To this Sence ; That they are Infants in Understanding, and short-sighted, who think any thing to be Made, which was Nothing before, or any thing to Die, so as to be Destroyed to Nothing. Upon which Plutarch glosses after this manner : ἐν ἀναιρέϊ γένεσιν, ἀλλὰ τῷ ἐν μὴ ὄντι· ὅθεν φθορῇ, ἀλλὰ τῷ πάντῃ· τῷ εἰς τὸ μὴ ὄν ἀπολύσαν· Empedocles does not here destroy Generation, but only such as is out of Nothing ; nor Corruption, but such as is into Nothing. Which, as we have already intimated, is to be understood differently in respect to Inanimate and Animate things ; for in things Inanimate there is Nothing Produced or Destroyed, because the Forms and Qualities of them are no Entities really distinct from the Substance, but only diverse Mixtures and Modifications. But in Animate things, where the Souls are real Entities really distinct from the Substance of the Body, there is Nothing Produced nor Destroyed neither, because those Souls do both exist before their Generations, and after their Corruptions ; which business, as to Men and Souls, is again more fully expressed thus ;

οὐκ ἂν ἀνὴρ τοιαῦτα σοφὸς φρεσὶ μαίῃδ' ἴσαίτο,
ὥς ὄφρα μὲν τε βιώσῃ, τὸ δὲ βίοντον καλέσῃ,
τόφρα μὲν ἔν ἐῖσι, καὶ σφιν πᾶρα δ' εἰνὰ καὶ ἐσθλὰ,
περὶ ὃ παύντε βροτοὶ καὶ λυγνέες ἔδεν ἄρ' εἶσι.

That Good and Ill did First us Here attend,
And not from Time Before, the Soul Descend ;
That here alone we live, and when
Hence we depart, we forthwith then,
Turn to our old Non-entity again ;
Certe s ought not to be believ'd by Wise and Learned Men.

Wherefore, according to Empedocles, this is to be accounted one of the Vulgar Errors, That Men then only have a being and are capable of Good and Evil, when they live here that which is called Life ; But that both before they are Born, and after they are Dead, they are perfectly Nothing.

And besides Empedocles, the same is represented by the Greek Tragedian also, as the Sence of the ancient Philosophers.

Θήσκει δ' ὅθεν τῇ γνομήων,
διακενόμενον δ' ἄλλο πρὸς ἄλλο
μόρφῳ ἑτέρῳ ἀπέδειξεν.

That Nothing Dies or utterly perisbeth ; but things being variously Concreted and Secreted, Transposed and Modified, change their Form and Shape only, and are put into a New Dress.

Agreeably whereunto, Plato also tells us, that it was παλαιὸς λόγος, an ancient Tradition or Doctrine before his Time, τὰς ζῶντας ἐκ τῶν τεθνεώτων γιγνόμεναι, ὥστεν ἢ ἦσαν ἢ τὰς τεθνεώτας ἐκ τῶν ζώντων. That as well the Living were made out of the Dead, as the Dead out of the Living, and that this was the constant Circle of Nature. Moreover the same Philosopher acquaints us, that some of those Ancients were not without suspicion, that what is now called Death, was to Men more properly a Nativity or Birth into Life, and what is called Generation into Life, was comparatively rather to be accounted a sinking into Death; the Former being the Soul's Ascent out of these Gross Terrestrial Bodies, to a Body more Thin and Subtil, and the Latter its Descent from a purer Body to that which is more Crass and Terrestrial. τίς οἶδεν εἰ τὸ ζῶν μὲν ἔστι καὶ θανέειν, τὸ καὶ θανέειν ἢ ζῶν. Who knows whether that which is called Living be not indeed rather Dying, and that which is called Dying, Living?

Moreover, that this was the Doctrine of Pythagoras himself, that no Real Entity perishes in Corruptions, nor is produced in Generations, but only new Modifications and Transpositions made; is fully expressed by the Latin Poet, both as to Inanimate, and to Animate Things. Of the first thus:

*Nec perit in tanto quicquam (mibi credite) mundo,
Sed variat, faciemque novat: Nascique vocatur
Incipere esse aliud, quàm quod fuit ante; Morique
Desinere illud idem. Cum sint Huc forsitan Illa,
Hæc Translata Illuc: Summâ tamen omnia constant.*

Of the Second, that the Souls of Animals are Immortal, did preexist and do transmigrate, from the same Ground, after this manner;

*Omnia mutantur; Nihil interit: Errat & illinc,
Huc venit; hinc illuc, & quolibet occupat artus,
Spiritus, æque Feris Humana in Corpora transit,
Inque Ferâs Noster, nec tempore deperit ullo.
Utque novis facilis signatur Cera figuris,
Nec manet ut fuerat, nec formas servat easdem,
Sed tamen ipsa eadem est: Animam sic semper eandem
Esse, sed in varias doceo migrare Figurâs.*

Wherefore though it be a thing which hath not been commonly taken Notice of, of late, yet we conceive it to be unquestionably true, that all those ancient Philosophers, who insisted so much upon this Principle, ὥστεν ὥστε γενέσθαι ὥστε φθέρεσθαι τῶν ὄντων. That no Real Entity is either Generated or Corrupted, did therein at once drive at these two things: First, the establishing of the Immortality of all Souls, their Præ and Post-existence, forasmuch as being Entities Really distinct from the Body, they could neither be Generated nor Corrupted; and Secondly, the making of Corporeal Forms and Qualities to be no Real Entities distinct from the Body and the Mechanism

chanism thereof, because they are things *Generated and Corrupted*, and have no *Præ* and *Post-existence*. *Anaxagoras* in this Latter, being the only Dissenter; who supposing those Forms and Qualities to be real Entities likewise, distinct from the Substance of Body, therefore attributed Perpetuity of Being to them also, *Præ* and *Post-existence*, in *similar Atoms*, as well as to the Souls of Animals.

And now we have made it sufficiently evident that the Doctrine of the *Incorporeity* and *Immortality* of Souls, we might add also, of their *Preexistence* and *Transmigration*, had the same Original and stood upon the same *Basis* with the Atomical Pyriology; and therefore it ought not at all to be wondered at (what we affirmed before) that the same Philosophers and Pythagoreans asserted both those Doctrines, and that the Ancient Atomists were both Theists and Incorporealists.

XXXIV. But now to declare our Sense freely concerning this Philosophy of the Ancients, which seems to be so prodigiously paradoxical, in respect of that *Pre-existence* and *Transmigration* of Souls: We conceive indeed that this Ratiocination of theirs from that Principle, That *Nothing Naturally, or of it self, comes from Nothing, nor goes to Nothing*, was not only firmly conclusive against Substantial Forms and Qualities of Bodies, really distinct from their Substance, but also for Substantial Incorporeal Souls, and their Ingenerability out of the Matter; and particularly for the *future Immortality* or *Post-existence* of all Humane Souls. For since it is plain, that they are not a *mere Modification of Body* or Matter, but an Entity and Substance really distinct from it, we have no more reason to think, that they can ever of themselves vanish into Nothing, than that the substance of the Corporeal World or any part thereof, can do so. For that in the Consumption of Bodies by Fire, or Age, or the like, there is the destruction of any real Substance into Nothing, is now generally exploded as an Idiotical conceit, and certainly it cannot be a jot less Idiotical to suppose that the Rational Soul in Death is utterly extinguished.

Moreover we add also, that this Ratiocination of the Ancients would be altogether as firm and irrefragable likewise, for the *Pre-existence* and *Transmigration* of Souls, as it is for their *Post-existence* and *future Immortality*; did we not (as indeed we do) suppose Souls to be Created by God immediately, and infused in Generations. For they being unquestionably, a distinct Substance from the Body, and no Substance according to the ordinary Course of Nature, *coming out of Nothing*, they must of Necessity either Preexist in the Universe before Generations, and Transmigrate into their respective Bodies, or else come from God immediatly, who is the Fountain of all, and who at first created all that Substance that now is in the World besides himself. Now the latter of these was a thing which those Ancient Philosophers would by no means admit of; they judging it altogether incongruous, to bring God upon the Stage perpetually, and make him immediatly interpose every where, in the
Genera-

Generations of Men and all other Animals, by the Miraculous production of Souls out of Nothing. Notwithstanding which, if we well consider it, we shall find that there may be very good reason on the other side, for the successive Divine Creation of Souls; namely, that God did not do all at first, that ever he could or would do, and put forth all his Creative Vigour at once in a moment, ever afterwards remaining a Spectator only of the consequent Results, and permitting Nature to do all alone, without the least Interposition of his at any time, just as if there were no God at all in the World. For this may be, and indeed often hath been, the effect of such an *Hypothesis* as this, to make men think, that there is no other God in the World but Blind and Dark Nature. God might also for other good and wise Ends, unknown to us, reserve to himself the continual exercise of this his Creative power, in the successive Production of new Souls. And yet these Souls nevertheless, after they are once brought forth into being, will notwithstanding their *Juniority*, continue as firmly in the same, without vanishing of themselves into Nothing, as the Substance of Senseless Matter that was Created many thousand years before, will do.

And thus our Vulgar *Hypothesis*, of the new Creation of Souls, as it is Rational in it self, so it doth sufficiently save their Incorporeity, their future Immortality or Post-eternity, without introducing those offensive Absurdities of their Preexistence and Transmigration.

X X X V. But if there be any such, who rather than they would allow a future Immortality or Post-existence to all Souls, and therefore to those of Brutes, which consequently must have their Successive Transmigrations, would conclude the Souls of all Brutes, as likewise the Sensitive Soul in Man, to be Corporeal, and only allow the Rational Soul to be distinct from Matter: To these we have only thus much to say; That they who will attribute Life, Sense, Cogitation, Consciousness and Self-enjoyment, not without some footsteps of Reason many times, to Blood and Brains, or mere Organized Bodies in Brutes, will never be able clearly to defend the Incorporeity and Immortality of Humane Souls, as most probably they do not intend any such thing. For either all Conscious and Cogitative Beings are Incorporeal, or else nothing can be proved to be Incorporeal. From whence it would follow also, that there is no Deity distinct from the Corporeal World. But though there seem to be no very great reason, why it should be thought absurd, to grant Perpetuity of Duration to the Souls of Brutes, any more than to every Atom of Matter, or Particle of Dust that is in the whole World; yet we shall endeavour to suggest something towards the easing the minds of those, who are so much burthened with this difficulty; *viz.* That they may, if they please, suppose the Souls of Brutes, being but so many particular Eradations or Effluxes from that Source of Life above, whensoever and wheresoever there is any fitly prepared Matter capable to receive them, and to be Actuated by them; to have a sense and fruition of themselves

themselves in it, so long as it continues such, but as soon as ever those Organized Bodies of theirs, by reason of their Indisposition, become incapable of being further acted upon by them, then to be resumed again and retracted back to their Original Head and Fountain. Since it cannot be doubted, but what Creates any thing out of Nothing, or sends it forth from it self, by free and voluntary Emanation, may be able either to Retract the same back again to its original Source, or else to Annihilate it at pleasure.

And I find that there have not wanted some among the Gentile Philosophers themselves, who have entertained this Opinion, whereof *Porphyry* is one: *ἀνεται ἐκ τῆς δυνάμεως εἰς τὸ πᾶν* *ζῶν τὸ πᾶν*. Every irrational Power is resolved into the Life of the Whole.

XXXVI. Neither will this at all weaken the future Immortality or Post-ernity of Humane Souls. For if we be indeed Theists, and do in very good Earnest believe a Deity, according to the true Notion of it, we must then needs acknowledge, that all created Being whatsoever, owes the Continuation and Perpetuity of its Existence, not to any Necessity of Nature without God, and Independently upon him, but to the Divine Will only. And therefore though we had never so much Rational and Philosophical assurance, that our Souls are Immaterial Substances, distinct from the Body, yet we could not for all that, have any absolute certainty of their Post-ernity, any otherwise than as it may be derived to us, from the Immutability and Perfection of the Divine Nature and Will, which does alwaies that which is Best. For the Essential Goodness and Wisdom of the Deity is the only Stability of all things. And for ought we Mortals know, there may be good Reason, why that Grace or Favour of future Immortality and Post-ernity, that is indulged to Humane Souls, endued with Reason, Morality, and Liberty of Will, (by means whereof they are capable of Commendation and Blame, Reward and Punishment) that so they may be Objects for Divine Justice to display it self upon after this Life, in different Retributions; may notwithstanding be denied to those lower Lives and more contemptible Souls of Brutes, alike devoid both of Morality and Liberty.

XXXVII. But if any for all this will still obstinately contend for that ancient Pythagorick and Empedoclean Hypothesis, That all Lives and Souls whatsoever are as old as the first Creation, and will continue to Eternity, or as long as the World doth, as a thing more Reasonable and Probable than our Continual Creation of new Souls, by means whereof they become Juniors both to the matter of the World and of their own Bodies, and whereby also (as they pretend) the Divine creative Power is made too Cheap and Profligate a thing, as being Famulative alwaies to Brutish, and many times to unlawful Lusts and undue Conjunctions; but especially than the Continual Decreation and Annihilation of the Souls of Brutes; we shall not be very unwilling to acknowledge thus much to them, That

That indeed of the two this Opinion is more Reasonable and Tolerable than that other Extravagancy of those, who will either make all Souls to be Generated and consequently to be Corporeal, or at least the Sensitive Soul both in Men and Brutes. For besides the Monstrosity of this latter opinion, in making two distinct Souls and Perceptive Substances in every Man, which is a thing sufficiently confuted by Internal Sense, it leaves us also in an absolute Impossibility, of proving the Immortality of the Rational Soul, the Incorporeity of any Substance, and by consequence the Existence of any Deity distinct from the Corporeal World.

And as for that Pretence of theirs, that Senseless Matter may as well become Sensitive, and as it were kindled into Life and Cogitation, as a Body that was devoid of Light and Heat, may be Kindled into Fire and Flame; this seems to argue too much Ignorance of the Doctrine of Bodies, in men otherwise Learned and Ingenious. The best Naturalists having already concluded, That Fire and Flame is nothing but such a Motion of the Insensible Parts of a Body, as whereby they are violently agitated, and many times dissipated and scattered from each other, begetting in the mean time these Phancies of Light and Heat in Animals. Now there is no difficulty at all in conceiving that the Insensible Particles of a Body, which were before quiescent, may be put into Motion; this being nothing but a New Modification of them, and no Entity really distinct from the Substance of Body; as Life, Sense and Cogitation are. There is nothing in Fire and Flame, or a Kindled Body, different from other Bodies, but only the Motion or Mechanism, and Phancy of it. And therefore it is but a crude conceit, which the Atheists and Corporealists of former times have been always so fond of, That Souls are nothing but Fire or Flameous Bodies. For though Heat in the Bodies of Animals be a Necessary Instrument for Soul and Life to act by in them, yet it is a thing really distinct from Life; and a Red hot Iron hath not therefore any nearer approximation to Life than it had before, nor the Flame of a Candle than the extinguish'd Snuff or Tallow of it; the difference between them being only in the Agitation of the Insensible Parts. We might also add, that according to this Hypothesis, the Souls of Animals could not be Numerically the same throughout the whole space of their Lives: Since that Fire that needs a *Pabulum* to prey upon, doth not continue alwaies one and the same Numerical Substance. The Soul of a new born Animal could be no more the same, with the Soul of that Animal several years after, than the Flame of a new lighted Candle is the same with that Flame that twinkles last in the Socket. Which indeed are no more the same than a River or Stream is the same, at several distances of time. Which Reason may be also extended further to prove the Soul to be no Body at all, since the Bodies of all Animals are in a perpetual Flux.

XXXVIII. We have now sufficiently performed our first Task which was to show from the Origin of the Atomical Physiology, That

that the Doctrine of Incorporeal Substance must needs spring up together with it. We shall in the next place make it manifest, that the Inward Constitution of this Philosophy is also such, that whoever really entertains it, and rightly understands it, must of necessity admit Incorporeal Substance likewise. First therefore, the *Atomical Hypothesis*, allowing nothing to Body, but what is either included in the *Idea* of a thing *Impenetrably extended*, or can clearly be conceived to be a Mode of it, as more or less Magnitude with Divisibility, Figure, Site, Motion and Rest, together with the Results of their several Combinations; cannot possibly make Life and Cogitation to be Qualities of Body, since they are neither contained in those things before mentioned, nor can result from any *analysis* or *Conjunctions* of them. Wherefore it must needs be granted, that Life and Cogitation are the Attributes of another Substance distinct from Body, or Incorporeal.

Again, since according to the Tenour of this Physiology, Body hath no other Action belonging to it but that of Local Motion, which Local Motion as such, is Essentially *Heterokinese*, that which never springs originally from the thing it self moving, but alwaies from the Action of some other Agent upon it: That is, since no Body could ever move it self; it follows undeniably, that there must be something else in the World besides Body, or else there could never have been any Motion in it. Of which we shall speak more afterwards.

Moreover, according to this Philosophy, the Corporeal *Phænomena* themselves cannot be salved by *Mechanism* alone without *Phancie*. Now Phancie is no Mode of Body, and therefore must needs be a Mode of some other kind of Being in our selves, that is Cogitative and Incorporeal.

Furthermore it is evident, from the Principles of this Philosophy, that Sense it self is not a mere Corporeal Passion from Bodies without, in that it supposeth that there is nothing really, in Bodies like to those Phantastick *Idea's* that we have of Sensible things, as of Hot and Cold, Red and Green, Bitter and Sweet, and the like, which therefore must needs owe their Being to some Activity of the Soul it self, and this is all one as to make it Incorporeal.

Lastly, from this Philosophy, it is also manifest, that Sense is not the *veritator* of Truth concerning Bodies themselves, it confidently pronouncing that those supposed Qualities of Bodies, represented such by Sense, are merely Phantastical things; from whence it plainly follows, that there is something in us superiour to Sense, which judges of it, detects its Phantastry, and condemns its Imposition, and determines what really is and is not, in Bodies without us, which must needs be a higher Self-active Vigour of the Mind, that will plainly speak it to be Incorporeal.

XXXIX. And now this Atomical Physiology of the Ancients seems to have two Advantages or Preeminences belonging to it, the first whereof is this; That it renders the Corporeal World Intelligible to us; since Mechanism is a thing that we can clearly understand, and we cannot clearly and distinctly conceive any thing in Bodies else. To say that this or that is done by a Form or Quality, is nothing else but to say that it is done we know not how, or, which is yet more absurd, to make our very Ignorance of the Cause, disguised under those Terms of Forms and Qualities, to be it self the Cause of the Effect.

Moreover, Hot and Cold, Red and Green, Bitter and Sweet, &c. formally considered, may be clearly conceived by us as different Phancies and Vital Passions in us, occasioned by different Motions made from the objects without, upon our Nerves; but they can never be clearly understood as absolute Qualities in the Bodies themselves, really distinct from their Mechanical Dispositions; nor is there indeed any more reason why they should be thought such, than that, when a Man is pricked with a Pin, or wounded with a Sword, the Pain which he feels should be thought to be an Absolute Qualitie in the Pin or Sword. So long as our Sensible *Idea's* are taken either for Substantial Forms or Qualities in Bodies without us, really distinct from the Substance of the Matter, so long are they perfectly unintelligible by us. For which Cause *Timæus Locrus* Philosophizing (as it seemeth) after this manner, did consentaneously thereunto determine, That Corporeal things could not be apprehended by us, otherwise than αἰσθησὶ καὶ νόθῳ λογισμῷ, by Sense and a kind of Spurious or Bastardly Reason; that is, that we could have no clear Conceptions of them in our Understanding. And for the same reason *Plato* himself distinguisheth betwixt such things as are νοῦσι μετὰ λόγου ἀλητέα. Comprehensible by the Understanding with Reason, and those which are only δόξῃ μετ' αἰσθήσεως ἀλόγως, which can only be apprehended by Opinion, together with a certain Irrational Sense, meaning plainly, by the Latter, Corporeal and Sensible things. And accordingly the *Platonists* frequently take occasion from hence, to enlarge themselves much in the disparagement of Corporeal things, as being, by Reason of that smallness of Entity that is in them, below the Understanding, and not having so much εἶδεν as γένεσιν, Essence as Generation, which indeed is Fine Phancie. Wherefore we must either, with these Philosophers, make Sensible things to be ἀκατάληπτα or ἀπερίληπτα, altogether Incomprehensible and Inconceivable by our Humane Understandings, (though they be able in the mean time clearly to conceive many things of a higher Nature) or else we must entertain some kind of favourable Opinion concerning that which is the Ancientest of all Physiologies, the Atomical or Mechanical, which alone renders Sensible things Intelligible.

XL. The Second Advantage, which this Atomical Physiology seems to have, is this, That it prepares an easie and clear way for the Demonstration of Incorporeal Substances, by setting a Distinct Notion

on of Body. He that will undertake to prove that there is something else in the World besides Body, must first determine what Body is, for otherwise he will go about to prove that there is something besides *He-knows-not-what*. But now if all Body be made to consist of two Substantial Principles, whereof one is *Matter* devoid of all *Form*, (and therefore of Quantity as well as Qualities) from whence these Philosophers *themselves conclude that it is *Incorporeal*; the other, *Form*, which being devoid of all *Matter* must needs be *Incorporeal* likewise. And thus *Stobæus* sets down the joint Doctrine both of *Plato* and *Aristotle*; *ὅν τε ζῆπον τὸ ἔδος ὡς ὕλης ἀφαιρεθέν ἀσώματον, ὅπως ἔν τῳ ὕλῳ τὸ ἔδος χωρισθέν ὁ σῶμα εἶναι, δεῖν γὰρ ἀμφοῖν ἃ συνῶδες, πρὸς τῳ τὸ σῶμα ὑπόστασιν*. That in the same manner, as *Form* alone separated from *Matter* is *Incorporeal*, so neither is *Matter* alone, the *Form* being separated from it, *Body*. But there is need of the joint concurrence of both these, *Matter* and *Form* together, to make up the Substance of *Body*; Moreover, if to *Forms* Qualities be likewise superadded, of which it is consentaneously also resolved by the *Platonists*, *ὅτι αἱ ποιότητες ἀσώματοι*, that Qualities are *Incorporeal*, as if they were so many Spirits possessing Bodies; I say, in this way of Philosophizing, the Notions of *Body* and *Spirit*, *Corporeal* and *Incorporeal*, are so confounded, that it is Impossible to prove any thing at all concerning them. *Body* it self being made *Incorporeal* (and therefore every thing *Incorporeal*) for whatsoever is wholly compounded and made up of *Incorporeals*, must needs be it self also *Incorporeal*.

Alcinous cap. 11.

Furthermore, according to this Doctrine of *Matter*, *Forms* and *Qualities* in *Body*; *Life* and *Understanding* may be supposed to be certain *Forms* or *Qualities* of *Body*. And then the Souls of men may be nothing else but *Blood* or *Brains*, endued with the *Qualities* of *Sense*, and *Understanding*; or else some other more Subtle, *Sensitive* and *Rational Matter*, in us. And the like may be said of *God* himself also; That he is nothing but a certain *Rational*, or *Intellectual*, Subtle and *Firine Body*, pervading the whole Universe; or else that he is the *Form* of the whole *Corporeal* World, together with the *Matter* making up but one Substance. Which Conceits have been formerly entertained by the best of those Ancients, who were captivated under that dark Infirmary of mind, to think that there could be no other Substance besides *Body*.

But the ancient Atomical Philosophy, settling a distinct Notion of *Body*, that it is διασπατόν ἀντίτυπον, a Thing Impenetrably extended, which hath nothing belonging to it, but Magnitude, Figure, Site, Rest, and Motion, without any Self-moving Power; takes away all Confusion; shews clearly how far *Body* can go, where *Incorporeal* Substance begins; as also that there must of necessity be such a Thing in the World.

Again, this discovering not only that the Doctrine of Qualities had its Original from mens mistaking their own Phancies, for Absolute Realities in Bodies themselves; but also that the Doctrine of Mat-

ter and Form Sprung from another Fallacy or Deception of the Mind, in taking Logical Notions, and our *Modes of Conceiving*, for *Modes of Being*, and Real Entities in things without us ; It shewing likewise, that because there is nothing else clearly intelligible in Body, besides Magnitude, Figure, Site, and Motion, and their various Conjugations, there can be no such Entities of Forms and Qualities really distinct from the Substance of Body ; makes it evident, that *Life*, *Cogitation* and *Understanding* can be no Corporeal things, but must needs be the Attributes of another kind of Substance distinct from Body.

XLI. We have now clearly proved these two things ; First, that the Physiology of the Ancients, before, not only *Aristotle* and *Plato*, but also *Democritus* and *Leucippus*, was Atomical or Mechanical. Secondly, that as there is no Inconsistency between, the Atomical Physiology and Theology, but indeed a Natural Cognation ; so the Ancient Atomists before *Democritus*, were neither Atheists nor Corporealists, but held the Incorporeity and Immortality of Souls, together with a Deity distinct from the Corporeal World. Wherefore the First and most Ancient Atomists did not make ἀτόμους ἀρχὰς τῶν ὄλων, they never endeavoured to make up an Entire Philosophy out of Atomology ; but the Doctrine of Atoms was to them onely one Part or Member of the whole Philosophick System, they joining thereunto the Doctrine of Incorporeal Substance, and Theology, to make it up complete : Accordingly as *Aristotle* hath declared in his Metaphysicks, that the Ancient Philosophy consisted of these two Parts, φυσιολογία, and θεολογία or ἡ πρῶτη φιλοσοφία, *Physiology*, and *Theology* or *Metaphysicks*. Our Ancient Atomists never went about, as the blundering *Democritus* afterwards did, to build up a World out of mere *Passive Bulk*, and *Sluggish Matter*, without any ἀρχὴ δυνάμεως, any *Active Principles*, or *Incorporeal Powers* ; understanding well, that thus, they could not have so much as Motion, Mechanism, or Generation in it ; the Original of all that Motion that is in Bodies springing from something that is not Body, that is, from Incorporeal Substance. And yet if Local Motion could have been supposed to have risen up, or sprung in upon this Dead Lump and Mass of Matter, no body knows how, and without dependance upon any Incorporeal Being, to have Actuated it Fortuitously ; these Ancient Atomists would still have thought it Impossible for the Corporeal World it self, to be made up, such as now it is, by Fortuitous Mechanism, without the Guidance of any higher Principle. But they would have concluded it, the greatest Impudence or Madness, for men to assert that Animals also consisted of mere Mechanism ; or, that Life and Sense, Reason and Understanding, were really nothing else but Local Motion, and consequently that themselves were but *Machins* and *Automata*. Wherefore they joyned both *Active* and *Passive Principles* together, the *Corporeal* and *Incorporeal Nature*, *Mechanism* and *Life*, *Atomology* and *Pneumatology*, and from both these united, they made up one entire System of Philosophy, correspondent

correspondent with, and agreeable to, the true and real World without them. And this System of Philosophy, thus consisting of the Doctrine of *Incorporeal Substance* (whereof God is the Head) together with the *Atomical* and *Mechanical Physiology*, seems to have been the only Genuine, Perfect, and Complete.

XLII. But it did not long continue thus; for, after a while, this entire Body of Philosophy came to be *Mangled* and *Dismembred*, some taking one Part of it alone, and some another; some snatching away the *Atomical Physiology*, without the *Pneumatology* and *Theology*; and others, on the contrary, taking the *Theology* and Doctrine of *Incorporeals*, without the *Atomical* or *Mechanical Physiology*. The former of these were *Democritus*, *Leucippus*, and *Protagoras*, who took only the dead Carcase or Skeleton of the old *Moschical Philosophy*, namely the *Atomical Physiology*; the latter *Plato* and *Aristotle*, who took indeed the better Part, the *Soul*, *Spirit*, and *Quintessence* of it, the *Theology* and Doctrine of *Incorporeals*, but *Unbodied*, and *Devested* of its most Proper and convenient Vehicle, the *Atomical Physiology*, whereby it became exposed to sundry Inconveniences.

XLIII. We begin with *Leucippus* and *Democritus*; Who being *Atheistically* inclined, quickly perceived, that they could not in the ordinary way of *Physiologizing*, sufficiently secure themselves against a Deity, nor effectually urge *Atheism* upon others; forasmuch as *Heraclitus* and other Philosophers, who held that all Substance was Body, as well as themselves, did notwithstanding assert a Corporeal Deity, maintaining that the Form of the whole Corporeal World was God, or else that he was ὅλη πᾶς ἔχουσα, a certain kind of Body or Matter, as (for Example) a *Methodical and Rational Fire*, pervading (as a Soul) the whole Universe; the particular Souls of men and Animals being but, as it were, so many pieces, cut and sliced out of the great Mundane Soul; so that according to them, the whole Corporeal Universe, or Mass of Body, was one way or other a God, a most Wise and Understanding Animal, that did frame all Particularities within it self in the best manner possible, and providently govern the same. Wherefore those *Atheists* now apprehending, upon what ticklish and uncertain Terms their *Atheistical Philosophy* then stood, and how that those very *Forms* and *Qualities*, and the *Self-moving* power of Body, which were commonly made a Sanctuary for *Atheism*, might notwithstanding chance to prove, contrariwise, the *Latibulum* and *Asylum* of a Deity, and that a Corporeal God (do what they could) might lie lurking under them, assailing mens minds with doubtful Fears and Jealousies; Understanding moreover, that there was another kind of *Physiology* set on foot, which banishing those *Forms* and *Qualities* of Body, attributed nothing to it but *Magnitude*, *Figure*, *Site*, and *Motion*, without any *Self-moving Power*; they seemed presently to apprehend some great Advantage to themselves and Cause from it; and therefore greedily entertained this *Atomical* or *Mechanical Physiology*, and violently cutting it off from that other part, the *Doctrine of Incorporeals*,

perae, which it was Naturally and Vitally united to, endeavour'd to serve their turns of it. And now joining these two things together, the Atomical Physiology, which supposes that there is nothing in body, but Magnitude, Figure, Site and Motion, and that Prejudice or Prepossession of their own Minds, that there was no other Substance in the World besides Body; between them both, they begat a certain Mongrel and Spurious Philosophy, *Atheistically-Atomical, or Atomically-Atheistical.*

But though we have so well proved, that *Leucippus* and *Democritus* were not the first Inventors, but only the Depravers and Adulterators of the Atomical Philosophy; yet if any will, notwithstanding obstinately contend, that the first Invention thereof ought to be imputed to them, the very Principles of their Atheism seeming to lead them naturally to this, to strip and devest Body of all those Forms and Qualities, it being otherwise Impossible for them, surely and safely to exclude a Corporeal Deity; yet so, as that the Wit of these Atheists was also much to be admired, in the managing and carrying on of those Principles in such a manner, as to make up so Entire a System of Philosophy out of them, all whose parts should be so coherent and consistent together; We shall only say thus much; That if those Atheists were the first Inventors of this Philosophy, they were certainly very unhappy and unsuccessful in it, whilst endeavouring by it to secure themselves from the Possibility and Danger of a Corporeal God, they unawares laid a Foundation for the clear Demonstration of an *Incorporeal one*, and were indeed so far from making up any such coherent Frame as is pretended, that they were forced every where to contradict their own Principles; so that Non-sence lies at the bottom of all, and is interwoven throughout their whole Atheistical System. And that we ought to take notice of the invincible power and Force of Truth, prevailing irresistibly against all Endeavours to oppress it; and how desperate the Cause of Atheism is, when that very Atomical Hypothesis of theirs, which they would erect and build up for a strong Castle to garrison themselves in, proves a most Effectual Engine against themselves, for the battering of all their Atheistical Structure down about their Ears.

XLIV. *Plato's* Mutilation and Interpolation of the old *Moschical* Philosophy, was a great deal more excusable, when he took the Theology and Metaphysics of it, the whole Doctrine of Incorporeals, and abandoned the Atomical or Mechanical way of Physiologizing. Which, in all Probability, he did, partly because those forementioned Atheists having so much abused that Philosophy, adopting it as it were to themselves, he thereupon began to entertain a Jealousie and Suspicion of it; and partly, because he was not of himself so inclinable to Physiology as Theology, to the study of Corporeal as of Divine things; which some think to be the reason why he did not attend to the Pythagorick System of the Corporeal World, till late in his old Age. His *Genius* was such, that he was Naturally more addicted to *Idea's* than to *Atoms*, to *Formal* and *Final* than to *Material*

Material Causes. To which may be added, that the way of Physiologizing by Matter, Forms and Qualities, is a more *Huffie* and *Phanciful* thing than the other; and lastly, that the Atomical Physiology is more remote from Sense and vulgar Apprehension, and therefore not so easily understood. For which cause many learned Greeks of later times, though they had read *Epicurus* his Works, and perhaps *Democritus* his too, yet they were not able to conceive how the Corporeal and Sensible *Phænomena* could possibly be salved without Real Qualities. One Instance whereof might be given in *Plutarch*, writing against *Colotes* the *Epicurean*. Wherefore *Plato*, that was a zealous Asserter of an Incorporeal Deity, distinct from the World, and of Immortal Souls, seriously Physiologized only by Matter, Forms and Qualities, Generation, Corruption and Alteration; and he did but play and toy sometimes a little with Atoms and Mechanism. Aswhere he would compound the Earth of Cubical, and Fire of Pyramidal Atoms, and the like. For that he did therein imitate the Atomical Physiology is plain from these words of his; *πάντα ἐν αὐτῷ διανοεῖσθαι μικρὰ ὄντα, ὥς καὶ ἐν ἑκάστῳ εἶδεν ὁράμενον ὑπὸ ἡμῶν, συναθροισθέντων ὁ πολλῶν, τὰς οὐκ αὐτῷ ὁρατάς.* All these Cubical and Pyramidal Corpuscula of the Fire and Earth are in themselves so small, that by reason of their parvitute, none of them can be perceived singly and alone, but only the Aggregations of many of them together.

XLV. And *Aristotle* here trode in *Plato's* footsteps, not only in the better part, in asserting an Incorporeal Deity, and an Immoveable first Mover; but also in Physiologizing by Forms and Qualities, and rejecting that Mechanical way by Atoms, which had been so generally received amongst the Ancients. Wherefore though the *Genius* of these two Persons was very different, and *Aristotle* often contradicted *Plato*; and really dissents from him in several Particularities; yet, so much I think may be granted to those Reconcilers, (*Porphry*, *Simplicius*, and others) that the main Essentials of their two Philosophies are the same.

Now I say the whole Aristotelical System of Philosophy is infinitely to be preferred before the whole Democritical; though the former hath been so much disparaged, and the other cried up of late amongst us. Because, though it cannot be denied but that the Democritick Hypothesis doth much more handsomly and intelligibly salve the Corporeal *Phænomena*, yet in all those other things which are so far the greatest moment, it is rather a Madness than a Philosophy. But the Aristotelick System is right and sound here, as to those greater things; it asserting Incorporeal Substance, a Deity distinct from the World, the Naturality of Morality, and Liberty of Will. Wherefore though a late Writer of Politicks do so exceedingly disparage *Aristotle's* Ethics, yet we shall do him this right here to declare, that his Ethics were truly such, and answered their Title; but that new Modle of Ethics, which hath been obtruded upon the World with so much Fastuosity, and is indeed nothing but the old Democritick Doctrine revived, is no Ethics at all, but a mere Cheat, the undermining

and subversion of all Morality, by substituting something like it in the Room of it, that is a mere Counterfeit and Changeling. The Design whereof could not be any other than to debauch the World.

We add further, that *Aristotle's* System of Philosophy seems to be more consistent with Piety, than the Cartesian *Hypothesis* it self, which yet plainly supposeth Incorporeal Substance. For as much as this latter makes God to contribute nothing more to the Fabrick of the World, than the Turning round of a *Vortex* or Whirlpool of Matter; from the fortuitous Motion of which, according to certain General Laws of Nature, must proceed all this Frame of things that now is, the exact Organization, and successive Generation of Animals, without the Guidance of any Mind or Wisdom. Whereas *Aristotle's* Nature is no Fortuitous Principle, but such as doth Nothing in *Vain*, but all for *Ends*, and in every thing pursues the *Best*; and therefore can be no other than a Subordinate Instrument of the Divine Wisdom, and the *Mannary Officer* or *Executioner* of it.

However, we cannot deny, but that *Aristotle* hath been taxed by sundry of the Ancients, Christians and others, for not so explicitly asserting these two things, the Immortality of Humane Souls, and Providence over men, as he ought to have done, and as his Master *Plato* did. Though to do him all the right we can, we shall observe here, that in his *Nicomachian Ethicks*, he speaks favourably for the Latter, εἰ γὰρ τις ἐπιμέλεια τῇ ἀνθρωπίνῳ ὑπὸ θεῶν γίνεται, ὥσπερ δεῖ, καὶ ὄλοντα χαίρειν αὐτὸς τὰ εἰσὼ καὶ τὰ σὺγγενέτω (τὸ τοῦ εἰν ὁ δὲ) καὶ τὸς ἀγαθῶτας μάλιστα καὶ τὸς πᾶντας αἰδοῦσθαι, ὡς τῇ φίλων αὐτοῖς ἐπιμελόμενος, ὅπως τε καλῶς προήσῃας. *If God take any Care of Humane things, as it seems he doth, then it is reasonable to think also, that he is delighted with that which is the Best, and nearest akin to himself (which is Mind or Right Reason) and that he rewards those who most Love and Honour it (as taking care of such things as are most pleasing to him) in doing rightly and honestly.* A very good Sentence, were it not Ushered in with too much of Scepticism. And as for the Point of the Soul's Immortality; It is true, that whereas other Philosophers before *Aristotle*, asserted the Preexistence, Incorporeity, and Immortality of all Souls, not only the Rational but the Sensitive also, (which in Men they concluded to be one and the same Substance) according to that of *Plato's*, πᾶσα ψυχὴ ἀθάνατος, *Every Soul is Immortal*, they resolving that no Life nor Cogitation could be Corporeal; *Aristotle*, on the contrary, doth expressly deny the Preexistence, that is, the Separability, Incorporeity and Immortality of all Sensitive Souls, not in Brutes only, but also every where, giving his reason for it in these words; ὅτι μὲν ἔχ' οἶον τι πᾶσαι προῦπαρχεν, φανερόν ἐστιν ἐκ τῆς τοιότητος, ὅταν γὰρ ἔστι ἀρχὴν ἢ ἐνέργειαν σωματικὴν, ὁφίλον ὅτι ταύτας ἀνὰ σώματος ἀδύνατον ὑπαρχειν, οἷον βεβαδίζειν ἀνὰ ποδῶν ὥς καὶ ἀρχαθὲν εἶσθαι ἀδύνατον. οὔτε γὰρ αὐτὰς καθ' ἑαυτὰς εἶσθαι οἶον τι ἀχωρίστος ὄντας, ὅτ' ἐν σώματι εἶσθαι. *That all Souls cannot Preexist, is manifest from hence, because those Principles whose Action is Corporeal, cannot possibly exist without the Body, as the Power of Walking without*

without the Feet : Wherefore it is impossible that these Sensitive Souls (preexisting) should come into the Body from without, since they can neither come alone by themselves naked and stript of all Body, they being inseparable from it ; neither can they come in with a Body, that is, the Seed. This is Aristotle's Argument, why all Sensitive Souls must needs be Corporeal, because there is no Walking without Feet, nor Seeing without Eyes. But at the same time, he declares that the Mind or Intellect does Preexist and come in from without, that is, is Incorporeal, Separable and Immortal, giving his Reason for it in like manner, λέγεται ὅτι τὸ νῦν μόνον δύνασθαι ἐπεισέναι, καὶ θεῖον εἶναι μόνον. ἐδὲ γὰρ αὐτῷ τῇ ἐνεργείᾳ κοινῶναι σωματικὴ ἐνέργεια. It remains that the Mind or Intellect, and that alone (preexisting) enter from without and be only Divine ; since its Energy is not blended with that of the Bodies, but it acts independently upon it. Notwithstanding which, Aristotle elsewhere distinguishing concerning this Mind or Intellect, and making it to be twofold, Agent, and Patient, concludes the former of them only to be Immortal, but the latter Corruptible, τὸ το μόνον ἀθάνατον καὶ αἰδίων, ὁ δὲ παθητικὸς νῦν φθαρτός, The Agent Intellect is only Immortal and Eternal, but the Passive is Corruptible ; where some Interpreters that would willingly excuse Aristotle, contend that by the Passive Intellect, is not meant the Patient, but the Phantasm only, because Aristotle should otherwise contradict himself, who had before affirmed, the Intellect to be Separable, Unmixed and Inorganic, which they conceive must needs be understood of the Patient. But this *salvo* can hardly take place here, where the Passive Intellect is directly opposed to the Agent. Now what Aristotle's Agent Understanding is, and whether it be any thing in us, any Faculty of our Humane Soul or no, seems to be a thing very questionable, and has therefore caused much Dispute amongst his Interpreters ; it being resolved by many of them to be the Divine Intellect, and commonly by others, a Foreign Thing. Whence it must needs be left doubtful, whether he acknowledged any thing Incorporeal and Immortal at all in us. And the rather because, laying down this Principle, That nothing is Incorporeal, but what acts independently upon the Body, he somewhere plainly determines, that there is no Intellection without Corporeal Phantasms. That which led Aristotle to all this ; positively to affirm the Corporeity of Sensitive Souls, and to stagger so much concerning the Incorporeity of the Rational, seems to have been his Doctrine of Forms and Qualities, whereby Corporeal and Incorporeal Substance are confounded together, so that the Limits of each could not be discerned by him. Wherefore we cannot applaud Aristotle for this ; but that which we commend him for, is chiefly these Four things : First, for making a Perfect Incorporeal Intellect to be the Head of all ; and Secondly, for resolving that Nature, as an Instrument of this Intellect, does not merely act according to the Necessity of Material Motions, but for Ends and Purposes, though unknown to it self ; Thirdly, for maintaining the Naturality of Morality ; and Lastly, for asserting the τὸ ἐφ' ἑμῖν, Autexousie, or Liberty from Necessity.



CHAP. II.

In this Chapter are contained all the pretended Grounds of Reason for the Atheistick Hypothesis. 1. That the Democritick Philosophy which is made up of these two Principles, Corporealism and Atomism complicated together, is Essentially Atheistical. 2. Though Epicurus, who was an Atomical-Corporealist, pretended to assert a Democracy of Gods, yet he was, for all that, an Absolute Atheist: And that Atheists commonly Equivocate and Disguise themselves. 3. That the Democritical Philosophy is nothing else but a System of Atheology, or Atheism swaggering under the glorious Appearance of Philosophy. And though there be another Form of Atheism which we call Stratonical, yet the Democritick Atheism is only considerable; all whose Dark Mysteries will be here revealed. 4. That we being to treat concerning the Deity, and to produce all that Profane and Unhallowed Stuff of Atheists in order to a Confutation, the Divine Assistance and Direction ought to be implored. 5. That there are Two things here to be performed: First, to shew what are the Atheist's pretended Grounds of Reason against the Deity; and Secondly, how they endeavour either to Salve or Confute the Contrary Phaenomena. The First of those Grounds, That no man can have an *Idæa* or Conception of God, and that he is an Incomprehensible Nothing. 6. The Second Atheistick Argument, That there can be no Creation out of Nothing, nor no Omnipotence, because Nothing can come from Nothing, and therefore whatsoever Substantially is, was from Eternity Self-existent, and Uncreated by any Deity. 7. The Third pretended Reason against a Deity, That the Strictest Notion of a God implying him to be Incorporeal, there can be no such Incorporeal Deity, because there is no other Substance but Body. 8. The Atheists Pretence, That the Doctrine of Incorporeal Substances sprung from a Ridiculous Mistaking of Abstract Names and Notions for Realities. They Impudently make the Deity to be but the Chief of Spectres, and an Oberon or Prince of Fairies and Phancies. Their Fourth Argument against a Deity, That to suppose an Incorporeal Mind to be the Original of all things, is but to make a mere Accident and Abstract Notion to be the First Cause of all. 9. Their Fifth Argument; a Confutation of a Corporeal Deity from the Principles of Corporealism it self, That Matter being the only Substance, and all other Differences of things nothing but Accidents, Generable and Corruptible; no Living Under-

standing

standing Being can be Essentially Incorruptible. The Stoical God Incorruptible, only by Accident. 19. Their Sixth Ratiocination from a Complication of Atomicism; That the First Principle of all things whatsoever in the Universe, is Atoms or Corpuscula devoid of all Qualities, and consequently of Sense and Understanding, (which spring up afterwards from a certain Composition of them) and therefore Mind or Deity was not the First Original of all. 11. In the Seventh place they disprove the Worlds Animation, or its being govern'd by a Living Understanding Animalish Nature, presiding over the Whole; Because Sense and Understanding are a Peculiar Appendix to Flesh Blood and Brains, and Reason is no where to be found but in Humane Form. 12. The Eighth Atheistick Ground, That God being taken by all for a most Happy, Eternal and Immortal Animal, (or Living Being) there can be no such thing, because all Living Beings are Concretions of Atoms that were at first Generated, and are liable to Death and Corruption by the Dissolution of their Compages. And that Life is no simple Primitive Nature, but an Accidental Modification of Compound Bodies, which upon the Disunion of their Parts vanisheth into Nothing. 13. The Ninth pretended Atheistick Demonstration, That by God is meant a first Cause or Mover, which was not before moved by any thing else without it; But Nothing can move it self, and therefore there can be no Unmoved Mover, nor any First in the order of Causes, that is, a God. 14. Their further Proof of this Principle, That Nothing can move it self, with an Atheistick Corollary from thence, That no Thinking Being could be a First Cause, no Cogitation arising of it self without a Cause; which may be reckoned a Tenth Argument. 15. Another Mystery of Atheism, That all Knowledge, and Mental Conception, is the Information of the things themselves known, existing without the Knower, and a Passion from them; and therefore the World must needs be before any Knowledge or Conception of it, and no Knowledge or Conception before the World, as its Cause. 16. The Twelfth Argumentation, That things could not be made by a God, because they are so Faulty and Ill made, that they were not contriv'd for the Good of Man, and that the Deluge of Evils, that overflows all, shows that they did not proceed from any Deity. 17. The Thirteenth Instance of the Atheists against a Deity, from the Defect of Providence, That in Humane Affairs all is Tohu and Bohu, Chaos and Confusion. 18. The Fourteenth Atheistick Ground, That it is not possible for any one Being to Animadvert and Order all things in the distant places of the whole World at once: But if it were possible, That such Infinite Negotiosity would be Absolutely Inconsistent with Happiness. 19. Several bold but slight Queries of Atheists, Why the World was not made sooner? and What God did before? Why it was made at all, since it was so long unmade? and, How the Architect of the World could rear up so huge a Fabrick? 20. The Atheists Pretence, That it is the great Interest of Mankind, That there should be no God; and that it was a Noble and Heroical Exploit of the Democriticks, to chase away that affrightful Spectre out of the World, and to free men from the continual Fear of a Deity and Punishment after Death, imbittering all the Pleasures of Life. 21. Another Pretence of theirs, That Theism is inconsistent with Civil Sovereignty,

ty, it introducing a Fear greater than the Fear of the Leviathan; And that any other Conscience allowed of besides the Civil Law (being Private Judgment) is, ipso facto, a Dissolution of the Body Politick and a Return to the State of Nature. 22. The Atheists Conclusion from the former Premisses, as set down in Plato and Lucretius, That all things sprung Originally from Nature and Chance, without any Mind or God, that is, proceeded from the Necessity of Material Motions, undirected for Ends; That Infinite Atoms devoid of Life and Sense, moving in Infinite Space from Eternity, by their fortuitous Rencontres and Intanglements, produced the System of the whole Universe, and as well Animate as Inanimate things.

HAVING in the Former Chapter given an Account of the Genuine and Primitive Atomical Philosophy, which may be called the *Moschical*; we are in the next place to consider the *Democritical*, that is, the *Atheized* and *Adulterated Atomology*. Which had its Origin from nothing else but the joyning of this Heterogeneous and Contradictious Principle, to the Atomical Physiology, That there is no other Substance in the World besides Body. Now we say, That that Philosophy which is thus compounded and made up of these Two things, *Atomicism* and *Corporealism* complicated together, is essentially Atheistical, though neither of them alone be such. For the Atomical Physiology, as we have declared already, is in its own Nature sufficiently repugnant to Atheism. And it is possible for one who holds, That there is Nothing in the world besides Body, to be persuaded notwithstanding of a Corporeal Deity, and that the world was at first framed and is still governed by an Understanding Nature lodged in the Matter. For thus some of these Corporealists have phancied, The whole Universe it self to be a God, that is, an Understanding and Wise Animal, that ordered all things within it self, after the Best manner possible, and providently governed the same. Indeed it cannot be denied, but that this is a very great Infirmary of mind, that such Persons lie under, who are not able to conceive any other Substance besides Body, by which is understood, that which is *Impenetrably Extended*, or else in Plato's Language, which hath *περσβολὴ καὶ ἐπαφὴ*, that thrusts against other Bodies and resists their impulse; or as others express it, which is *τὸ πρὸς πληροειδίαν*, that so fills up place, as to exclude any other Body or Substance from Coexisting with it therein; and such must needs have not only very imperfect, but also Spurious and false Conceptions of the Deity, so long as they apprehend it to be thus Corporeal; but yet it does not therefore follow that they must needs be accounted Atheists. But whosoever holds these two Principles (before mentioned) together, That there is no other Substance besides Body, and That Body hath nothing else belonging to it but Magnitude, Figure, Site and Motion, without Qualities, I say, whosoever is That confounded Thing, of an Atomist and Corporealist jumbled together, he is Essentially and Unavoidably that which is meant by an Atheist, though he should in words never so much disclaim it, because he must needs fetch the Original of all things

things from *Senseless Matter*, whereas to assert a God, is to maintain that all things sprung Originally from a *Knowing and Understanding Nature*.

II. *Epicurus*, who was one of those Mongrel Things before mentioned, (an Atomical-Corporeal or Corporeal-Atomist) did notwithstanding profess to hold a Multifarious Rabble and Democracy of Gods, such as though they were ἀνθρωπομορφοί, of *Humane Form*, yet were so Thin and Subtle, as that Comparatively, with our Terrestrial Bodies they might be called *Incorporeal*; they having not so much *Carnem* as *Quasi-carnem*, nor *Sanguinem* as *Quasi-sanguinem*, a certain kind of *Aereal or Ethereal Flesh and Blood*: which Gods of his were not to be supposed to exist any where within the World, upon this pretence, that there was no place in it fit to receive them,

*Illud item non est ut possis credere Sedes
Esse Deum Sanctas, in Mundi partibus ullis.*

And therefore they must be imagined to Subsist in certain *Intermundane Spaces*, and *Utopian Regions* without the World, the Delicousness whereof is thus Elegantly described by the Poet,

*Quas neque concutiunt Venti, neque Nubila nimbis
Adspargunt, neque nix acri concreta pruina
Cana cadens violat, semperque innubilis Æther
Integit, & largè diffuso lumine ridet.*

Whereunto was added, that the chief Happiness of these Gods consisted, in *Omnium Vacatione Munerum*, in freedom from all *Business and Employment*, and doing nothing at all, that so they might live a Soft and Delicate life. And lastly, it was pretended, that though they had neither any thing to do with us, nor we with them, yet they ought to be worshipped by us for their own Excellent Natures sake, and Happy State.

But whosoever had the least Sagacity in him could not but perceive, that this Theology of *Epicurus* was but Romantical, it being directly Contrary to his avowed and professed Principles, to admitt of any other Being then what was Concreted of Atoms, and consequently Corruptible; and that he did this upon a Politick Account, thereby to decline the Common *Odium*, and those Dangers and Inconveniences which otherwise he might have incurred by a downright denial of a God, to which purpose it accordingly served his turn. Thus *Posidonius* rightly pronounced, *Nullos esse Deos Epicuro videri; quæque is de Diis immortalibus dixerit, Invidia detestanda gratiâ dixisse*. Though he was partly Jocular in it also, it making no small Sport to him, in this manner, to delude and mock the credulous Vulgar. *Deos Jocandi causâ induxit Epicurus perlucidos & persflabiles, & habitantes tanquam inter duos Lucos, sic inter duos Mundos propter metum ruinarum*. However if *Epicurus* had been never so much in Earnest in all this, yet by *Gassendus* his leave, we should pronounce him to have been not a jot the less

less an Atheist, so long as he maintained, that the whole World was made *μὴδενὸς διατάκτορος ἢ διατάξαντος τὴν πᾶσαν μακαριότητα ἔχοντος μετὰ ἀφθαρσίας*, without the ordering and direction of any Understanding Being that was perfectly happy and immortal, and fetcht the original of all things in the Universe, even of Soul and Mind, *ἀπὸ τῶν ἀτμῶν σωματίων ἀπερονόητων καὶ τυχαίαν ἔχοντων τὴν κίνησιν*, from Senseless Atoms fortuitously moved. He together with Democritus hereby making the World to be, in the worst Sence, *ἔσθ' ὡς νυκτὶς*, an Egge of the Night, that is, not the off-spring of Mind and Understanding, but of dark Senseless Matter, of *Tohu* and *Bohu*, or Confused *Chaos*; and deriving the Original of all the Perfections in the Universe, from the most Imperfect Being and the lowest of all Entities, than which nothing can be more Atheistical. And as for those Romantick Monogrammous Gods of Epicurus, had they been Seriously believed by him, they could have been nothing else but a certain kind of Aerial and Spectrous Men, living by themselves, no Body knows where, without the World; *Ἐπίκουρος ὡς μὴ πρὸς τὰς πολλὰς ἀπολείπει θεὸν ὡς ὃ πρὸς τὴν φύσιν πραγμάτων ὁδομαῖς*, Epicurus according to Vulgar Opinion leaves a God, but according to the Nature of things none at all.

And as Epicurus so other Atheists in like manner, have commonly had their Vizards and Disguises; Atheism for the most part prudently chusing to walk abroad in Masquerade. And though some over-credulous Persons have been so far imposed upon hereby, as to conclude that there was hardly any such thing as an Atheist any where in the World, yet they that are Sagacious, may easily look through these thin Veils and Disguises, and perceive these Atheists oftentimes insinuating their Atheism even then, when they most of all profess themselves Theists, by affirming that it is impossible to have any *Idea* or *Conception* at all of God, and that as he is not *Finite* so he cannot be *Infinite*, and that no Knowledge or Understanding is to be attributed to him, which is in effect to say, that there is no such thing. But who-soever entertains the Democritick Principles, that is, both rejects Forms and Qualities of Body, and makes all things to be Body, though he pretend never so much to hold a *Corporeal Deity*, yet he is not at all to be believed in it, it being a thing plainly Contradictious to those Principles.

III. Wherefore this Mongrel Philosophy, which Lencippus, Democritus and Protagoras, were the Founders of, and which was entertained afterwards by Epicurus, that makes (as Laertius writes) *ἀεὶ καὶ τῶν ὅλων ἀτόμους*, Senseless Atoms to be the first Principles, not only of all Bodies (for that was a thing admitted before by Empedocles and other Atomists that were Theists) but also of All things whatsoever in the whole Universe, and therefore of Soul and Mind too; this, I say, was really nothing else but a Philosophical Form of Atheology, a Gigantical and Titanical Attempt, to dethrone the Deity, not only by Salving all the *Phænomena* of the World without a God, but also by laying down such Principles, from whence it must needs follow, that there could be neither an Incorporeal nor Corporeal Deity. It was Atheism openly Swaggering, under the glorious Appearance of Wisdom and Philosophy.

There is indeed another Form of Atheism, which (insisting on the Vulgar way of Philosophizing by Forms and Qualities) we for distinction sake shall call *Stratonical*; such as being too modest and shame-faced to fetch all things from the Fortuitous Motion of Atoms, would therefore allow to the several Parts of Matter, a certain Kind of *Natural* (though not *Animal*) *Perception*, such as is devoid of *Reflexive Consciousness*, together with a *Plastick power*, whereby they may be able *Artificially* and *Methodically* to Form and Frame themselves to the best advantage of their Respective Capabilities; something like to *Aristotle's* Nature, but that it hath no dependence at all upon any higher Mind or Deity. And these Atheists may be also called *Hylozoick* (as the other *Atomick*) because they derive all things in the whole Universe, not only Sensitive but also Rational Souls, together with the Artificial Frame of Animals, from the *Life* of the *Matter*. But this kind of Atheism seems to be but an unshapen *Embryo* of some Dark and Cloudy Brains that was never yet digested into an entire System, nor could be brought into any such tolerable Form, as to have the confidence to shew it self abroad in full and open View. But the *Democritik* and *Atomick Atheism*, as it is the boldest and rankest of all Atheisms, it not only undertaking to salve all *Phenomena* by Matter Fortuitously moved, without a God, but also to demonstrate that there cannot be so much as a *Corporeal Deity*; so it is that alone which pretending to an entire and coherent System, hath publicly appeared upon the Stage, and therefore doth in a manner only deserve our Consideration.

And now we shall exhibit a full View and Prospect of it, and discover all its *Dark Mysteries* and *Profundities*; we being much of this Perswasion, that a plain and naked Representation of them, will be a great part of a Confutation; at least, not doubting but it will be made to appear, that though this Monster, big-swoln with a Puffy shew of Wisdom, strutt and stalk so Gigantically, and march with such a kind of stately Philosophick Grandeur, yet it is indeed but like the Giant *Orgoglio*, in our English Poet, a mere *Empty Bladder*, blown up with vain Conceit, an *Empusa*, *Phantasm*, or *Spectre*, the Off-spring of Night and Darknes, Non-sence and Contradiction.

And yet for all that we shall not wrong it*the least in our Representation, but give it all possible Advantages of Strength and Plausibility, that so the Atheists may have no Cause to pretend (as they are wont to do in such Cases) that either we did not understand their Mysteries nor apprehend the full strength of their Cause, or else did purposely smother and conceal it. Which indeed we have been so far from, that we must confess we were not altogether unwilling, this business of theirs should look a little like something that might deserve a Confutation. And whether the Atheists ought not rather to give us Thanks for Mending and Improving their Arguments, then complain that we have any way Empaired them, we shall leave it to the Censure of impartial Judgments.

IV. Plato tells us that even amongst those Pagans in his time, there was generally such a Religious Humor, that *πολλοὶ οὐκ ἔστιν ἄνθρωπος ὁ ὠφελοῦντος μὲν ἑαυτὸν, καὶ πᾶσι ὀφειλόμενος, καὶ σπουδὴν καὶ μετὰ πολλῆς ἐπιμέλειας, ὅταν αὐτὸς πρὸς ἑκάστην ἐπιχειρήσῃ. Whosoever had but the least of seriousness and sobriety in them, whensoever they took in hand any Enterprize, whether great or small, they would always invoke the Deity for Assistance and Direction.* Adding moreover that himself should be very faulty, if in his *Timæus*, when he was to treat about so grand a point, concerning the whole World, *εἰ γέγονεν ἢ καὶ ἀγέγονεν*, whether it were made or unmade, he should not make his Entrance thereinto by a Religious Invocation of the Deity. Wherefore certainly, it could not be less than a piece of Impiety in a Christian, being to treat concerning the Deity it self, and to produce all that Prophane and Unhallowed stuff of Atheists, out of their Dark Corners, in order to a Confutation, and the better Confirmation of our Faith in the Truth of his Existence, not to implore his Direction and Assistance. And I know no Reason but that we may well do it in that same Litany of Plato's, *καὶ πρῶτον μὲν μάλιστα, ἐπομθεως ὅπως εἰπὼν, that we may first speak agreeably to his own mind or becomingly of his Nature, and then consentaneously with our Selves.*

V. Now there are these two things here to be performed by us, First, to discover and produce the Chief Heads of Arguments or Grounds of Reason, insisted on by the Atheists to disprove a Deity, evincing withall briefly the Ineffectualness and Falseness of them. And Secondly, to shew how they Endeavour either to Confute or Salve, consistently with their own Principles, all those *Phænomena* which are commonly urg'd against them, to prove a Deity and Incorporeal Substance; manifesting likewise the Invalidity thereof.

The grounds of Reason alledged for the Atheistical Hypothesis are chiefly these that follow. First, That we have no *Idea of God*, and therefore can have no Evidence of him; which Argument is further flourish'd and descanted upon in this manner. That Notion or Conception of a Deity, that is commonly entertained, is nothing but a Bundle of Incomprehensibles, Unconceivables, and Impossibles; it being only a compilement of all Imaginable Attributes of Honour, Courtship, and Complement, which the Confounded Fear, and Astonishment of Mens minds, made them huddle up together, without any Sence or Philosophick Truth: This seems to be intimated by a Modern Writer in these words; *The Attributes of God signifie not True nor False, nor any Opinion of our Brain, but the Reverence and Devotion of our Hearts, and therefore they are not sufficient Premises to infer Truth or convince Falshood.* And the same thing again is further set out, with no small pretence to wit, after this manner; *They that venture to dispute Philosophically or reason of God's Nature from these Attributes of Honour, losing their Understanding in the very first attempt, fall from one Inconvenience into another without end, and without number; In the same manner as when one ignorant of the Ceremonies of Court, coming into the presence of a greater*

Person than he is used to speak to, and stumbling at his Entrance, to save himself from falling lets slip his Cloak, to recover his Cloak lets fall his Hat, and with one disorder after another discovers his Astonishment and Rusticity. The meaning of which, and other like passages of the same Writer, seem to be this; That the Attributes of God (by which his Nature is supposed to be expressed) having no Philosophick Truth or Reality in them, had their only Original from a certain Rustick Astonishment of Mind, proceeding from excess of Fear, raising up the Phantasm of a Deity, as a Bug-bear for an Object to it self, and affrighting men into all manner of Confounded Non-sence, and Absurdity of Expressions concerning it, such as have no signification, nor any Conception of the Mind answering to them. This is the First Argument, used especially by our modern Democriticks, against a Deity. That because they can have no *Phantastick Idea* of it, nor fully comprehend all that is included in the Notion thereof, that therefore it is but an *Incomprehensible Nothing*.

V I. Secondly, Another Argument much insisted on by the old Democritick Atheists, is directed against the Divine *Omnipotence* and *Creative Power*, after this manner. By God is always understood a Creatour of something or other out of Nothing. For however the Theists be here divided amongst themselves, Some of them believing that there was once Nothing at all existing in this whole Space which is now occupied by the World, besides the Deity, and that he was then a Solitary Being, so that the Substance of the whole Corporeal Universe had a Temporary Beginning, and Novity of Existence, and the Duration of it hath now continued but for so many years only. Others perswading themselves, that though the Matter and Substance at least, (if not the Form also) of the Corporeal World, did exist from Eternity, yet nevertheless, they both alike proceeded from the Deity by way of Emanation, and do continually depend upon it, in the same manner as Light, though coeve with the Sun, yet proceeded from the Sun, and depends upon it, being always, as it were, Made A-new by it; Wherefore, according to this *Hypothesis*, though things had no Antecedent Non-Entity in Time, yet they were as little of themselves, and owed all their Being as much to the Deity, as if they had been once Actually Nothing, they being as it were perpetually Created out of Nothing by it. Lastly, Others of those Theists resolving, that the Matter of the Corporeal Universe was not only from Eternity, but also Self-existent and Uncreated, or Independent upon any Deity as to its Being; But yet the Forms and Qualities of all Inanimate Bodies, together with the Souls of all Animals, in the successive Generations of them, (being taken for Entities distinct from the Matter) were Created by the Deity out of Nothing. We say, though there be such Difference amongst the Theists themselves, yet they all agree in this, that God is in some Sence or other, the Creatour of some Real Entity out of Nothing, or the Cause of that which otherwise would not have been Of it self, so that no Creation out of Nothing, (in that enlarged sence) no Deity. Now it is utterly impossible that any

any Substance or Real Entity should be Created out of Nothing, it being Contradictious to that indubitable Axiom of Reason, *De Nihilo Nihil, From Nothing Nothing*. The Argument is thus urged by *Lucretius*, according to the Minds of *Epicurus* and *Democritus*.

*Principium hinc cujus nobis Exordia sumet,
Nullam rem è Nihilo gigni Divinitus unquam.
Quippe ita Formido Mortales continet omnes;
Quod multa in Terris fieri Cæloque tuentur,
Quorum operum Causas nullâ ratione videre
Possunt; ac fieri Divino Numine rentur:
Quas ob res, ubi viderimus Nil posse Creari
De Nihilo, tum quod sequimur, jam tutius inde
Perspicimus, & unde queat res quæque Creari,
Et quo quæque modo fiant opera sine Divum.*

It is true indeed that it seems to be chiefly level'd by the Poet against that Third and last sort of Theists before mentioned, such as *Heracitus* and the Stoicks, (which latter were Contemporary with *Epicurus*) who held the Matter of the whole World to have been from Eternity of it self Uncreated, but yet the Forms of Mundane things in the successive Generations of them (as Entities distinct from the Matter) to be Created or made by the Deity out of Nothing. But the force of the Argument must needs lie stronger against those other Theists, who would have the very Substance and Matter it self of the World, as well as the Forms, to have been created by the Deity out of Nothing. Since Nothing can come out of Nothing, it follows, that not so much as the Forms and Qualities of Bodies (conceiv'd as Entities really distinct from the Matter) much less the Lives and Souls of Animals, could ever have been Created by any Deity, and therefore certainly, not the Substance and Matter it self: But all Substance, and Real Entity, whatsoever is in the World, must needs have been from Eternity, Uncreated and Self-existent. Nothing can be Made or Produced but only the different Modifications of Preexistent Matter. And this is done by Motions, Mixtures and Separations, Concretions and Secretions of Atoms, without the Creation of any Real distinct Entity out of Nothing; so that there needs no Deity for the Effecting of it, according to that of *Epicurus*, *ἡ θεία φύσις πρὸς τὰ πάντα μὴδαμὴν πρὸςαγέτω*, No Divine Power ought to be call'd in, for the salving of those Phenomena. To Conclude therefore, If no Substance, nor Real Entity can be made, which was not before, but all whatsoever Is, Will be, and Can be, was from Eternity Self-existent, then Creative Power, but especially, that Attribute of Omnipotence, can belong to nothing, and this is all one as to say, There can be no Deity.

VII. Thirdly, the Atheists argue against the stricter and higher sort of Theists, who will have God to be the Creatour of the whole Corporeal Universe and all its Parts out of Nothing, after this manner; That which Created the whole Mass of Matter and Body, cannot be it self Body, Wherefore this Notion of God plainly implies

him to be Incorporeal. But there can be no Incorporeal Deity because by that word must needs be understood, either that which hath no Magnitude nor Extension at all, or else that which is indeed extended; but otherwise than Body. If the Word be taken in the former sense, then nothing at all can be so Incorporeal, as to be altogether Unextended and devoid of Geometrical Quantity, because Extension is the very Essence of all *Existent Entity*, and that which is altogether unextended is perfectly Nothing. There can neither be any Substance nor Mode or Accident of any Substance, no Nature whatsoever Unextended. But if the Word Incorporeal be taken in the latter sense, for that which is indeed Extended but otherwise than Body, namely so as to penetrate Bodies and coexist with them, this is also a thing next to Nothing, since it can neither act upon any other thing, nor be acted upon by, or sensible of, any thing; it can neither do nor Suffer any thing.

Nam facere & fungi nisi Corpus nulla potest res.

Wherefore to speak plainly, this can be nothing else but empty Space, or *Vacuum*, which runs through all things, without laying hold on any thing, or being affected from any thing. This is the only *Incorporeal thing*, that is or can be in Nature, Space or Place; and therefore to suppose an *Incorporeal Deity* is to make *Empty Space* to be the Creatour of all Things.

This Argument is thus proposed by the Epicurean Poet.

————— *Quodcunque erit esse aliquid debet id ipsum
Augmine vel grandi vel parvo———
Cui si Tactus erit, quamvis levis exiguisque,
Corporum augebit numerum Summamque sequetur :
Sin Intactile erit, nulla de parte quod ullam
Rem prohibere queat per se transire meantem,
Scilicet hoc id erit Vacuum quod Inane vocamus.*

Whatsoever is, is Extended or hath Geometrical Quantity and Mensurability in it; which if it be Tangible, then it is Body, and fills up a Place in the World, being part of the whole Mass; but if it be Intangible, so that it cannot resist the Passage of any thing thorough it, then it is nothing else but empty Space or *Vacuum*. There is no Third thing besides these Two, and therefore whatsoever is not Body, is empty Space or Nothing,

————— *Præter Inane & Corpora Tertia per se,
Nulla potest rerum in numero Natura relinqui.*

Thus the Ancient Epicureans and Democriticks argued; there being nothing Incorporeal but Space, there can be no Incorporeal Deity.

But because this seems to give Advantage to the Theists, in making Space Something, or that which hath a Real Nature or Entity without

out our Conception, from whence it will follow, that it must needs be either it self a Substance, or else a Mode of some Incorporeal Substance, the Modern Democriticks are here more cautious, and make Space to be no Nature really existing without us, but only the Phantasm of a Body, and as it were the *Ghost* of it, which has no Reality without our Imagination. So that there are not two Natures of Body, and Space, which must needs infer two distinct Substances, one whereof must be Incorporeal, but only One Nature of Body. The Consequence of which will be this, That an Incorporeal Substance is all one with an *Incorporeal Body*, and therefore Nothing.

V III. But because it is generally conceived that an Error cannot be sufficiently confuted, without discovering τὸ αἴτιον τῆς ᾤσεως, *the Cause of the Mistake*, therefore the Atheists will in the next place undertake to show likewise, the Original of this Doctrine of Incorporeal Substances, and from what Misapprehension it sprung, as also take occasion from thence, further to disprove a Deity:

Wherefore they say, that the Original of this Doctrine of Incorporeal Substances proceeded chiefly from the Abuse of *Abstract Names*, both of Substances (whereby the Essences of singular Bodies, as of a Man or an Horse, being Abstracted from those Bodies themselves, are consider'd Universally) as also of Accidents when they are consider'd alone without their Subjects or Substances. The latter of which is a thing, that Men have been necessitated to, in order to the Computation or Reckoning of the Properties of Bodies, the Comparing of them with one another, the Adding, Subtracting, Multiplying and Dividing of them, which could not be done, so long as they are taken Concretely, together with their Subjects. But yet, as there is some Use of those Abstract Names, so the Abuse of them has been also very great; Forasmuch as, though they be really the *Names of Nothing*, since the Essence of this and that Man is not any thing without the Man, nor is an Accident any thing without its Substance, yet men have been led into a gross mistake by them, to imagine them to be Realities existing by themselves. Which Infatuation hath chiefly proceeded from Scholasticks, who have been so intemperate in the use of these Words, that they could not make a Rational Discourse of any thing, though never so small, but they must stuff it with their Quiddities, Entities, Essences, Hæcceities and the like. Wherefore these are they, who being first deluded themselves, have also deluded the World, introducing an Opinion into the Minds of Men, that the Essence of every thing is something without that thing it self, and also Eternal, and therefore when any thing is Made or Generated, that there is no new Being produced, but only an antecedent and Eternal Essence cloathed (as it were) with a new Garment of Existence. As also that the mere Accidents of Bodies may exist alone by themselves without their Substances. As for Example, that the Life, Sense and Understanding of Animals, commonly call'd by the Names of Soul and Mind, may exist without the Bodies or Substances of them by themselves, after the Animals are dead; which plainly makes them to be Incorporeal Substances, as it were the *separate*

rate and Abstract Essences of Men. This hath been observed by a Modern Writer in these words; *Est Hominum Abstractorum tum in omni Vita, tum in Philosophia, magnus & Usus & Abusus. Abusus in eo consistit, quod cum videant aliqui, Considerari posse, id est, inferri in Rationes, Accidentium Incrementa & Decrementa, sine Consideratione Corporum, sive Subjectorum suorum, (id quod appellatur Abstrahere) loquuntur de Accidentibus, tanquam possent ab omni Corpore Separari: Hinc enim Originem trahunt quorundam Metaphysicorum crassi Errores. Nam ex eo, quod Considerari potest Cogitatio, sine consideratione Corporis, inferre solent non esse Opus Corporis Cogitantis.* It is a great Abuse that some Metaphysicians make of these Abstract Names, because Cogitation can be considered alone without the consideration of Body, therefore to conclude that it is not the Action or Accident of that Body that thinks, but a Substance by it self. And the same Writer elsewhere observes, That it is upon this Ground, that when a Man is dead and buried, they say his Soul (that is, his Life) can walk, separated from his Body, and is seen by night amongst the Graves. By which means the Vulgar are confirmed in their Superstitious Belief, of Ghosts, Spirits, Demons, Devils, Fayries and Hob-goblins, Invisible Powers and Agents, called by several Names, and that by those Persons whose work it ought to be, rather to free men from such Superstition. Which Belief at first had another Original, not altogether unlike the former; Namely from mens mistaking their own Phancies for Things Really existing without them. For as in the sense of Vision, men are commonly deceived, in supposing the Image behind the Glass to be a Real thing existing without themselves, whereas it is indeed nothing but their own Phancy; In like manner when the Minds of Men strongly possess'd with Fear, especially in the Dark, raise up the Phantasms of Spectres, Bug-bears, or Affrightful Apparitions to them, they think them to be Objects really existing without them, and call them Ghosts and Spirits, whilst they are indeed nothing but their own Phancies; So the Phantasm or Phancy of a Deity (which is indeed the Chief of all Spectres) created by Fear, has upon no other Accompt, been taken for a Reality. To this purpose a Modern Writer, *From the Fear that proceeds from the Ignorance it self, of what it is that hath the Power to do men Good or Harm, men are inclined to suppose and Feign to themselves, several kinds of Powers Invisible, and to stand in awe of their own Imaginations, and in time of Distress to invoke them, as also in the time of an expected good Success, to give them thanks, making the Creatures of their own Fancies, their Gods.* Which though it be prudently spoken in the Plural Number, that so it might be diverted and put off to the Heathen Gods, yet he is very simple, that does not perceive the reason of it to be the same concerning that one Deity, which is now commonly worshipped, and that therefore this also is but the Creature of Mens Fear and Phancie, the Chief of all Phantastick Ghosts and Spectres, as it were an Oberon or Prince of Fayries and Phancies. This (we say) was the first Original of that Vulgar Belief of Invisible Powers, Ghosts, and Gods; mens taking their own Phancies for Things really Existing without them. And as for the Matter and Substance of these Ghosts, they could not by their own natural Cogitation fall into any other Conceit, but that it was the same, with

with that which appeareth in a Dream to one that sleepeth, or in a Looking-glass to one that is awake, *Thin Aerial Bodies*, which may appear and vanish when they please. But the Opinion, that such Spirits were Incorporeal and Immaterial, could never enter into the minds of men by Nature, Unabused by Doctrine; but it sprung up from those deceiving and deceived *Literati*, Scholasticks, Philosophers, and Theologers enchanting mens Understandings, and making them believe, that the Abstract Notions of Accidents and Essences could exist alone by themselves, without the Bodies, as certain Separate and Incorporeal Substances.

To Conclude therefore, To make an Incorporeal Mind to be the Cause of all things, is to make our own Phancie, an Imaginary Ghost of the World, to be a Reality; and to suppose the mere *Abstract Notion* of an *Accident*, and a *Separate Essence*, to be not only an Absolute thing by it self, and a Real Substance Incorporeal, but also the first Original of all Substances, and of whatsoever is in the Universe. And this may be reckon'd for a Fourth Atheistick Ground.

I X. Fifthly, the Atheists pretend further to prove, that there is no other Substance in the World besides Body, as also from the Principles of Corporealism it self, to evince that there can be no Corporeal Deity, after this manner: No man can devise any other Notion of Substance, than that it is a thing Extended, existing without the Mind, not Imaginary but Real and Solid Magnitude; For whatsoever is not Extended, is Nowhere and Nothing. So that *Res Extensa*, is the only Substance, the solid *Basis* and *Substratum* of all. Now this is the very self-same thing with Body; For *ἀντίστασις*, or *Resistance* seems to be a necessary Consequence and Result from Extension, and they that think otherwise, can show no reason why Bodies may not also penetrate one another, as some Corporealists think they do; From whence it is inferred, that Body or Matter is the only Substance of all things. And whatsoever else is in the World, that is, all the Differences of Bodies, are nothing but several Accidents and Modifications of this Extended Substance, Body or Matter. Which Accidents, though they may be sometimes call'd by the names of Real Qualities, and Forms, and though there be different apprehensions concerning them amongst Philosophers, yet generally they agree in this, that there are these two Properties belonging to them; First, that none of them can subsist alone by themselves, without Extended Substance or Matter, as the *Basis* and Support of them: And Secondly, that they may be all destroyed without the Destruction of any Substance. Now as Blackness and Whiteness, Heat and Cold, so likewise Life, Sense and Understanding, are such Accidents, Modifications or Qualities of Body, that can neither exist by themselves, and may be destroyed without the Destruction of any Substance or Matter. For if the Parts of the Body of any Living Animal be disunited and separated from one another, or the Organical Disposition of the Matter alter'd, those Accidents, Forms or Qualities, of Life and Understanding, will presently vanish away to Nothing; all the Substance of the Matter still remaining one where or other

other in the Universe entire, and Nothing of it lost. Wherefore the Substance of Matter and Body, as distinguished from the Accidents, is the only thing in the world that is Uncorruptible and Undestroyable. And of this it is to be understood that Nothing can be made out of Nothing, and Destroyed to Nothing, (*i. e.*) that every entire thing that is Made or Generated, must be made of some preexistent Matter; which Matter was from Eternity, Self-existent and Unmade, and is also undestroyable, and can never be reduc'd to Nothing. It is not to be understood of the Accidents themselves, that are all Makeable and Destroyable, Generable and Corruptible. Whatsoever is in the World is but *ὅλη πῶς ἔχουσα*, Matter so and so Modified or Qualified, all which Modifications and Qualifications of Matter are in their own nature Destroyable, and the Matter it self (as the *Basis* of them, not necessarily determin'd to this or that Accident) is the only *ἀγέννητον καὶ ἀνώλεθρον*, the only Necessarily Existent. The Conclusion therefore is, that no Animal, no Living Understanding Body, can be Absolutely and Essentially Incorruptible, this being an Incommunicable Property of the Matter, and therefore there can be no Corporeal Deity, the Original of all things, Essentially Undestroyable.

Though the *Stoicks* imagined the whole Corporeal Universe to be an Animal or Deity, yet this Corporeal God of theirs was only by Accident Incorruptible and Immortal, because they supposed, that there was no other Matter, which existing without this World, and making Inroads upon it, could disunite the Parts of it or disorder its Compages. Which if there were, the Life and Understanding of this Stoical God, or great Mundane Animal, as well as that of other Animals in like Cases, must needs vanish into nothing. Thus from the Principles of Corporealism it self, it plainly follows that there can be no Corporeal Deity, because the Deity is supposed to be *ἀγέννητον καὶ ἀνώλεθρον*, a thing that was never made, and is Essentially Undestroyable, which are the Privileges and Properties of nothing but Senseless Matter.

X. In the next place, the Atheists undertake more effectually to confute that Corporeal God of the *Stoicks* and others, from the Principles of the Atomical Philosophy, in this manner. All Corporeal Theists who assert that an Understanding Nature or Mind, residing in the Matter of the whole Universe, was the first Original of the Mundane System, and did Intellectually frame it, betray no small Ignorance of Philosophy and the Nature of Body, in supposing Real Qualities, besides Magnitude, Figure, Site and Motion, as Simple and Primitive things, to belong to it; and that there was such a Quality or Faculty of Understanding in the Matter of the whole Universe, coeternal with the same, that was an Original thing Uncompounded and Underived from any thing else. Now to suppose such Original Qualities and Powers, which are Really Distinct from the Substance of Extended Matter and its Modifications, of Divisibility, Figure, Site and Motion, is Really to suppose so many Distinct Substances, which therefore must needs be Incorporeal.

poreal. So that these Philosophers fall unawares into that very thing which they are so abhorrent from. For this Quality or Faculty of Understanding, in the Matter of the Universe, Original and deriv'd from any other thing, can be indeed nothing else but an Incorporeal Substance. *Epicurus* suggested a Caution against this Vulgar Mistake concerning Qualities to this purpose. *Non sic cogitandæ sunt Qualitates, quasi sint quedam per se existentes Naturæ seu Substantiæ, siquidem id mente assequi non licet; sed solummodo ut varii modi sese habendi Corporis, considerandæ sunt.*

Body, as such, hath nothing else belonging to the Nature of it, but what is included in the *Idea* of Extended Substance, Divisibility, Figure, Site, Motion or Rest, and the Results from the various Compositions of them, causing different Phancies; Wherefore, as vulgar Philosophers make their first Matter (which they cannot well tell what they mean by it) because it receives all Qualities, to be it self devoid of all Quality; So we conclude that Atoms (which are really the first Principles of all things) have none of those Qualities in them which belong to compounded Bodies; they are not absolutely of themselves Black or White, Hot or Cold, Moist or dry, Bitter or Sweet, all these things arising up afterwards, from the various Aggregations and Contextures of them, together with different Motions. Which *Lucretius* confirms by this reason, agreeable to the Tenour of the Atomical Philosophy, That if there were any such Real Qualities in the first Principles, then in the various Corruptions of Nature, things would at last be all reduc'd to Nothing:

*Immutabile enim quiddam superare necesse est
Nè res ad Nihilum redigantur funditus omnes;
Proinde Colore cavè contingas semina rerum,
Nè tibi res redeant ad Nilum funditus omnes.*

Wherefore he concludes, that it must not be thought, that White things are made out of White Principles, nor Black things out of Black Principles,

——— *Nè ex Albis Alba rearis
Principiis esse, ———
Aut ea quæ nigrant, nigro de semine nata:
Neve alium quemvis quæ sunt induta colorem,
Propterea gerere hunc credas, quod materiai
Corpora consimili sint ejus tincta colore;
Nullus enim Color est omnino materiai
Corporibus, neque par rebus, neque denique dispar.*

Adding that the same is to be resolv'd likewise concerning all other Sensible Qualities as well as Colours.

*Sed nè fortè putes solo spoliata colore
Corpora prima manere: etiam secreta Teporis
Sunt, ac Frigoris omnino, Calidique Vaporis;*

Et

*Et sonitu sterila, & Succo jejuna feruntur,
Nec jaciunt ullum proprio de corpore Odorem.*

Lastly he tells us in like manner that the same is to be understood also concerning Life, Sense and Understanding, that there are no such simple Qualities or Natures in the first Principles, out of which Animals are compounded, but that these are in themselves altogether devoid of Life, Sense and Understanding.

*Nunc ea, quæ Sentire videmus cunque, necesse 'st
Ex Insensilibus tamen omnia confiteare
Principiis constare: neque id manifesta refutant:
Sed magis ipsa manu ducunt, & credere cogunt,
Ex insensilibus, quod dico, Animalia gigni.
Quippe videre licet, vivos existere vermes
Stercore de tetro, putrorem cum sibi nata 'st
Intempestivis ex imbribus humida tellus.*

All Sensitive and Rational Animals are made of Irrational and Senseless Principles, which is proved by Experience, in that we see Worms are made out of putrified Dung, moistned with immoderate Showers.

Some indeed, who are no greater Friends to a Deity than our selves, will needs have that Sense and Understanding that is in Animals and Men, to be derived from an Antecedent Life and Understanding in the Matter. But this cannot be, because if Matter as such, had Life and Understanding in it, then every Atom of Matter must needs be a Distinct Percipient, Animal, and Intelligent Person by it self; and it would be impossible for any such Men and Animals as now are, to be compounded out of them, because every Man would be, *Variorum Animalculorum Aceruus*, a Heap of Innumerable Animals and Percipients.

Wherefore as all the other Qualities of Bodies, so likewise Life, Sense, and Understanding arise from the different Contextures of Atoms devoid of all those Qualities, or from the Composition of those simple Elements of *Magnitudes, Figures, Sites and Motions*, in the same manner as from a few Letters variously compounded, all that Infinite Variety of Syllables and Words is made,

*Quin etiam refert nostris in versibus ipsis
Cum quibus & quali Positura contineantur;
Namque eadem Cælum, Mare, Terras, Flumina, Solem
Significant, eadem, fruges, arbuta, animantes;
Sic ipsis in rebus item jam materiai
Intervalla, viæ, connexus, pondera, plage,
Concurfus, motus, ordo, Positura, Figure,
Cum permutantur mutari res quoque debent.*

From the Fortuitous Concretions of *Senseless Unknowing* Atoms, did rise up afterwards, in certain parts of the World called Animals, *Soul*, and

and *Mind, Sense and Understanding, Counsel and Wisdom.* But to think that there was any *Animalish Nature* before all these *Animals*, or that there was an antecedent *Mind and Understanding, Counsel and Wisdom*, by which all *Animals* themselves, together with the whole *World*, were made and contrived, is either to run round in a Senseless Circle, making *Animals and Animality* to be before one another infinitely; or else to suppose an impossible Beginning of an Original Understanding Quality in the Matter. Atoms in their first Coalitions together, when the *World* was a making, were not then directed by any previous Counsel or preventive Understanding; which were things as yet *Unborn and Unmade*,

*Nam certè neq; consilio Primordia rerum
Ordine se quæque atque sagaci mente locarunt,
Nec quos quæque darent motus, pepigere profectò.*

Mind and Understanding, Counsel and Wisdom did not lay the Foundations of the Universe, they are no *Archical things*, that is, they have not the Nature of a *Principle* in them, they are not *Simple, Original, Primitive and Primordial*, but as all other Qualities of Bodies, *Secondary, Compounded and Derivative*, and therefore they could not be *Architectonical* of the *World*. *Mind and Understanding* is no *God*, but the *Creature of Matter and Motion*.

The sense of this whole Argument is briefly this; The first Principle of all things in the whole Universe is Matter, or Atoms devoid of all Qualities, and consequently of all Life, Sense and Understanding, and therefore the Original of things is no Understanding, Nature, or Deity.

XI. Seventhly, The Democritick Atheists argue further after this manner: They who assert a Deity, suppose *ἐμψυχον εἶναι τὸν κόσμον*, the whole World to be Animated, that is, to have a Living, Rational and Understanding Nature presiding over it. Now it is already evident from some of the premised Arguments, that the World cannot be Animated, in the sense of Platonists, that is, with an Incorporeal Soul, which is in order of Nature before Body, it being proved already that there can be no Substance Incorporeal; as likewise that it cannot be Animated neither in the Stoical sense, so as to have an Original Quality of Understanding or Mind in the Matter; But yet nevertheless, some may possibly imagine, that as in our selves and other Animals, though compounded of Senseless Atoms, there is a Soul and Mind, resulting from the Contexture of them, which being once made, domineers over the Body, governing and ordering it at pleasure; so there may be likewise such a Living Soul and Mind, not only in the Stars, which many have supposed to be lesser Deities, and in the Sun, which has been reputed a principal Deity; but also in the whole Mundane System, made up of Earth, Seas, Air, Ether, Sun, Moon, and Stars all together; one General Soul and Mind, which though resulting at first from the Fortuitous Motion of Matter, yet being once produced,

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may

may rule, govern and sway the Whole, Understandingly, and in a more perfect manner than our Souls do our Bodies, and so long as it continues, exercise a Principality and Dominion over it. Which although it will not amount to the full Notion of a God, according to the strict fence of Theists, yet it will approach very near unto it, and indanger the bringing in of all the same Inconveniences along with it. Wherefore they will now prove that there is no such Soul or Mind as this, (resulting from the Contexture of Atoms) that presides over the Corporeal Universe, that so there may not be so much as the Shadow of a Deity left.

It was observed before, that Life, Sense, Reason and Understanding are but Qualities of Concreted Bodies, like those other Qualities of Heat, and Cold, &c. arising from certain particular Textures of Atoms; Now as those first Principles of Bodies, namely single Atoms, have none of those Qualities in them, so neither hath the whole Universe any (that it can be denominated from) but, only the Parts of it. The whole World is neither Black nor White, Hot nor Cold, Pellucid nor Opaque, it containing all those Qualities in its several Parts: In like manner, the whole has no Life, Sense, nor Understanding in it, but only the parts of it, which are called Animals. That is, Life and Sense are qualities that arise, only from such a Texture of Atoms as produceth soft Flesh, Blood, and Brains, in Bodies organized, with Head, Heart, Bowels, Nerves, Muscles, Veins, Arteries and the like;

————— *Sensus jungitur omnis*
Visceribus, Nervis, Venis, quæcunque videmus,
Mollia mortali consistere Corpore creta;

And Reason and Understanding, properly so called, are peculiar Appendices to humane Shape; *Ratio nusquam esse potest nisi in hominis figura.* From whence it is concluded that there is no Life, Soul nor Understanding acting the whole World, because the World hath no Blood nor Brains, nor any Animalish or Humane Form. *Qui Mundum ipsum Animantem sapientemque esse dixerunt, nullo modo viderunt Animi Naturam, in quam Figuram cadere posset.* Therefore the Epicurean Poet concludes upon this Ground, that there is no Divine Sense in the whole World,

Dispositum videtur ubi esse & crescere possit
Seorsim Anima atque Animus; tanto magis inficiandum,
Totum posse extra Corpus Formamque Animalem,
Putribus in glebis terrarum, aut Solis in Igni,
Aut in Aqua durare, aut altis Ætheris oris.
Hand igitur constant Divino prædita Sensu,
Quandoquidem nequeunt vitaliter esse Animata.

Now if there be no Life nor Understanding above us, nor round about us, nor any where else in the World, but only in our selves and Fellow-Animals, and we be the highest of all Beings; if neither the

the whole Corporeal System be Animated, nor those greater parts of it, Sun, Moon nor Stars, then there can be no danger of any Deity.

XII. Eighthly, the Democritick Atheists dispute further against a Deity in this manner : The Deity is generally supposed to be *ζῶον μακάριον ἡ ἀφθαρτον*, a Perfectly Happy Animal, Incorruptible and Immortal. Now there is no Living Being Incorruptible and Immortal, and therefore none perfectly Happy neither. For according to that Democritick Hypothesis of Atoms in Vacuity ; the only Incorruptible things will be These three : First of all, *Vacuum* or *Empty Space*, which must needs be such, because it cannot suffer from any thing, since it is *plagarum expers*,

Et manet intactum, nec ab icū fungitur hilum.

Secondly, the *Single Atoms*, because by reason of their Parvitude and Solidity, they are Indivisible ; And lastly, the *Summa Summarum* of all things, that is the Comprehension of all Atoms dispersed every where throughout Infinite Space.

— *Quia nulla loci stat copia certum
Quò quasi res possint discedere dissolvique.*

But according to that other Hypothesis of some modern Atomists (which also was entertained of old by *Empedocles*) that supposes a Plenitude, there is nothing at all Incorruptible, but the Substance of Matter it self. All Systems and Compages of it, all *συνελευατα* and *ἀδεγισματα*, all Concretions and Coagmentations, of Matter divided by Motion, together with the Qualities resulting from them, are Corruptible and Destroyable : *Quæ est Coagmentatio rerum non dissolubilis* ? Death destroys not the Substance of any Matter ; For as no Matter came from Nothing but was Self-eternal, so none of it can ever vanish into Nothing ; but it dissolves all the Aggregations of it.

*Non sic interimit Mors res ut Materiali
Corpora conficiat, sed cætum dissipat ollis.*

Life is no Substantial thing, nor any Primitive or Simple Nature ; it is only an Accident or Quality arising from the Aggregation and Contexture of Atoms or *Corpuscula*, which when the Compages of them is disunited and dissolved, though all the Substance still remain scattered and dispersed, yet the Life utterly perishes and vanisheth into Nothing. No Life is Immortal ; there is no Immortal Soul ; nor Immortal Animal, or Deity. Though this whole Mundane System were it self an Animal, yet being but an Aggregation of Matter, it would be both Corruptible and Mortal. Wherefore since no living Being can possibly have any security of its future Permanency ; there is none that can be perfectly Happy. And it was rightly determined by our Fellow-Atheists, the *Hedonicks* and *Cyrenaicks*, *ἡδυσμολογία ἀνθρώπων*, Perfect Happiness is a mere Notion, a Romantick Fiction, a thing which can have no Existence any where. This is recorded to have been one of Democri-

his chief Arguments against a Deity, because there can be no Living Being *Immortal*, and consequently none perfectly Happy. *Cum Democritus, quia nihil semper suo statu maneat, neget, esse quicquam sem-piternum, nonne Deum ita tollit omnino, ut nullam Opinionem ejus reliquam faciat?*

XIII. A Ninth pretended Demonstration of the Democritick Atheists is as followeth. By God is understood a *First Cause* or *Mover*, which being not before acted upon by any thing else, but acting Originally from it self, was the Beginning of all things. Now it is an indubitable Axiom, and generally received amongst Philosophers, that Nothing can move it self, but *Quicquid movetur ab alio movetur*, Whatsoever is moved is moved by something else; nothing can act otherwise than it is made to act, by something without it, acting upon it. The necessary Consequence whereof is this, That there can be no such thing as any *First Mover*, or *First Cause*, that is, no God. This Argument is thus urged by a Modern Writer, agreeably to the Sence of the Ancient Democriticks; *Ex eo quod nihil potest movere seipsum, non inferetur, id quod inferri solet, nempe Aeternum Immobile, sed contra Aeternum Motum, siquidem ut verum est, nihil moveri à seipso, ita etiam verum est nihil moveri nisi à Moto*. From hence, that Nothing can move it self, it cannot be rightly inferred, as commonly it is, that there is an *Eternal Immoveable Mover* (that is, a God) but only an *Eternal Moved Mover*; or that one thing was moved by another from Eternity, without any first Mover. Because as it is true that nothing can be Moved, but from it self; so it is likewise true, that nothing can be moved but from that which was it self also moved by something else before; and so the progress upwards must needs be infinite, without any Beginning or first Mover. The plain Drift and Scope of this Ratiocination, is no other then this, to shew that the Argument commonly taken from Motion, to prove a God, (that is, a *First Mover* or *Cause*) is not only Ineffectual and Inconclusive; but also that on the contrary, it may be demonstrated from that very Topick of Motion; that there can be no Absolutely First Mover, No First in the order of Causes, that is, no God.

XIV. Tenthly, because the Theists conceive that though no Body can move it self, yet a perfect *Cogitative*, and *Thinking Being* might be the Beginning of all, and the first Cause of Motion; the Atheists will endeavour to evince the contrary, in this manner. No man can conceive how any Cogitation which was not before, should rise up at any time, but that there was some cause for it, without the *Thinker*. For else there can be no reason given, why this Thought rather than that, and at this time rather than another, should start up. Wherefore this is universally true, of all Motion and Action whatsoever, as it was rightly urged by the Stoicks, that there can be no κίνησις ἀναλτιος, no Motion without a Cause, i. e. no Motion which has not some Cause without the Subject of it. Or, as the same thing is expressed by a modern Writer, *Nothing taketh Beginning from it self, but from the Action of some other Immediate Agent without it*. Wherefore no *Thinking Being* could be a *First Cause*, any more than an *Automaton* or *Machin* could. To this, it is further argued, that these

these two Notions, the one of a *Knowing Understanding Being*, the other of a *Perfectly Happy Being*, are Contradictious, because all Knowledge Essentially implies Dependence upon something else, as its Cause; *Scientia & Intellectus signum est Potentiæ ab alio Dependens, id quod non est Beatissimum.* They conclude that Cogitation and all Action whatsoever, is really nothing else but Local Motion, which is Essentially *Heterokinese*, that which can never rise of it self, but is caused by some other Agent without its Subject.

XV. In the Eleventh place, the Democritick Atheists reason thus: If the World were made by any Antecedent Mind or Understanding, that is, by a Deity; then there must needs be an *Idea*, *Platform* and *Exemplar* of the whole World before it was made; and consequently Actual Knowledge, both in order of Time and Nature, before Things. But all Knowledge is the *Information* of the things themselves known, all Conception of the Mind is a *Passion* from the things Conceived, and their Activity upon it; and is therefore Junior to them. Wherefore the World and Things, were before Knowledge and the Conception of any Mind, and no Knowledge, Mind or Deity before the World as its Cause. This Argument is thus proposed by the Atheistick Poet;

*Exemplum porro gignendis rebus, & ipsa
Notities hominum Divis unde insita primum;
Quid vellent facere ut scirent, animoque viderent?
Quove modo est unquam Vis cognita Principiorum,
Quidnam inter sese permutato Ordine possent,
Si non ipsa dedit specimen Natura creandi?*

How could the supposed Deity have a Pattern or Platform in his Mind, to frame the World by, and whence should he receive it? How could he have any Knowledge of Men before they were made, as also what himself should will to do when there was nothing? How could he understand the Force and Possibility of the Principles, what they would produce when variously combined together, before Nature and Things themselves, by Creating, had given a Specimen?

XVI. A Twelfth Argumentation of the Democritick and Epicurean Atheists against a Deity, is to this purpose: That things could not be made by a Deity that is supposed to be a Being every way Perfect; because they are so Faulty, and so Ill made: The Argument is thus propounded by *Lucretius*;

*Quod si jam rerum ignorem primordia quæ sint,
Hoc tamen ex ipsis Cæli Rationibus ausim
Confirmare, aliisque ex rebus reddere multis,
Nequaquam nobis Divinitus esse paratam
Naturam rerum, tantâ stat prædita Culpâ.*

This Argument, à *Cæli Rationibus*, from Astronomy, or the Constitution of the Heavens, is this: That the Mundane Sphere is so framed, in

respect of the Disposition of the *Aquator* and *Ecliptick*, as renders the greatest part of the Earth uninhabitable to Men and most other Animals; partly by reason of that excess of Heat in the Torrid Zone (containing all between the Tropicks) and partly from the Extremity of Cold in both the Frigid Zones, towards either Pole. Again, whereas the Stoical Theists Contemporary with *Epicurus* concluded, that the whole World was made by a Deity, only for the sake of Men,

————— *Horum omnia causa*
Constituisse Deum fingunt —————

It is urged on the contrary, that a great part of the Habitable Earth is taken up by Seas, Lakes and Rocks, barren Heaths and Sands, and thereby made useless for Mankind; and that the remainder of it yields no fruit to them, unless expunged by obstinate Labour, after all which, men are often disappointed of the Fruits of those Labours, by unseasonable Weather, Storms and Tempests. Again, that Nature has not only produced many noxious and poisonous Herbs, but also Destructive and Devouring Animals, whose Strength surpasseth that of Mens; and that the Condition of Mankind is so much Inferiour to that of Brutes, that Nature seems to have been but a Step-mother to the former, whilst she hath been an Indulgent Mother to the latter. And to this purpose, the manner of mens coming into the World is thus aggravated by the Poet:

Tum porro puer, ut sevis projectus ab undis
Navita, nudus humi jacet, infans, indigus omni
Vitæ auxilio, cum primum in luminis oras
Nixibus ex alvo matris natura profudit:
Vagituque locum lugubri complet, ut æquum 'st,
Quoi tantum in vita restet transire malorum.

But on the contrary, the Comparative Advantages of Brutes and their Privileges, which they have above men, are described after this manner:

At variae crescunt pecudes, armenta, feraeque:
Nec crepitacula eis opus sunt, nec quouquam adhibenda 'st
Almæ nutricis Blanda atque Infracta loquela;
Nec varias quærant vestes pro tempore cæli.
Denique non armis opus est, non mœnibus altis,
Quæ sua tutentur, quando omnibus omnia largè
Tellus ipsa parit, naturæque Dædala rerum.

And Lastly, The Topick of Evils in General, is insisted upon by them, not those which are called *Culpæ*, Evils of Fault (for that is a Thing which the Democritick Atheists utterly explode in the Genuine Sence of it) but the Evils of Pain and Trouble; which they dispute concerning, after this manner. The Supposed Deity and Maker of the World, was either Willing to abolish all Evils, but

but not Able, or he was Able but not Willing; or Thirdly, he was neither Willing nor Able; or else Lastly, he was both Able and Willing. This Latter is the only thing that answers fully to the Notion of a God. Now that the supposed Creator of all things was not thus both Able and Willing to abolish all Evils, is plain, because then there would have been no Evils at all left. Wherefore since there is such a Deluge of Evils overflowing all, it must needs be, that either he was Willing and not Able to remove them, and then he was *Impotent*, or else he was Able and not Willing, and then he was *Envious*, or Lastly he was neither Able nor Willing, and then he was both *Impotent* and *Envious*.

XVII. In the Twelfth Place, the Atheists further dispute in this manner. If the World were made by any Deity, then it would be governed by a *Providence*, and if there were any *Providence*, it must appear in Humane Affairs. But here it is plain, that all is *Tobu* and *Bobu*, *Chaos* and *Confusion*: Things happening alike to all, to the Wise and Foolish, Religious and Impious, Virtuous and Vicious. (For these Names the Atheist cannot chuse but make use of, though by taking away Natural Morality, they really destroy the Things.) From whence it is concluded, that all things float up and down, as they are agitated and driven by the Tumbling Billows of Careless Fortune and Chance. The Impieties of *Dionysius*, his scoffing Abuses of Religion, and whatsoever was then Sacred, or worshipt under the Notion of a God, were most notorious; and yet it is observed, that he fared never a jot the worse for it. *Hunc nec Olympius Jupiter fulmine percussit, nec Æsculapius misero diuturnoque morbo tabescentem interemit, verum in suo lectulo mortuus, in Tympanidis rogum illatus est, eamque potestatem quam ipse per scelus nactus erat, quasi justam & legitimam, hereditatis loco tradidit*: Neither did Jupiter Olympius strike him with a Thunderbolt, nor Æsculapius inflict any languishing Disease upon him, but he died in his bed, and was honourably interred, and that Power which he had wickedly acquired, he transmitted, as a Just and Lawful Inheritance, to his Posterity. And Diogenes the Cynick, though much a Theist, could not but acknowledge, that *Harpalus* a famous Robber or Pirate in those times, who committing many Villanous actions, notwithstanding lived prosperously, did thereby *Testimonium dicere contra Deos*, bear testimony against the Gods. Though it has been objected by the Theists, and thought to be a strong argument for Providence, that there were so many Tables hung up in Temples, the Monuments of such as having prayed to the Gods in Storms and Tempests, had escaped Shipwrack; yet as *Diagoras* observed, *Nusquam picti sunt qui Naufragium fecerunt*, there are no Tables extant of those of them who were Shipwrackt. Wherefore it was not considered by these Theists, how many of them that prayed as well to the Gods, did notwithstanding suffer Shipwrack; as also how many of those, which never made any Devotional Addresses at all, to any Deity, escaped equal Dangers of Storms and Tempests.

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Moreover, it is consentaneous to the opinion of a God, to think that Thunder ratling in the Clouds with Thunder-bolts, should be the immediate Significations of his wrath and displeasure: whereas it is plain, that these are flung at random, and that the Fury of them often lights upon the Innocent, whilst the notoriously guilty scape untouched, and therefore we understand not, how this can be answered by any Theists.

*Cur, quibus incantum Scelus averfabile cumque est,
Non faciunt, ic̃ti flammās ut fulguris halent,
Pectore perfixo; documen Mortalibus acre?
Et potius nullæ sibi turpis Confcius reii,
Voluitur in flammis innoxius, inque peditur,
Turbine cæleſti, ſubito correptus, & igni?*

Now the force of this Argument appears to be very powerful, be-
cause it hath not only ſtaggered and confounded *Theiſts* in all Ages,
but alſo hath effectually transformed many of them into *Atheiſts*.
For *Diagoras Melius* himſelf was once a Superſtitious Religioniſt, in
ſo much that being a *Dithyrambick* Poet, he began one of his Poems
with theſe words, *ἅ τ' ὁλμόνα καὶ τύχην πάντα τελέεται*, *All things are
done by God and Fortune*. But being injured afterwards by a Per-
jured Perſon, that ſuffered no Evil nor Diſaſter thereupon, he there-
fore took up this contrary Perſwaſion, that there was no Deity.
And there have been innumerable others, who have been ſo far
wrought upon by this Conſideration, as if not abſolutely to diſclaim
and diſcard a Deity, yet utterly to deny Providence, and all Care
of Humane Affairs by any Inviſible Powers. Amongſt whom the
Poet was one, who thus expreſſed his Sence.

*Sed cum res hominum tantâ caligine volvi
Aſpicerem, letôſque diu florere nocentes,
Vexarique pios, rursus labefaſta cadebat
Religio, cauſæque viam non ſponte ſequebar
Alterius, vacuo quæ currere Semina motu
Affirmat, magnûmque novas per Inane Figuras,
Fortunâ non Arte regi; quæ Numina ſenſu
Ambiguo vel Nulla putat, vel Neſcia noſtri.*

XVIII. A thirteenth Argumentation of the Democritick and
Epicurean Atheiſts is to this purpoſe; That whereas the Deity is
ſuppoſed to be ſuch a being, as both Knows all that is done every
where in the moſt diſtant Places of the World at once, and doth
himſelf immediately Order all things; this is, Firſt, impoſſible for a-
ny one Being, thus to animadvert and order all things in the whole
Univerſe,

*Quis regere immenſi Summam, quis habere profundî
Indu manu validas potis eſt moderanter habenas?
Quis pariter cælos omneis convertere? & omneis*

Ignibus

*Ignibus ætheriis terras suffire feraceis ?
Omnibus inque locis esse omni tempore præstò ;
Nubibus ut tenebras faciat, cœlique serena
Concutiat sonitu ? &c.*

And Secondly, if it were supposed to be possible, yet such infinite *Negotiosity* would be absolutely inconsistent with a *Happy State* ; Nor could such a Deity ever have any quiet Enjoyment of himself, being Perpetually filled with Tumult and Hurliburly, & συμφωνῶσι πραγμάτων καὶ φρονήδεις καὶ ὀργαὶ καὶ χεῖρες μακάριότητι, ἀλλ' ἀδυνατεῖ καὶ φόβῳ καὶ προσδέσσει τῇ πλυσίον ταῦτα γίνεσθαι. *Distraction of Business and Sollicitous Cares, Displeasures and Favours, do not at all agree with Happiness, but they proceed from Imbecillity, Indigency and Fear* : τὸ μακάριον καὶ ἀφραστον ὅτε αὐτὸ πρᾶγμα ἔχῃ, ὅτε ἄλλω παρέχει, ὥς ὅτε ὀργαῖς ὅτε χεῖρι συνέχεται, οἱ ἀδυνατεῖ γὰρ πᾶν τὸ τοῦτον. *That which is Happy and Incorruptible, would neither have it self any Business to do, nor create any to others, it would neither have Displeasure nor Favour, towards any other Persons, to engage it in Action ; all this proceeding from Indigency. That is, Favour and Benevolence, as well as Anger and Displeasure, arise only from Imbecillity. That which is perfectly happy and wanteth nothing, ὅλον ὃν ὧς τὴν συνοχὴν καὶ ἰδίαν διδαιμονίαν, being wholly possessed and taken up in the Enjoyment of its own Happiness, would be regardless of the Concernments of any others ; and mind nothing besides it self, either to do it Good or Harm. Wherefore, this Curiosus & plenus Negotii Deus, This Busy, Restless, and Pragmatical Deity, that must needs intermeddle and have to do with every thing in the whole World, is a Contradictious Notion, since it cannot but be the most Unhappy of all things.*

XIX. In the Next Place, the Atheists dispute further by propounding Several bold *Queries*, which they conceive unanswerable, after this manner. If the World were made by a Deity, why was it not made by him sooner ? or since it was so long unmade, why did he make it at all ? *Cur mundi Ædificator repente extiterit, innumerabili antè sæcula dormierit ? How came this Builder and Architect of the World, to start up upon a suddain, after he had slept for infinite Ages, and bethink himself of making a World ?* For, certainly, if he had been awake all that while, he would either have made it sooner, or not at all ; because there was either something wanting to his Happiness, before, or nothing ; if there had been any thing wanting before, then the World could not have been so long unmade ; but if he were completely Happy in himself without it, then μὴδ' ἐν ἐλπίδι κενῶς ἐμελλεν ὑπὸ χεῖρ' ὑπερβᾶν, *wanting nothing, he vainly went about to make superfluous things. All desire of Change and Novelty, argues a Fastidious Satiety, proceeding from Defect and Indigency ;*

*Quidve novi potuit tanto pōst, antè quietos
Inlicere, ut cuperent vitam mutare priorem ?
Nam gaudere novis rebus debere videtur
Quoi veteres obsunt ; sed quoi nil accidit ægri*

Tempore

*Tempore in anteaſſo, cùm pulchrè degeret ævum,
Quid potuit novitatis amorem accendere tali ?*

Did this Deity, therefore light up the Stars, as ſo many Lamps or Torches, in that vaſt Abyſs of infinite Darkneſs, that himſelf might thereby have a more comfortable and chearful Habitation ? Why would he then content himſelf from Eternity, to dwell in ſuch a Melancholick, Horrid, and Forlorn Dungeon ?

*An Credo in tenebris vitâ & mærore jacebat,
Donec diluxit rerum Genitalis Origo ?*

Was Company and that Variety of Things, by which Heaven and Earth are diſtinguiſhed, deſireable to him ? Why then would he continue Solitary ſo long, wanting the pleaſure of ſuch a Spectacle ? Did he make the World and men in it to this end, that himſelf might be worſhipped and adored, feared and honoured by them ? But what could he be the better for that, who was ſufficiently happy alone in himſelf before ? Or did he do it for the Sake of Men, to gratifie and oblige them ?

*At quid immortalibus atque beatis
Gratia noſtra queat largiri emolumenti,
Ut noſtrâ quicquam cauſâ gerere aggrediantur ?*

Again, if this were done for the ſake of Men, then it muſt be either for Wiſe Men or for Fools ; If for Wiſe men only, then all that Pains was taken but for a very few ; but if for Fools, what reaſon could there be, why the Deity ſhould ſeek to deſerve ſo well at their hands ? Beſides this, what hurt would it have been to any of us, (whether Wiſe or Fooliſh) never to have been made ?

*Quidve mali fuerat nobis non eſſe creatis ?
Natus enim debet quicumque eſt, velle manere
In vita, donec retinebit blanda voluptas :
Qui nunquam verò vitæ guſtavit amorem,
Nec fuit in numero, quid obeſt non eſſe creatum ?*

Laſtly, if this Deity muſt needs go about moliminouſly to make a World, ἐργατὴς οὐλοῦ καὶ τέκτονος, like an Artificer and Carpenter, what Tools and Instruments could he have to work withall ? what Miniſters and Subſervient Opificers ? what Engins and Machins for the rearing up of ſo huge a Fabrick ? How could he make the Matter to underſtand his meaning, and obey his beck ? how could he move it and turn it up and down ? For if Incorporeal, he could neither touch nor be touched, but would run through all things, without faſtening upon any thing : but if Corporeal, then the ſame thing was both Materials and Architect, both Timber and Carpenter, and the Stones muſt hew themſelves, and bring themſelves together, with diſcretion, into a Structure.

XX. In the last Place, the Atheists argue from *Interest* (which proves many times the most effectual of all Arguments) against a Deity ; endeavouring to perswade, that it is, First, the *Interest* of *Private Persons*, and of all *Mankind* in General ; and Secondly, the *Particular Interest* of *Civil Sovereigns*, and *Commonwealths* ; that there should neither be a *God*, nor the Belief of any such thing entertained by the minds of Men ; that is, no Religion. First, they say therefore, that it is the *Interesse* of Mankind in General ; Because so long as men are perswaded, that there is an Understanding Being infinitely Powerful, having no Law but his own Will, (because he has no Superiour) that may do whatever he pleases at any Time to them, they can never Securely enjoy themselves or any thing, nor be ever free from disquieting Fear and Solitude. What the Poets Fable of *Tantalus* in Hell, being alwaies in fear of a huge stone hanging over his Head, and ready every Moment to tumble down upon him, is nothing to that true fear which men have of a Deity, and Religion, here in this Life, which indeed was the very thing mythologized in it.

*Nec miser impendens magnum timet aëre Saxum
Tantalus, (ut fama est) cassâ formidine torpens :
Sed magis in vita, Divûm Metus urget inanis
Mortales, casûmque timent, quemcumque ferat Fors.*

For besides mens *Insecurity*, from all manner of present Evils, upon the Supposition of a God, the Immortality of Souls can hardly be kept out, but it will crowd in after it, and then the fear of Eternal Punishments after Death will unavoidably follow thereupon, perpetually embittering all the Solaces of Life, and never suffering men to have the least sincere Enjoyment.

— — — *si certam finem esse viderent
Ærumnarum homines, aliquâ ratione valerent,
Religionibus, atque minis obsistere Vatum.
Nunc ratio nulla est restandi, nulla facultas :
Æternas quoniam Penas in morte timendum.
Ignoratur enim quæ sit natura Animæ,
Nata sit, an contrâ nascentibus insinuetur ;
Et simul intereat nobiscum morte dirempta,
An Tenebras Orci visat vastâsque Lacunas.*

Wherefore it is plain, that they who first introduced the *Belief* of a Deity and Religion, whatever they might aim at in it, deserved very ill of all Mankind, because they did thereby infinitely debase and depress mens Spirits under a Servile Fear,

*Efficiunt animos humiles, formidine Divûm,
Depressosque premunt ad Terram :*

As also cause the greatest Grievs and Calamities that now disturb Humane Life,

Quantos

*Quantos tum gemitus ipsi sibi, quantaq; nobis
Volnera, quas lachrymas peperere Minorib' nostris?*

There can be no comfortable and happy Living, without banishing from our Mind, the belief of these two things, of a Deity and the Souls Immortality,

*Et metus ille foras præcepit Acheruntis agendus
Funditus, humanam qui vitam turbat ab imo,
Omnia suffundens Mortis Nigrore, neque ullam
Esse voluptatem Liquidam, Furâque relinquit.*

It was therefore a Noble and Heroical Exploit of *Democritus* and *Epicurus*, those two good-natured Men, who seeing the World thus oppressed under the grievous Yoke of Religion, the Fear of a Deity and Punishment after death, and taking pity of this sad Condition of Mankind, did manfully encounter that affrightful Spectre or *Empusa*, of a *Providential Deity*; and by clear Philosophick Reasons, chase it away, and banish it quite out of the World; laying down such Principles, as would salve all the *Phænomena* of Nature without a God;

*Quæ bene cognita si teneas, Natura videtur
Liberâ continuò, Dominis privata Superbis,
Ipsa suâ per se sponte, Omnia Dis agere expers.*

So that *Lucretius* does not without just Cause, erect a Triumphal Arch or Monument to *Epicurus*, for this Conquest or Victory of his, obtained over the Deity and Religion, in this manner;

*Humana ante oculos sædè quum vita jaceret,
In terris oppressa gravi sub Religione,
Quæ caput à Cæli regionibus ostendebat,
Horribili super aspectu mortalibus instans;
Primum Graius homo mortales tendere contra
Est oculos ausus, primisque obistere contra;
Quem nec fama Deum nec fulmina, nec minitanti
Murmure compressit cælum, &c.*

XXI. That it is also the Interest of Civil Sovereigns and of all Common-wealths, that there should neither be *Deity* nor *Religion*, the Democritick Atheists would perswade in this manner; A *Body Politick* or Common-wealth is made up of parts, that are all *naturally Dissociated* from one another, by reason of that Principle of *private Self-love*, who therefore can be no otherwise held together than by *Fear*; Now if there be any greater *Fear* than the *Fear* of the *Leviathan*, and Civil Representative, the whole Structure and Machin of this great Coloss must needs fall a-pieces, and tumble down. The Civil Sovereign reigns only in *Fear*, wherefore unless his *Fear* be the King and Sovereign of all *Fears*, his Empire and Dominion ceases,

ceases. But as the Rod of *Moses* devoured the Rods of the *Magicians*, so certainly will the fear of an omnipotent Deity, that can punish with eternal Torments after Death, quite swallow up and devour that comparatively Petty Fear of *Civil Sovereigns*, and consequently destroy the Being of *Commonwealths*, which have no Foundation in *Nature*, but are mere *Artificial Things*, made by the *Enchantment* and *Magical Art* of *Policy*. Wherefore it is well observed by a Modern Writer, That men ought not to suffer themselves to be abused, by the *Doctrine* of *Separated Essences* and *Incorporeal Substances*, (such as God and the Soul) built upon the vain *Philosophy* of *Aristotle*, that would fright men from obeying the *Laws* of their Country, with *Empty Names*, (as of *Hell*, *Damnation*, *Fire* and *Brimstone*) as men fright *Birds* from the *Corn*, with an empty *Hat*, *Dublet*, and a crooked *Stick*. And again; If the fear of *Spirits* (the chief of which is the Deity) were taken away, men would be much more fitted than they are for *Civil Obedience*.

Moreover, the Power of *Civil Sovereigns* is perfectly *Indivisible*; 'tis either *All* or *Nothing*, it must be *Absolute* and *Infinite*, or else 'tis none at all; now it cannot be so, if there be any other Power equal to it, to share with it, much less if there be any *Superiour* (as that of the Deity) to check it and controul it. Wherefore the Deity must of *Necessity* be removed and displaced, to make room for the *Leviathan* to spread himself in.

Lastly, 'Tis perfectly inconsistent with the *Nature* of a *Body Politick*, that there should be any *Private Judgment* of *Good* or *Evil*, *Lawful* or *Unlawful*, *Just* or *Unjust* allowed; but *Conscience* (which *Theism* and *Religion* introduces) is *Private Judgment* concerning *Good* and *Evil*; and therefore the Allowance of it, is contradictory to *Civil Sovereignty* and a *Commonwealth*. There ought to be no other *Conscience* (in a *Kingdom* or *Commonwealth*) besides the *Law* of the *Countrey*; the allowance of *Private Conscience* being, *ipso facto*, a *Dissolution* of the *Body Politick*, and a *Return* to the *State* of *Nature*. Upon all these accounts it must needs be acknowledged, that those *Philosophers* who undermine and weaken *Theism* and *Religion*, do highly deserve of all *Civil Sovereigns* and *Commonwealths*.

XXII. Now from all the premised Considerations, the *Democriticks* confidently conclude against a *Deity*; That the *System* and *Compages* of the *Universe*, had not its *Original* from any *Understanding Nature*, but that *Mind* and *Understanding* it self, as well as all things else in the *World*, sprung up from *Senseless Nature* and *Chance*, or from the *unguided* and *undirected Motion* of *Matter*. Which is therefore called by the Name of *Nature*, because whatsoever moves is moved by *Nature* and *Necessity*, and the mutual *Occursions* and *Rencontres* of *Atoms*, their *Plage*, their *Stroaks* and *Dashings* against one another, their *Reflexions* and *Repercussions*, their *Cohesions*, *Implexions*, and *Entanglements*, as also their *Scattered Dispersions* and *Divulsions*, are all *Natural* and *Necessary*; but it is called also by the

name of *Chance* and *Fortune*, because it is all unguided by any *Mind*, *Counsel* or *Design*.

Wherefore *Infinite Atoms* of different sizes and figures, devoid of all *Life* and *Sense*, moving Fortuitously from Eternity in infinite Space, and making successively several *Encounters*, and consequently various *Implexions* and *Entanglements* with one another ; produced first a confused *Chaos* of these Omnifarious Particles , jumbling together with infinite variety of *Motions*, which afterward by the tugging of their different and contrary forces, whereby they all hindred and abated each other, came, as it were by joint *Conspiracy*, to be Conglomerated into a *Vortex* or *Vortices* ; where after many *Convolutions* and *Evolutions*, *Molitions* and *Effays* (in which all manner of *Tricks* were tried, and all *Forms* imaginable experimented) they chanced in length of time here to settle, into this *Form* and *System* of things, which now is, of *Earth*, *Water*, *Air* and *Fire* ; *Sun*, *Moon* and *Stars* ; *Plants*, *Animals* and *Men* ; So that *Senseless Atoms*, fortuitously moved , and *Material Chaos*, were the first *Original* of all things.

This Account of the *Cosmopœia*, and first *Original* of the *Mundane System*, is represented by *Lucretius* according to the mind of *Epicurus*, though without any mention of those *Vortices*, which yet were an essential part of the old *Democritick Hypothesis*.

Sed quibus ille modis conjectus materia?
Fundarit cælum, ac terram, pontique profunda,
Solis, lunæ cursus, ex ordine ponam.
Nam certè neque consilio primordia rerum,
Ordine se quæque atque sagaci mente locarunt :
Nec, quos quæque darent motus, pepigere profectò :
Sed quia multa modis multis primordia rerum,
Ex infinito jam tempore percita plagis,
Ponderibusque suis consuerunt concita ferri,
Omni modisque coire, atque omnia pertentare,
Quæcunque inter se possent congressa creare :
Propterea fit, uti magnum volgata per ævum,
Omnigenos cætus, & motus experiundo,
Tandem ea conveniant, quæ ut convenere, repente
Magnarum rerum fiant exordia sæpe,
Terræ, Maris, & Cæli, generisque Animantum.

But because some seem to think that *Epicurus* was the first Founder and Inventor of this Doctrine, we shall here observe, that this same Atheistick Hypothesis was long before described by *Plato*, when *Epicurus* was, as yet unborn ; and therefore doubtless according to the Doctrine of *Leucippus*, *Democritus* and *Protagoras* ; though that Philosopher, in a kind of disdain (as it seems) refused to mention either of their Names, πῦρ ἔνδρα ἔν γλῶ ἔν ἀέρα, φύσις πάντα εἶναι ἔν τύχῃ φασί· τίχην δ' ὅθεν τότων. ἔν τὰ μὲν ταῦτα αὐ σώματα, γῆς τε ἔν ἡλίου ἔν σελήνης, ἀστρον τε πᾶσι, διὰ τότων γιγνόμεναι, παλλελάς ὄντων ἀφύχων.

τύχῃ

τύχη ἢ φερέμεθα τῇ ᾗ δυνάμει ἐκαστα ἐκαστῶν, ἢ ξυμπέπῳκεν, ἀρμόστρια οὐκείως πως, &c. ταύτη καὶ κατὰ ταῦτα ἔστω γεννηθέναι ἢ τε ἔργον ὅλον καὶ πάντα ὅποια κατ' ἔργον. καὶ ἕκαστα αὐτῶν καὶ φύλα ξυμπαντὶα ὡρῶν πασῶν ἐκ τῶν γεννηθέντων ἢ διὰ νῦν (φασίν) ἢ διὰ τινὰ θεόν, ἢ διὰ τέχνην. ἀλλὰ ὁ λέγων, φύσις καὶ τύχη, τέχνην ἢ ὑπερὸν ἐκ τῶν ὑπερὸν γεννηθέντων, &c. *The Atheists say that Fire, Water, Air and Earth (i. e. the four Elements) were all made by Nature and Chance; and none of them by Art or Mind (that is, they were made by the fortuitous Motion of Atoms, and not by any Deity) And that those other Bodies, of the Terrestrial Globe, of the Sun, the Moon, and the Stars (which by all, except these Atheists, were, in those times, generally supposed to be Animated, and a kind of Inferiour Deities) were afterwards made out of the foresaid Elements, being altogether Inanimate. For they being moved fortuitously or as it happened, and so making various commixtures together, did by that means, at length produce the whole Heavens and all things in them, as likewise Plants and Animals here upon earth, all which were not made by Mind, nor by Art, nor by any God; but, as we said before, by Nature and Chance. Art and Mind it self, rising up afterwards from the same Senseless Principles in Animals.*




CHAP. III.

An Introduction to the Confutation of the Atheistick Grounds, in which is contained a particular Account of all the several Forms of Atheism. 1. That the Grounds of the Hylozoick Atheism could not be insisted on in the former Chapter, together with those of the Atomick, they being directly contrary each to other; with a further Account of this Hylozoick Atheism. 2. A Suggestion, by way of Caution, for the preventing of all mistakes, That every Hylozoist must not therefore be condemned for an Atheist, or a mere Counterfeit Histrionical Theist. 3. That nevertheless, such Hylozoists as are also Corporealists, can by no means be excused from the Imputation of Atheism, for Two Reasons. 4. That Strato Lampfacenus, commonly called Physicus, seems to have been the first Asserter of the Hylozoick Atheism, he holding no other God but the Life of Nature in Matter. 5. Further proved, that Strato was an Atheist, and that of a different Form from Democritus, he attributing an Energetick Nature, but without Sense and Animality, to all Matter. 6. That Strato not deriving all things from a mere Fortuitous Principle, as the Democritick Atheists did, nor yet acknowledging any one Plastick Nature to preside over the Whole, but deducing the Original of things from a Mixture of Chance and Plastick Nature both together, in the several parts of Matter, must therefore needs be an Hylozoick Atheist. 7. That the famous Hippocrates was neither an Hylozoick nor Democritick Atheist, but rather an Heraclitick Corporeal Theist. 8. That Plato took no Notice of the Hylozoick Atheism, nor of any other, then what derives the Original of all things from a mere Fortuitous Nature; and therefore either the Democritical, or the Anaximandrian Atheism, which latter will be next declared. 9. That it is hardly imaginable, there should have been no Philosophick Atheists in the World before Democritus and Leucippus, there being in all Ages, as Plato observes, some or other sick of the Atheistick Disease. That Aristotle affirms many of the first Philosophers, to have assigned only a Material Cause of the Mundane System, without either Efficient or Intending Cause; They supposing Matter to be the only Substance, and all things else nothing but the Passions and Accidents of it, Generable and Corruptible. 10. That the Doctrine of these Materialists will be more fully understood from the Exceptions which Aristotle makes against them; His first Excep-

tion, That they assigned no Cause of Motion, but introduced it into the World unaccountably. 11. Aristotle's second Exception, That these Materialists did assign no Cause τὸ εἶναι καλῶς, of Well and Fit, and give no account of the Orderly Regularity of things. That Anaxagoras was the first Ionick Philosopher who made Mind and Good a Principle of the Universe. 12. Concluded, That Aristotle's Materialists were downright Atheists, not merely because they held all Substance to be Body, since Heraclitus and Zeno did the like, and yet are not therefore accounted Atheists, (they supposing their Fiery Matter to be Originally Intellectual, and the whole World to be an Animal) but because these made Stupid Matter, devoid of all Understanding, and Life, to be the only Principle: 13. As also, because they supposed every thing besides the Substance of Matter, Life and Understanding, and all Particular Beings, to be Generable and Corruptible, and consequently that there could be no other God, then such as was Native and Mortal. That those ancient Theologers, who were Theogonists, and Generated all the Gods out of Night and Chaos, were only Verbal Theists but Real Atheists: Senseless Matter being to them the highest Numen. 14. The great difference observed betwixt Aristotle's Atheistical Materialists, and the Italick Philosophers; the former determining all things, besides the Substance of Matter, to be Made or Generated, the latter that no Real Entity was either Generated or Corrupted; thereupon both destroying Qualities and Forms of Body, and asserting the Ingenerability and Incorporeity of Souls. 15. How Aristotle's Atheistick Materialists endeavoured to baffle and elude that Axiom of the Italick Philosophers, That Nothing can come from Nothing nor go to Nothing, And that Anaxagoras was the first amongst the Ionicks who yielded so far to that Principle, as from thence to assert Incorporeal Substance, and the Pre-existence of Qualities and Forms in Similar Atoms, forasmuch as he conceived them to be things, really distinct from the Substance of Matter. 16. The Error of some Writers, who because Aristotle affirms, that the Ancient Philosophers did generally conclude the World to have been Made, from thence infer, that they were all Theists, and that Aristotle contradicts himself in representing many of them as Atheists. That the Ancient Atheists did generally νομίζουσιν, assert the World to have been Made, or have had a Beginning; as also some Theists did maintain its Eternity, but in a way of Dependency upon the Deity. That we ought here to distinguish betwixt the System of the World, and the Substance of the Matter, all Atheists asserting the Matter to have been, not only Eternal, but also such Independently upon any other Being. 17. That Plato and others concluded this Materialism or Hylopathian Atheism, to have been at least as old as Homer, who made the Ocean (or fluid Matter) the Father of all the Gods. And that this was indeed the Ancientest of all Atheisms, which verbally acknowledging Gods, yet derived the Original of them all from Night and Chaos. The description of this Atheistick Hypothesis in Aristophanes, That Night and Chaos first laid an Egg, out of which sprung forth Love, which afterwards mingling with Chaos begat Heaven and Earth, Animals and all the Gods. 18. That notwithstanding this, in Aristotle's judgment, Parmenides, Hesiod, with others, who made Love in like manner,

ner, Senior to all the Gods, were to be exempted out of the number of Atheists; they understanding this Love to be an Active Principle, or Cause of Motion in the Universe, which therefore could be no Egg of the Night, nor Off-spring of Chaos, but something in Order of Nature before Matter. Simmias Rhodius his Wings, a Poem in honour of this Heavenly Love. This not that Love which was the Off-spring of Penia and Porus in Plato. In what rectified sence it may pass for true Theology, that Love is the Supreme Deity and Original of all things. 19. That though Democritus and Leucippus be elsewhere taxed by Aristotle, for this very thing, that they assigned only a Material Cause of the Universe; yet they were not the Persons intended by him in the fore-cited Accusation, but certain Ancienter Philosophers, who also were not Atomists but Hylopathians. 20. That Aristotle's Atheistick Materialists were all the first Ionick Philosophers before Anaxagoras, Thales being the Head of them. But that Thales is acquitted from this Imputation of Atheism by several good Authors (with an Account how he came to be thus differently represented) and therefore that his next Successour Anaximander is rather to be accounted the Prince of this Atheistick Philosophy. 21. A Passage out of Aristotle objected which, at first sight, seems to make Anaximander a Divine Philosopher, and therefore hath led both Modern and Ancient Writers into that mistake. That this Place well considered, proves the contrary, That Anaximander was the Chief of the old Atheistick Philosophers. 22. That it is no wonder, if Anaximander called Senseless Matter the $\tau\omicron\ \theta\epsilon\omicron\iota\nu$, or God, since to all Atheists, that must needs be the the highest Numen; Also how this is said to be Immortal, and to Govern all; with the concurrent Judgment of the Greek Scholiasts upon this Place. 23. A further Account of the Anaximandrian Philosophy, manifesting it to have been purely Atheistical. 24. What ill Judges the Vulgar have been of Theists and Atheists; as also that learned men have commonly supposed fewer Atheists than indeed there were. Anaximander and Democritus Atheists both alike, though Philosophising different ways. That some Passages in Plato respect the Anaximandrian Form of Atheism, rather than the Democritical. 25. Why Democritus and Leucippus new modell'd Atheism into the Atomick Form. 26. That besides the Three Forms of Atheism already mentioned, we sometimes meet with a Fourth, which supposes the Universe though not to be an Animal, yet a kind of Plant or Vegetable, having one Plastick Nature in it, devoid of Understanding and Sense, which disposes and orders the Whole. 27. That this Form of Atheism which makes one Plastick Life to preside over the Whole, is different from the Hylozoick, in that it takes away all Fortuitousness, and subjects all to the Fate of one Plastick Methodical Nature. 28. Though it be possible that some in all ages might have entertained this Atheistical Concept, That things are dispensed by one Regular and Methodical but Unknowing Senseless Nature; yet it seems to have been chiefly asserted by certain Spurious Heracliticks and Stoicks. And therefore this Form of Atheism, which supposes one Cosmoplastick Nature, may be called Pseudo-zenonian. 29. That, besides the Philosophick Atheists, there have been always Enthusiastick and Fanatical Atheists, though

in some sense all Atheists may be said also to be both Enthusiasts and Fanatics, they being led by an $\sigma\rho\eta\eta\ \alpha\lambda\omicron\gamma\omicron$, or Irrational Impetus. 30. That there cannot easily be any other Form of Atheism, besides those Four already mentioned, because all Atheists are Corporealists, and yet all Corporealists not Atheists, but only such as make the first Principle of all things, not to be Intellectual. 31. A Distribution of Atheisms, producing the former Quaternio, and showing the Difference between them. 32. That they are but Bunglers at Atheism, who talk of Sensitive and Rational Matter; and that the Canting Astrological Atheists are not at all considerable, because not understanding themselves. 33. Another Distribution of Atheisms; That they either derive the Original of things from a Merely Fortuitous Principle, the Unguided Motion of Matter, or else from a Plastick and Methodical, but Senseless Nature. What Atheists denied the Eternity of the World, and what asserted it. 34. That of these Four Forms of Atheism, the Atomick or Democritical, and the Hylozoick or Stratonical are the chief, and that these Two being once confuted, all Atheism will be confuted. 35. These Two Forms of Atheism, being contrary to one another, how we ought in all reason to insist rather upon the Atomick; but that afterwards we shall confute the Hylozoick also, and prove against all Corporealists, that no Cogitation nor Life belongs to Matter. 36. That in the mean time, we shall not neglect any Form of Atheism, but confute them all together, as agreeing in one Principle; as also show, how the old Atomick Atheists did sufficiently overthrow the Foundation of the Hylozoists. 37. Observed here, that the Hylozoists are not condemned merely for asserting a Plastick Life, distinct from the Animal, (which with most other Philosophers we judge highly probable, if taken in a Right Sense) but for grossly misunderstanding it, and attributing the same to Matter. ~~The~~ The Plastick Life of Nature largely explained. 38. That though the Confutation of the Atheistick grounds, according to the Laws of Method, ought to have been reserved for the last part of this Discourse, yet we having reasons to violate those Laws, crave the Readers Pardon for this Preposterousness. A considerable Observation of Plato's, that it is not only Moral Vitiolity which inclines men to Atheize, but also an Affectation of seeming wiser than the Generality of Mankind; As likewise that the Atheists, making such pretence to Wit, it is a Seasonable undertaking to evince that they fumble in all their Ratiocinations. That we hope to make it appear, that the Atheists are no Conjurors; and that all Forms of Atheism are Non-sense and Impossibility.

I.  E have now represented the Grand Mysteries of Atheism, which may be also called the Mysteries of the Kingdom of Darknes; though indeed some of them are but briefly hinted here, they being again more fully to be insisted on afterward, where we are to give an account of the Atheists Endeavours to Salve the Phenomenon of Cogitation. We have represented the chief Grounds of Atheism in General, as also of that most Notorious Form of Atheism in particular, that is called *Atomical*: but whereas there hath been already mentioned,

mentioned, another Form of Atheism, called by us *Hylozoical*; the Principles hereof could not possibly be insisted on in this place, where we were to make the most Plausible Plea for Atheism; they being directly contrary to those of the Atomical, so that they would have mutually destroyed each other. For, whereas the *Atomick Atheism* supposes, the Notion or Idea of Body to be nothing but *Extended Resisting Bulk*, and consequently to include no manner of *Life* and *Cogitation* in it; *Hylozoism* on the contrary makes all Body, as such, and therefore every smallest Atom of it, to have *Life* Essentially belonging to it (Natural Perception, and Appetite) though without any *Animal Sense* or *Reflexive Knowledge*, as if *Life*, and *Matter* or *Extended Bulk*, were but two Incomplete and Inadequate Conceptions, of one and the same Substance, called Body. By reason of which *Life* (not *Animal* but only *Plastical*) all parts of Matter being supposed able, to form themselves *Artificially* and *Methodically* (though without any Deliberation or Attentive Consideration) to the greatest advantage of their present respective Capabilities, and therefore also sometimes, by Organization to improve themselves further, into *Sense* and *Self-enjoyment* in all Animals, as also to *Universal Reason* and *Reflexive Knowledge* in Men; it is plain that there is no Necessity at all left, either of any *Incorporeal Soul* in Men to make them Rational, or of any *Deity* in the whole Universe to save the *Regularity* thereof. One main difference betwixt these two Forms of Atheism is this, that the *Atomical* supposes all *Life* whatsoever to be *Accidental*, *Generable* and *Corruptible*: But the *Hylozoick* admits of a certain *Natural* or *Plastick Life*, *Essential* and *Substantial*, *Ingenerable* and *Incorruptible*, though attributing the same only to Matter, as supposing no other Substance in the World besides it.

II. Now to prevent all Mistakes, we think fit here by way of Caution to suggest; That as every *Atomist* is not therefore necessarily an *Atheist*, so neither must every *Hylozoist* needs be accounted such. For who ever so holds the *Life* of *Matter*, as notwithstanding to assert another kind of Substance also, that is Immaterial and Incorporeal, is no way obnoxious to that foul Imputation. However we ought not to dissemble, but that there is a great Difference here betwixt these two, *Atomism* and *Hylozoism*, in this regard; That the former of them, namely *Atomism* (as hath been already declared) hath in it self a Natural Cognation and Conjunction with *Incorporeism*, though violently cut off from it by the *Democritick Atheists*; whereas the latter of them, *Hylozoism*, seems to have altogether as close and intimate a Correspondence with *Corporealism*; Because, as hath been already signified, if all Matter, as such, have not only such a *Life*, *Perception* and *Self-active Power* in it, as whereby it can Form it self to the best advantage, making this a Sun and that an Earth or Planet, and fabricating the Bodies of Animals most Artificially; but also can improve it self into *Sense* and *Self-enjoyment*; it may as well be thought able to advance it self higher, into all the Acts of *Reason* and *Understanding* in Men: so that there will be no need either of an Incorporeal Immortal Soul in Men, or a Deity in the Universe. Nor indeed is it easily conceivable, how any should be induced to admit
such

such a Monstrous Paradox as this is, That every Atom of Dust or other Senseless Matter, is Wiser than the greatest Politician and the most acute Philosopher that ever was; as having an Infallible Omniscience of all its own *Capabilities* and *Congruities*; were it not by reason of some strong Prepossession, against Incorporeal Substance and a Deity, there being nothing so Extravagant and Outragiously Wild, which a Mind once infected with Atheistical Sottishness and Disbelief, will not rather greedily swallow down, than admit a Deity, which to such is the highest of all Paradoxes imaginable, and the most affrightful Bug-bear. Notwithstanding all which, it may not be denied, but that it is possible for one, who really entertains the belief of a Deity and a Rational Soul Immortal, to be persuaded, first, that the Sensitive Soul, in men as well as Brutes, is merely Corporeal; and then that there is a *Material Plastick Life* in the Seeds of all Plants and Animals, whereby they do Artificially form themselves; and from thence afterward to descend also further, to Hylozoism, that all matter, as such, hath a kind of *Natural*, though not *Animal Life* in it; in consideration whereof, we ought not to Censure every *Hylozoist*, professing to hold a Deity and a Rational Soul Immortal, for a mere Disguised Atheist, or Counterfeit Histrionical Theist.

III. But though every *Hylozoist* be not therefore necessarily an *Atheist*, yet whosoever is an *Hylozoist* and *Corporealist* both together, he that both holds the *Life of Matter* in the Sence before declared, and also that there is no other Substance in the World besides Body and Matter, cannot be excused from the Imputation of Atheism, for Two Reasons. First, because though he derive the Original of all Things, not from what is perfectly Dead and Stupid, as the *Atomick Atheist* doth, but from that which hath a kind of Life or Perception in it, nay an *Infallible Omniscience*, of whatsoever it self can Do or Suffer, or of all its own *Capabilities* and *Congruities*, which seems to bear some Semblance of a Deity; yet all this being only in the way of *Natural* and not *Animal Perception*, is indeed nothing but a Dull and Drowsie, *Plastick* and *Spermatick Life*, devoid of all *Consciousness* and *Self-enjoyment*. The *Hylozoists Nature*, is a piece of very Mysterious Non-sence, a thing perfectly Wise, without any Knowledge or Consciousness of it self; Whereas a Deity, according to the true Notion of it, is such a Perfect Understanding Being, as with full Consciousness and Self-enjoyment, is completely Happy. Secondly, because the *Hylozoick Corporealist*, supposing all Matter, as such, to have Life in it, must needs make Infinite of those Lives, (forasmuch as every Atom of Matter has a Life of its own) Coordinate and Independent on one another, and consequently, as many Independent first Principles, no one Common Life or Mind ruling over the Whole. Whereas, to assert a God, is to derive all things ἀπ' ἐνός τινος, from some one Principle, or to suppose one Perfect Living and Understanding Being, to be the Original of all things, and the Architect of the whole Universe.

Thus we see that the Hylozoick Corporealist is really an Atheist, though carrying more the Semblance and Disguise of a Theist, than
other

other Atheists, in that he attributes a kind of Life to Matter. For indeed every Atheist must of necessity cast some of the Incommunicable Properties of the Deity, more or less, upon that which is not God, namely Matter: and they who do not attribute Life to it, yet must needs bestow upon it Necessary Self-existence, and make it the First Principle of all things, which are the Peculiarities of the Deity. The *Numen* which the Hylozoick Corporealist pays all his Devotions to, is a certain blind *Shee-god* or *Goddeß*, called *Nature* or the *Life of Matter*; which is a very great Mystery, a thing that is Perfectly Wise, and Infallibly Omniscient, without any Knowledge or Consciousness at all. Something like to that *ἡ τοῦ παντὸς αἰτία* (in * Plato) *ὅτι τὸ δυνάμει πολλὸν ἢ νυντελεσμένον*, that vulgar Enigm or Riddle of Boys, concerning an Eunuch striking a Bat; *A Man and not a Man, Seeing and not Seeing, did Strike and not Strike, with a Stone and not a Stone, a Bird and not a Bird, &c.* The Difference being only this; that this was a thing Intelligible, but humourfomly expressed, whereas the other seems to be perfect Non-sence, being nothing but a misunderstanding of the Plastick Power, as shall be showed afterwards.

* De Rep. l. 5;

IV. Now the First and Chief Assertour of this Hylozoick Atheism was, as we conceive, *Strato Lampfacenus*, commonly called also *Physicus*, that had been once an Auditor of *Theophrastus* and a famous Peripatetick, but afterwards degenerated from a Genuine Peripatetick, into a new-formed kind of Atheist. For *Velleius*, an Epicurean Atheist in *Cicero*, reckoning up all the several sorts of Theists, which had been in former times, gives such a Character of this *Strato*, as whereby he makes him to be a strange kind of *Atheistical Theist*, or *Divine Atheist*, if we may use such a contradictory Expression; his words are these, * *Nec audiendus Strato, qui Physicus appellatur, qui omnem Vim Divinam in Natura sitam esse censet, que Causas gignendi, augendi minnendive habeat, sed careat omni sensu*; Neither is *Strato*, commonly called the Naturalist or Physiologist, to be heard, who places all Divinity in Nature, as having within it self the Causes of all Generations, Corruptions and Augmentations, but without any manner of Sense. *Strato's* Deity therefore was a certain Living and Active, but Senseless Nature. He did not fetch the Original of all things, as the Democritick and Epicurean Atheists, from a mere Fortuitous Motion of Atoms, by means whereof he bore some slight Semblance of a Theist, but yet he was a down-right Atheist for all that, his God being no other than such a Life of Nature in Matter, as was both devoid of Sense and Consciousness, and also multiplied together with the several parts of it. He is also in like manner described by *Seneca* in *St. Augustine**, as a kind of Mongrel thing, betwixt an Atheist and a Theist; *Ego feram aut Platonem, aut Peripateticum Stratonem, quorum alter Deum sine Corpore fecit, alter sine Animo* ? Shall I endure either *Plato*, or the Peripatetick *Strato*, whereof the one made God to be without a Body, the other without a Mind? In which words *Seneca* taxes these two Philosophers, as guilty of two contrary Extremes; *Plato*, because he made God to be a pure Mind or a perfectly Incorporeal Being; and *Strato*, because he made him to be a Body without

* De Nat. Deo, l. 1.

* De Civ. Dei, l. 6. c. 10.

without a Mind, he acknowledging no other Deity than a certain Stupid and Plastick Life, in all the several parts of Matter, without Sense. Wherefore this seems to be the only reason, why *Strato* was thus sometimes reckoned amongst the Theists, though he were indeed an Atheist, because he dissented from that only form of Atheism, then so vulgarly received, the Democritick and Epicurean, attributing a kind of Life to Nature and Matter.

V. And that *Strato* was thus an Atheist, but of a different kind from *Democritus*, may further appear from this Passage of *Cicero's**, *Strato Lampfacenus negat operâ Deorum se uti ad fabricandum Mundum, quacunque sint docet omnia esse Effecta Natura, nec ut ille, qui asperis, & levibus, & hamatis uncinatisque Corporibus Concreta hæc esse dicat, interjecto Inani; Somnia censet hæc esse Democriti, non docentis sed optantis: Strato denies that he makes any use of a God, for the fabricating of the World, or the salving the Phenomena thereof; teaching all things to have been made by Nature; but yet not in such a manner as he who affirmed them to be all Concreted out of certain rough and smooth, hookey and crooked Atoms, he judging these things to be nothing but the mere Dreams and Dotages of Democritus, not teaching but wishing. Here we see that *Strato* denied the World to be made by a Deity or perfect Understanding Nature, as well as *Democritus*, and yet that he dissented from *Democritus* notwithstanding, holding another kind of Nature, as the Original of things, than he did, who gave no account of any Active Principle and Cause of Motion, nor of the Regularity that is in Things. *Democritus* his Nature was nothing but the Fortuitous Motion of Matter, but *Strato's* Nature was an Inward Plastick Life in the several Parts of Matter, whereby they could Artificially frame themselves to the best advantage, according to their several Capabilities, without any Conscious or Reflexive Knowledge. *Quicquid aut sit aut fiat, (says the same Authour) Naturalibus fieri, aut factum esse docet ponderibus & motibus: Strato teaches whatsoever is, or is made, to be made by certain inward Natural Forces and Activities.**

VI. Furthermore it is to be observed, that though *Strato* thus attributed a certain kind of Life to Matter, yet he did by no means allow of any one Common Life, whether Sentient and Rational, or Plastick and Spermatick only, as Ruling over the whole mass of Matter and Corporeal Universe; which is a thing in part affirmed by *Plutarch**, and may in part be gathered from these words of his; *ἡ φύσις αὐτὸν ἐξ ἑαυτοῦ ἐστὶν, τὸ δὲ καὶ φύσιν ἐπεσθαι τῷ καὶ τῷ χύμῳ, ἀρχὴν καὶ ἐνδιδόναι τὸ αὐτόματον, ἔτα ἔτα περὶ αὐτοῦ τῷ φυσικῶν παθῶν ἕκαστον.* *Strato affirmeth that the World is no Animal (or God) but that what is Natural in every thing, follows something Fortuitous antecedent, Chance first beginning, and Nature acting consequently thereupon. The full sence whereof seems to be this, that though *Strato* did not derive the Original of all Mundane things from mere Fortuitous Mechanism, as *Democritus* before him had done, but supposed a Life and Natural Perception in the Matter, that was directive of it, yet not acknowledging any one Common Life, whether Animal or Plastick, as govern-*

* *Advrs. Colotum.*

ing and swaying the whole, but only supposing the several Parts of Matter, to have so many several Plastick Lives of their own, he must needs attribute something to *Fortune*, and make the Mundane System to depend upon a certain Mixture of *Chance* and *Plastick* or *Orderly Nature* both together, and consequently must be an Hylozoist. Thus we see, that these are two Schemes of Atheism, very different from one another; that which fetches the Original of all things from the mere *Fortuitous* and Unguided Motion of Matter, without any Vital or Directive Principle; and that which derives it from a certain Mixture of *Chance* and the *Life of Matter* both together, it supposing a *Plastick Life*, not in the whole Universe, as one thing, but in all the several Parts of Matter by themselves; the first of which is the *Atomick and Democritick Atheism*, the second the *Hylozoick and Stratonick*.

VII. It may perhaps be suspected by some, that the famous *Hippocrates*, who lived long before *Strato*, was an Assertour of the *Hylozoick Atheism*, because of such Passages in him as these, ἀπαίδετος ἢ φύσις ἐκ τῆς αὐτῆς * μαθεῖσα τὰ δεόντα ποιεῖν. *Nature is Unlearned or Un-^{VI. Epidem. Sect. 5. * Al. λέει.} taught, but it learneth from it self what things it ought to do: And again, ἀνδρείου ἐν φύσις αὐτῇ ἐαυτῇ, τὰς ἐφόδας ἐν ἐκ διανοίας. *Nature^{VI. Epidem. Sect. 5. * Al. λέει.} findeth out ways to it self, not by Ratiocination.* But there is nothing more affirmed here concerning Nature by *Hippocrates*, than what might be affirmed likewise of the *Aristotelick* and *Platonick Nature*, which is supposed to act for Ends, though without Consultation and Ratiocination. And I must confess, it seems to me no way misbecoming of a Theist, to acknowledge such a Nature or Principle in the Universe, as may act according to Rule and Method for the Sake of Ends, and in order to the Best, though it self do not understand the reason of what it doth; this being still supposed to act dependently upon a higher Intellectual Principle, and to have been first set a work and employed by it, it being otherwise Non-sence. But to assert any such *Plastick Nature*, as is Independent upon any higher Intellectual Principle, and so it self the first and highest Principle of Activity in the Universe, this indeed must needs be, either that *Hylozoick Atheism*, already spoken of, or else another different Form of Atheism, which shall afterwards be described. But though *Hippocrates* were a *Corporealist*, yet we conceive he ought not, to lie under the suspicion of either of those two Atheisms; forasmuch as himself plainly asserts a higher Intellectual Principle, than such a *Plastick Nature*, in the Universe, namely an *Heraclick Corporeal God*, or *Understanding Fire*, *Immortal*, pervading the whole World, in these words; δοκεῖ δὲ μοι ὁ καλέμεν θεῖον, ἀθάνατον τε εἶναι, καὶ νοεῖν πάντα, καὶ εἶναι, καὶ εἰδέναι πάντα τὰ ὄντα καὶ τὰ μέλλοντα ἔσεσθαι. *It seems to me, that^{De Princip. aut Carnib. Sect. 1.} that which is called Heat or Fire, is Immortal, and Omniscient, and that it sees, hears, and knows all things, not only such as are present, but also future.* Wherefore we conclude, that *Hippocrates* was neither an *Hylozoick* nor *Democritick Atheist*, but an *Heraclick Corporeal Theist*.*

VIII. Possibly it may be thought also, that Plato in his *Sophist* intends this *Hylozoick Atheism*, where he declares it as the Opinion of many, τὴν φύσιν πάντα γεννᾶν, ἀπὸ τινος αἰτίας αὐτομάτης, καὶ ἀνὸς διανοίας φύσεως. That Nature generates all Things from a certain Spontaneous Principle, without any Reason and Understanding. But here the word αὐτομάτης may be as well rendred Fortuitous, as Spontaneous; however there is no necessity, that this should be understood of an Artificial or Methodical Unknowing Nature. It is true indeed that Plato himself seems to acknowledge a certain *Plastick* or *Methodical* Nature in the Universe, Subordinate to the Deity, or that perfect Mind which is the supreme Governour of all things; as may be gathered from these words of his, τὴν φύσιν μετὰ λόγος καὶ σὺν λόγῳ καὶ νόῳ τὰ πάντα διακυβεῖν. That Nature does rationally (or orderly) together with Reason and Mind, govern the whole Universe. Where he supposes a certain Regular Nature to be a Partial and Subordinate Cause of things under the Divine Intellect. And it is very probable that Aristotle derived that whole Doctrine of his concerning a Regular and Artificial Nature which acts for Ends, from the Platonick School. But as for any such Form of Atheism, as should suppose a *Plastick* or *Regular*, but *senseless* Nature either in the whole World, or the several parts of Matter by themselves, to be the highest Principle of all things, we do not conceive that there is any Intimation of it to be found any where in Plato. For in his *De Legibus*, where he professedly disputes against *Atheism*, he states the Doctrine of it after this manner, τὰ μὲν μέγιστα καὶ κάλλιστα ἀσφράζεσθαι φύσιν καὶ τύχην, τὰ δὲ σμικρότερα τέχνην. That Nature and Chance produced all the first, greatest and most excellent things, but that the smaller things were produced by Humane Art. The plain meaning whereof is this, that the First Original of things, and the frame of the whole Universe, proceeded from a mere Fortuitous Nature, or the Motion of Matter unguided by any Art or Method. And thus it is further explained in the following words, πῦρ καὶ ὕδωρ καὶ γῆ καὶ ἀέρα φύσις πάντα εἶναι καὶ τύχῃ φασί. τέχνη δὲ ὅθεν τότων, &c. That the first Elements, Fire, water, Air and Earth, were all made by Nature and Chance, without any Art or Method, and then, that the bodies of the Sun, Moon and Stars, and the whole Heavens, were afterward made out of those Elements, as devoid of all manner of Life, and only fortuitously moved and mingled together; and lastly, that the whole Mundane System, together with the orderly Seasons of the year, as also Plants, Animals and Men did arise after the same manner, from the mere Fortuitous Motion of senseless and stupid Matter. In the very same manner does Plato state this Controversie again, betwixt Theists and Atheists, in his *Philebus*, πότερον ᾧ πρῶταρχε, τὰ εὐμαυρία, καὶ τῷδε τὸ καλῶμενον ὄλον, ὅτιτεροῦναι φάμεν τὴν τῷ λόγῳ καὶ εἰκῇ δύναμιν, καὶ τὰ ὅτι τετύχεν; ἢ ταῖναί τε, καθάπερ οἱ περὶ ἡμῶν ἔλεγον, νῦν καὶ φρονισίον τινα διαμασθῆναι συντάξασθαι διακυβεῖν; Whether shall we say, O Protarchus, that this whole Universe is dispensed and ordered, by a mere Irrational, Temerarious and Fortuitous Principle, and so as it happens; or contrariwise, (as our fore-fathers have instructed us) that Mind, and a certain Wonderful Wisdom, did at first frame, and does still govern all things?

Where-

In *Sophist*.

Lib. 10,

p. 28. Ed. Scr.

Wherefore we conclude that *Plato* took no notice of any other Form of Atheism, as then set on foot, than such as derives all things from a mere *Fortuitous Principle*, from *Nature* and *Chance*, that is the unguided Motion of Matter, without any *Plastick Artificialness* or *Methodicalness*, either in the whole Universe, or the parts of it. But because this kind of Atheism, which derives all things from a mere *Fortuitous Nature*, had been managed two manner of ways; by *Democritus* in the way of Atoms, and by *Anaximander* and others in the way of Forms and Qualities; (of which we are to speak in the next place) therefore the Atheism which *Plato* opposes, was either the *Democritick* or the *Anaximandrian Atheism*; or else (which is most probable) both of them together.

I X. It is hardly imaginable that there should be no Philosophick Atheists in the world before *Democritus* and *Leucippus*. *Plato* long since concluded, that there have been Atheists, more or less, in every Age, when he bespeaks his young Atheist after this manner, οὐ σὺ μόνον ἐστὶ σοὶ φίλοι πρῶτον καὶ πρῶτον ταύτῳ δόξαν ἔχεις, οὐδὲν ἔσχετε, γίνονται δὲ αἰεὶ πλείους καὶ ἐλάττωες ταύτῳ τὴν νόσον ἔχοντες. The full sense whereof seems to be this; Neither you (*my Son*) nor your friends (*Democritus, Leucippus* and *Protagoras*) are the first who have entertained this Opinion concerning the Gods, but there have been always some more or less, sick of this Atheistick Disease. Wherefore we shall now make a diligent search and enquiry, to see if we can find any other Philosophers who Atheized before *Democritus* and *Leucippus*, as also what Form of Atheism they entertained.

Aristotle in his *Metaphysics*, speaking of the Quaternio of Causes, affirms that many of those who first Philosophized, assigned only a *Material Cause* of the whole Mundane System, without either *Intending* or *Efficient Cause*. The reason whereof he intimates to have been this, because they asserted *Matter* to be the only Substance, and that whatsoever else was in the World, besides the substance or bulk of Matter, were all nothing else but πάθη, different *Passions* and *Affections*, *Accidents* and *Qualities* of *Matter* that were all Generated out of it, and Corruptible again into it, the Substance of Matter always remaining the same, neither Generated nor Corrupted, but from Eternity unmade; *Aristotle's* words are * these: τῶν πρώτων φιλοσοφισάντων, οἱ πλείους τοῖς ἐν ὕλης εἶδος μόνον κινήσαντες ἀρχαὶς εἶναι πάντων, ἐξ ἧς καὶ δεῖν ἅπαντα τὰ ὄντα, καὶ ἐξ ἧς γίνεσθαι πρῶτον, καὶ εἰς ἣν φέρεται τελευτῶν, ἢ μὲν ὅσας ὑπομνήσεις, τοῖς δὲ πλείοσι μεταβολήσεις, τὸ τοιοῦτον, καὶ ταύτῳ τῶν ὄντων τὴν ἀρχὴν φασιν εἶναι. Most of those who first philosophized took notice of no other Principle of things in the Universe, than what is to be referred to the *Material Cause*; for that out of which all things are, and out of which they are first made, and into which they are all at last corrupted and resolved, the Substance always remaining the same, and being changed only in its *Passions* and *Qualities*; This they concluded to be the first Original and Principle of all things.

*Arist. Met.
l. 1. c. 3.*

X. But the meaning of these old *Material Philosophers* will be better understood, by those Exceptions which *Aristotle* makes against them, which are Two: First, that because they acknowledged no other Substance besides Matter, that might be an Active Principle in the Universe, it was not possible for them to give any account of the Original of Motion and Action. Εἰ γὰρ ὅτι μάλιστα πασα φθορά καὶ γένεσις ἐκ τινος, ὡς ἐνός ἢ καὶ πλείονων ἔστιν, διὰ τί τὸ τοιοῦτον, καὶ τί τὸ αἴτιον; καὶ γὰρ δὴ τὸ γὰρ ὑποκείμενον αὐτὸ ποιεῖ μεταβάλλειν ἑαυτὸ. λέγω ὃ οἶον, ὅτε τὸ ξύλον, ὅτε τὸ χαλκὸς αἴτιον τῆς μεταβάλλειν ἑαυτὸ. ὁ δὲ ποιεῖ τὸ μὲν ξύλον κλίνην, ὃ δὲ χαλκὸς ἀνδρῶν ἀντὶ, ἀλλ' ἑτέρον τι τῆς μεταβολῆς αἴτιον. τὸ δὲ τὸ τοιοῦτον ζητεῖν, ὅτι τὸ τὴν ἑτέραν ζητεῖν ἀρχὴν, ὡς ἂν ἡμεῖς φολιμεν, ὅθεν ἡ ἀρχὴ τῆς κινήσεως. *Though all Generation be made never so much out of something as the Matter, yet the question still is, by what means this cometh to pass, and what is the Active Cause which produceth it? because the Subject-matter cannot change it self; As for example, neither Timber, nor Brass, is the cause that either of them are changed; for Timber alone does not make a Bed, nor Brass a Statue, but there must be something else as the Cause of the Change; and to enquire after this is to enquire after another Principle, besides Matter, which we would call that from whence Motion springs.* In which words *Aristotle* intimates that these old *Material Philosophers* shuffled in, Motion and Action into the World unaccountably, or without a Cause; forasmuch as they acknowledged no other Principle of Things besides Passive Matter, which could never move, change or alter it self.

Met. l. 1. c. 3.

XI. And *Aristotle's* second Exception against these old *Material Philosophers* is this; that since there could be no Intending Causality in Senseless and Stupid Matter, which they made to be the only Principle of all things, they were not able to assign τῆς εὖ καὶ καλῶς αἰτίας, any Cause of Well and Fit, and so could give no account of the Regular and Orderly Frame of this Mundane System; τῆς εὖ καὶ καλῶς τὰ μὲν ἔχειν, τὰ δὲ γίνεσθαι τῆς οὐρανίας, ἵσως ὅτε γιν, ὅτ' ἄλλο τῆς τοιούτων ὅθεν, ἐκὸς αἴτιον εἶναι. ὁ δὲ αὐτὰ αὐτομάτως, καὶ τύχη τοιούτων ὅθεν τῶν περὶ καλῶς ἔχει. *That things partly are so well in the World, and partly are made so well, cannot be imputed either to Earth or Water, or any other senseless Body; much less is it reasonable to attribute so noble and Excellent an Effect as this, to mere Chance or Fortune.* Where *Aristotle* again intimates, that as these *Material Philosophers* shuffled in Motion into the world without a Cause, so likewise they must needs suppose this Motion to be altogether Fortuitous and Unguided and thereby in a manner make Fortune, which is nothing but the absence or defect of an Intending Cause, to supply the room both of the Active and Intending Cause, that is, Efficient and Final. Whereupon *Aristotle* subjoins a Commendation of *Anaxagoras*, as the first of the Ionick Philosophers, who introduced Mind or Intellect for a Principle in the Universe; that in this respect, he alone seemed to be sober and in his wits, comparatively with those others that went before him, who talked so idly and Atheistically. For *Anaxagoras* his Principle was such, saith *Aristotle*, as was ἅμα τῆς καλῶς αἰτίας, καὶ αὐτὴ ὅθεν ἡ κίνησις ὑπάρχει, at once a cause of Motion and also of Well and Fit;

Fit; of all the Regularity, Aptitude, Pulchritude and Order that is in the whole Universe. And thus it seems *Anaxagoras* himself had determined: Ἀναξαγόρας τὸ αἰτίον τῆ καλῆς καὶ οὐδαμῶς πῶν λέγει; *Anaxagoras saith that Mind is the only Cause of Right and Well; this being proper to Mind to aim at Ends and Good, and to order one thing Fitly for the sake of another. Whence it was that Anaxagoras concluded Good also, as well as Mind, to have been a Principle of the Universe, Ἀναξαγόρας ὡς κινεῖν τὸ ἀγαθὸν ἀπὸ τοῦ καλοῦ καὶ οὐκ ἀπὸ τοῦ κακοῦ, ἀλλὰ κινεῖ ἐνεκά τινος, ὥστε ἕτερον. Anaxagoras makes Good a Principle, as that which moves; For though Mind move Matter, yet it moves it for the sake of something, and being it self, as it were, first moved by Good: So that Good is also a Principle. And we note this the rather, to shew how well these three Philosophers, Aristotle, Plato and Anaxagoras, agreed all together, in this excellent Truth, That Mind and Good are the First Principle of all things in the Universe.*

XII. And now we think it is sufficiently evident, that these old *Materialists* in Aristotle, whoever they were, were downright *Atheists*; not so much, because they made all Substance to be Body or Matter, for *Heraclitus* first, and after him *Zeno*, did the like, deriving the Original of all things from Fire, as well as *Anaximenes* did from Air, and *Thales* is supposed by Aristotle to have done from Water, and that with some little more seeming plausibility, since Fire being a more Subtle and Moveable Body than any other, was therefore thought by some of those Ancients to be ἀσώματωτάτων, the most Incorporeal of all Bodies, as Earth was for that cause rejected by all those Corporeal Philosophers, from being a Principle, by reason of the grossness of its parts. But *Heraclitus* and *Zeno*, notwithstanding this, are not accounted *Atheists*, because they supposed their *Fiery Matter*, to have not only *Life*, but also a perfect *Understanding* Originally belonging to it, as also the whole World to be an Animal: Whereas those *Materialists* of Aristotle, made *Senseless* and *Stupid Matter*, devoid of all *Understanding* and *Life*, to be the first Principle and Root of all things. For when they supposed, *Life* and *Understanding*, as well as all other Differences of Things, to be nothing but mere *Passions* and *Accidents* of *Matter*, *Generable* out of it, and *Corruptible* again into it, and indeed to be produced, but in a Secondary way, from the Fortuitous Commixture of those first Elementary Qualities, Heat and Cold, Moist and Dry, Thick and Thin, they plainly implied the substance of Matter in it self to be devoid of all *Life* and *Understanding*. Now if this be not *Atheism*, to derive the Original of all things, even of *Life* and *Mind* it self, from *Dead* and *Stupid Matter*, *Fortuitously Moved*, then there can be no such thing at all.

XIII. Moreover, Aristotle's *Materialists* concluded every thing besides the Substance of Matter, (which is in it self indifferent to all things,) and consequently all particular and determinate Beings, to be *Generable* and *Corruptible*. Which is a thing that *Plato* takes notice of as an *Atheistick Principle*, expressing it in these words; ἡ μὲν γὰρ οὐδὲ ποτ' ἐσθ' ἐν, αἰὶν δ' ὡς γινέσθαι, that *Nothing ever is, but every thing*

Lib. i. 4. c. 6.

thing is Made and Generated. Forasmuch as it plainly follows from hence, that not only all Animals and the Souls of men, but also if there were any Gods, which some of those Materialists would not stick, at least verbally, to acknowledge, (meaning thereby certain Understanding Beings superiour to men) these likewise must needs have been all Generated, and consequently be Corruptible. Now to say that there is no other God, than such as was Made and Generated, and which may be again Unmade, Corrupted and Die, or that there was once no God at all till he was made out of the Matter, and that there may be none again, this is all one as to deny the thing it self. For a Native and Mortal God is a pure Contradiction. Therefore whereas Aristotle in his Metaphysicks, tells us of certain Theologers, οἱ ἐκ νυκτὸς καὶ χάος γεννῶντες, such as did Generate all things (even the Gods themselves) out of Night and Chaos, we must needs pronounce of such Theologers as these, who were Theogonists, and Generated all the Gods (without exception) out of Senseless and Stupid Matter, that they were but a kind of Atheistical Theologers or Theological Atheists. For though they did admit of certain Beings, to which they attributed the Name of Gods, yet according to the true Notion of God, they really acknowledged none at all, (i. e. no Understanding Nature as the Original of things) but Night and Chaos, Senseless and Stupid Matter, Fortuitously Moved, was to them the highest of all Numens. So that this Theology of theirs, was a thing wholly founded in Atheistical Non-sence.

XIV. And now we think it seasonable, here to observe, how vast a difference there was betwixt these old Materialists in Aristotle, and those other Philosophers, mentioned before in the first Chapter, who determined, ὅτι ἐν ὅττι γίνεσθαι ὅτι φθίβεσθαι οὐ δύναται That no Real Entity at all was Generated or Corrupted, for this reason, because Nothing could be made out of Nothing. These were chiefly the Philosophers of the Italick or Pythagorick Succession, and their design in it was not, as Aristotle was pleased somewhere to affirm, ἀνελεῖν πᾶσι τὸ γένεσθαι, to contradict common sence and experience, in denying all Natural Generations and Alterations; but only to interpret Nature rightly in them, and that in way of opposition to those Atheistical Materialists, after this manner; That in all the Mutations of Nature, Generations and Alterations, there was neither any new Substance Made, which was not before, nor any Entity really distinct from the Preexisting Substances, but only that Substance which was before, diversly Modified; and so Nothing Produced in Generations, but new Modifications, Mixtures, and Separations of preexistent Substances.

Now this Doctrine of theirs drove at these Two things; First, the taking away of such Qualities and Forms of Body, as were vulgarly conceived to be things really distinct from the Substance of extended Bulk, and all its Modifications of more or less Magnitude, Figure, Site, Motion or Rest. Because, if there were any such things as these, produced in the Natural Generations and Alterations of Bodies, there would then be some Real Entity Made ἐκ μηδενὸς ἀντιπαρὸν ἢ

περὶ οὐδενός, out of Nothing Inexistent or Preexistent. Wherefore they concluded, that these supposed Forms and Qualities of Bodies were really nothing else, but only the different Modifications of Pre-existent Matter, in respect of Magnitude, Figure, Site and Motion or Rest, or different Concretions and Secretions, which are no Entities really distinct from the Substance, but only cause different *Phasmata*, Phancies and Apparitions in us.

The Second thing which this Doctrine aimed at, was the establishing the *Incorporiety* and *Ingenerability* of all Souls. For since Life, Cogitation, Sense and Understanding, could not be resolved into those Modifications of Matter, Magnitude, Figure, Site and Motion, or into Mechanism and Phancie, but must needs be Entities really distinct from Extended Bulk, or Dead and Stupid Matter; they concluded, that therefore Souls could not be Generated out of Matter, because this would be the Production of some Real Entity out of Nothing Inexisting or Preexisting; but that they must needs be another kind of Substance Incorporeal, which could no more be Generated or Corrupted, than the Substance of Matter it self; and therefore must either Preexist in Nature, before Generations, or else be divinely Created and Infused, in them.

It hath been already proved in the First Chapter, that the Upshot of that Pythagorick Doctrine, That Nothing could be Generated out of Nothing preexisting, amounted to those Two things mentioned, viz. the Asserting of the *Incorporiety* and *Ingenerability* of Souls, and the Rejecting of those Phantastick Entities of Forms and Real Qualities of Bodies, and resolving all Corporeal Phenomena, into Figures or Atoms, and the different Apparitions or Phancies caused by them; but the latter of these, may be further confirmed from this passage of Aristotle's, where after he had declared that Democritus and Leucippus made the Soul and Fire, to consist of round Atoms or Figures, like those ἐν τῷ αἰέρι ξύσματα, those Ramenta that appear in the Air when the Sun-beams are transmitted through Crannies; he adds εἰκοίη δ' ἐν τῷ παρὰ τὴν πυθαγορείαν λεγόμενον, τὴν αὐτὴν ἔχειν διάνοιαν, ἔφασκεν γὰρ τινες ὥστε, ψυχὴν εἶναι τὰ ἐν τῷ αἰέρι ξύσματα, οἱ δ', τὰ ταῦτα κινεῖν. And that which is said amongst the Pythagoreans, seems to have the same sense, for some of them affirm, that the Soul is those very ξύσματα, Ramenta or Atoms; but others of them, that it is That which Moves them; which latter doubtless were the genuine Pythagoreans. However, it is plain from hence, that the old Pythagoreans Physiologized by ξύσματα, as well as Democritus; that is, Figures and Atoms, and not Qualities and Forms.

Mat. Aufc. h. 1. § 2.

But Aristotle's Materialists, on the contrary, taking it for granted that Matter or Extended Bulk is the only Substance, and that the Qualities and Forms of Bodies, are Entities really distinct from those Modifications of Magnitude, Figure, Site, Motion or Rest; and finding also by experience, that these were continually Generated and Corrupted, as likewise that Life, Sense and Understanding were produced in the Bodies of such Animals, where it had not been before, and

and again extinguished at the Death or Corruption of them, concluded, that the *Souls* of all Animals, as well as those other *Qualities* and *Forms* of Bodies, were *Generated* out of the Matter, and *Corrupted* again into it, and consequently that every thing that is in the whole World, besides the *Substance* of Matter, was *Made* or *Generated*, and might be again *Corrupted*.

L. 3. c. 11

Of this Atheistick Doctrine, *Aristotle* speaks elsewhere, as in his Book *de Cælo*. εἰσὶ γάρ τινες οἱ φασιν, ὅτι οὐκ ἔστιν ἀγέννητον εἶναι τὴν πρῶτην οὐσίαν, ἀλλὰ πάντα γίνεσθαι μάχισται μὲν οἱ τοῦ Ἡσίοδου, εἴτα ἡ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων, οἱ πρῶτοι φυσιολογισαυτές· οἱ δὲ τὰ μὲν ἄλλα πάντα γίνεσθαι τε φασί, καὶ εἶναι δὲ παλαιὰ ὅτι. ἐν δὲ τι μόνον ὑπομένειν, ἐξ ὧν τὰ ἅπαντα πάντα μεταχρηματίζεσθαι πέφυκεν. There are some who affirm, that Nothing is Ingenerable, but that all things are Made; as *Hesiod* especially, and also among the rest they, who First Physiologized, whose meaning was, that all other things are Made (or Generated) and did Flow, none of them having any Stability; only that there was one thing (namely Matter) which always remained, out of which all those other things were transformed and Metamorphiz'd. Though as to *Hesiod*, *Aristotle* afterwards speaks differently. Solikewise in his *Physicks*, after he had declared that some of the Ancients made Air, some Water, and some other Matter, the Principle of all things; he adds, * τὸ τε καὶ τοσαύτω φασιν εἶναι τὴν ἀπασαν οὐσίαν· τὰ δὲ ἄλλα πάντα πάλιν τῶν, καὶ ἐξ ὧν, καὶ διαφόρων καὶ τῶν μὲν ὅτι- ὅτι εἶναι αἰδιον· τὰ δὲ ἄλλα γίνεσθαι καὶ φερεσθαι ἀπεργίας. This they affirmed to be all the Substance or Essence that was; but all other things, the Passions, Affections and Dispositions of it; and that this therefore was Eternal, as being capable of no Change, but all other things, Infinitely Generated and Corrupted.

L. 2. c. 1.

XV. But these Materialists being sometimes assaulted by the other Italick Philosophers, in the manner before declared, That no Real Entities, distinct from the Modifications of any Substance, could be Generated or Corrupted, because Nothing could come from Nothing nor go to Nothing; they would not seem plainly to Contradict that Theorem, but only endeavoured to interpret it into a compliance with their own Hypothesis, and distinguish concerning the Sence of it in this manner; That it ought to be understood, only of the Substance of Matter and Nothing else, viz. That no Matter could be Made or Corrupted, but that all other things whatsoever, not only Forms and Qualities of Bodies, but also Souls; Life, Sense and Understanding, though really different from Magnitude, Figure, Site and Motion, yet ought to be accounted only the πάλιν, the Passions and Accidents of this Matter, and therefore might be generated out of it and Corrupted again into it, and that without the Production or Destruction of any real Entity, Matter being the only thing that is accounted such. All this we learn from these words of *Aristotle*, καὶ διὰ τὸ, ὅτι γίνεσθαι ὅτι οὐκ οἰονται, ὅτι ἀπόλλυται, ὡς τὴν τοιαύτης φύσεως αἰεὶ σωζομένης. ὡς δὲ ἡ σωφροσύνη φασὶν ὅτι γίνεσθαι ἀπλῶς, ὅταν γίνεσθαι καλὸς ἢ κακός, ὅτι ἀπόλλυται, ὅταν ἀποβάλλῃ τὰς τὰς ἐξ ὧν, διὰ τὸ ὑπομένειν τὸ ὑποκείμενον, καὶ σωφροσύνη αὐτὸν, ὅτις ὁ δὲ τῶν ἄλλων ὅτι. αἰεὶ γὰρ εἶναι τὴν φύσιν, ἢ μίαν, ἢ πλείους μίας, ἐξ ὧν γίνεσθαι τὰ ἄλλα σωζομένης ἐκείνης.

Metaph. l. 1.
c. 3.

The

The fence whereof is this ; And therefore as to that Axiom of some Philosophers, That Nothing is either Generated or Destroyed, these Materialists admit it to be true in respect of the Substance of matter only, which is always preserved the same, As, say they, We do not say that Socrates is simply or absolutely Made, when he is made either Handsom or Musical, or that he is Destroyed, when he loseth those Dispositions, because the Subject Socrates still remains the same ; so neither are we to say that any thing else is absolutely ether Generated or Corrupted, because the Substance or Matter of every thing always Continues. For there must needs be some certain Nature, from which all other things are Generated, that still remaining one and the same.

We have noted this Passage of Aristotle's the rather, because this is just the very Doctrine of Atheists at this day. That the Substance of Matter or Extended Bulk is the only Real Entity, and therefore the only Unmade thing, that is neither Generable nor Creatable, but Necessarily Existent from Eternity ; But whatever else is in the World, as Life and Animality, Soul and Mind, being all but Accidents and Affections of this Matter (as if therefore they had no Real Entity at all in them) are Generable out of Nothing and Corruptible into Nothing, so long as the Matter in which they are, still remains the same. The Result of which is no less than this, That there can be no other Gods or God, than such as was at first Made or Generated out of Senseless Matter, and may be Corrupted again into it. And here indeed lies the Grand Mystery of Atheism, that every thing besides the Substance of Matter is Made or Generated, and may be again Unmade or Corrupted.

However Anaxagoras, though an Ionick Philosopher, and therefore, as shall be declared afterward, Successor to those Atheistick Materialists, was at length so far Convinced by that Pythagorick Doctrine, That no Entity could be naturally Generated out of Nothing; as that he departed from his Predecessors herein, and did for this reason acknowledge Mind and Soul, that is, all Cogitative Being to be a Substance really distinct from Matter, neither Generable out of it nor Corruptible into it ; as also that the Forms and Qualities of Bodies (which he could not yet otherwise conceive of than as things really distinct from those Modifications of Magnitude, Figure, Site and Motion) must for the same cause pre-exist before Generations in certain *Similar Atoms*, and remain after Corruptions, being only Secreted and Concreted in them. By means whereof he introduced a certain *Spurious Atomism* of his own ; For whereas the Genuine Atomists before his time had supposed ὅμοιαι ἀτομαίαις, *Disimilar Atoms* devoid of all Forms and Qualities to be the Principles of all Bodies, Anaxagoras substituted in the room of them his ὁμοιομεγεταί, his *Similar Atoms*, endued from Eternity with all Manner of Forms and Qualities Incorruptibly.

XVI. We have made it manifest that those *Material Philosophers*, described by Aristotle, were absolute Atheists, not merely because they made Body to be the only Substance, though that be a thing which Aristotle himself justly reprehends them for also in these

Metaph. l. 1.
c. 7.

these words of his, ὅσοι μὲν ἐν ἑνὶ τὸ πᾶν καὶ μίαν εἶναι τινὰ φύσιν, ὡς ὕλην τιθέασιν, καὶ ταύτῃ σωματικῇ, καὶ μέγεθος ἔχουσιν, ὅλον ὅτι πολλὰ καὶ ἀμετέωρον, καὶ ὅδ' ὅσων τὰ στοιχεῖα τιθέασιν μόνον, τῶνδε ἀσωμάτων, καὶ ὄντων καὶ ἀσωμάτων. They who suppose the World to be one uniform thing, and acknowledge only one nature as the matter, and this Corporeal or indued with Magnitude, it is evident that they erre many ways, and particularly in this, that they set down only the Elements of Bodies, and not of Incorporeal things, though there be also things Incorporeal. I say, we have not concluded them Atheists, merely for this reason, because they denied Incorporeal Substance, but because they deduced all things whatsoever from Dead and Stupid Matter, and made every thing in the World, besides the bare Substance of Matter, devoid of all Quality, Generable and Corruptible.

l. 1. c. 10.

Now we shall take notice of an Objection, made by some late Writers, against this Aristotelick Accusation of the old Philosophers, founded upon a passage of Aristotle's own, who elsewhere in his Book *De Cælo*, speaking of the Heaven or World, plainly affirms, γενόμενον μὲν ἐν ἀπαντες εἶναι φασιν, that all the Philosophers before himself, did assert the World to have been Made, or have had a Beginning. From whence these Writers infer, that therefore they must needs be all Theists, and hold the Divine Creation of the World, and consequently, that Aristotle contradicts himself, in representing many of them as Atheists, acknowledging only one Material Principle of the whole Universe, without any Intending or Efficient Cause. But we cannot but pronounce this to be a great Error in these Writers, to conclude all those who held the World to have been Made, therefore to have been Theists, whereas it is certain on the contrary, that all the First and most Ancient Atheists did (in Aristotle's language) κοσμοποιεῖν ἢ γενεῖν τὸν κόσμον, Make or Generate the World, that is, suppose it not to have been from Eternity, but to have had a Temporary Beginning; as likewise that it was Corruptible, and would sometime or other, have an End again. The fence of which Atheistick Philosophers is represented by Lucretius in this manner:

*Et quoniam docui, Mundi Mortalia Tempora
Esse, & Natisso consistere Corpore Cælum,
Et quæcunque in eo sunt, fientque, necesse
Esse ea Dissolvi.*

And there seems to be indeed a Necessity, in reason, that they who derive all things from a Fortuitous Principle, and hold every thing besides the Substance of Matter to have been Generated, should suppose the World to have been Generated likewise, as also to be Corruptible. Wherefore it may well be reckoned for one of the Vulgar Errors; That all Atheists held the Eternity of the World.

Moreover, when Aristotle subjoins immediately after, ἀλλὰ γενόμενον, οἱ μὲν αἰσίου, οἱ δὲ φθαρτόν, that though the Ancient Philosophers all held the World to have been Made, yet notwithstanding, they were divided in this, that some of them supposed for all that, that it would con-

tinue

time to Eternity such as it is, others, that it would be Corrupted again; the former of these, who conceived the World to be *γενόμενον*, but *αἰδιον*, Made, but Eternal, were none of them Atheists, but all Theists. Such as *Plato*, whom *Aristotle* seems particularly to perstringe for this, who in his *Timæus* introduceth the Supreme Deity bespeaking those Inferiour Gods, the Sun, Moon and Stars (supposed by that Philosopher to be Animated) after this manner; *ἃ δὲ ἐμὲ γενόμενα, ἅ- Timæus p. 41. ο*
λυστα, ἐμὲ γε θέλοντι τὸ μὲν ἐν δεξὶν πᾶν, λυτὸν τὸν μὴ καλῶς ἀραιωθέν *Str.*
ἔχον δὲ, λύειν ἐθέλειν, κακῶς δὲ ἃ καὶ ἐπεὶ ὥς γεγέννηται, αἰδένεται μὲν ὅτι ἐστὶ,
ἅλ' αὐτοὶ τὸ πέμπαν ἔτι μὲν δὴ λυθῆσθαι γε, ἔδδ' ἐπὶ τῷ ξέειν θανάτου μοί-
ρας. ἃ ἐμὲ βελήσεως, μέγιστος ἔτι δεσμός καὶ κυριώτερος λαχόντες. Those things which are made by me are Indissoluble by my will, and though every thing which is compacted, be in its own nature dissolvable, yet it is not the part of one that is good, to will the dissolution or destruction of any thing, that was once well made. Wherefore though you are not absolutely Immortal, nor altogether Indissoluble, yet notwithstanding, you shall not be dissolved, nor ever die. My will being a stronger Band to hold you together, than any thing else can be to loosen you. *Philo* and other Theists followed *Plato* in this, asserting that though the world was Made, yet it would never be Corrupted, but have a Post-eternity. Whereas all the Ancient Atheists, namely those who derived the Original of things from Nature and Fortune, did at once deny both Eternities to the World; Past and Future. Though we cannot say that none but Atheists did this, for *Empedocles* and *Heracitus*, and afterward the Stoicks, did not only suppose the World likewise Generated, and to be again Corrupted, but also that this had been, and would be done over and over again, in Infinite vicissitudes.

Furthermore, as the World's Eternity was generally opposed by all the Ancient Atheists, so it was maintained also by some Theists, and that not only *Aristotle*, but also before him, by *Ocellus Lucanus* at least, though *Aristotle* thought not fit to take any notice of him; as likewise the latter Platonists universally went that way, yet so, as that they always supposed the World to have as much depended upon the Deity, as if it had been once Created out of Nothing by it.

To conclude therefore; neither they who asserted the world's Generation and Temporary Beginning, were all Theists; nor they who maintained its Eternity, all Atheists; but before *Aristotle's* time, the Atheists universally, and most of the Theists, did both alike conclude the World to have been Made; the difference between them lying in this, that the one affirmed the World to have been Made by God, the other by the Fortuitous Motion of Matter.

Wherefore if we would put another difference betwixt the Theists and Atheists here, as to this particular, we must distinguish betwixt the System of the World and the Substance of the Matter: For the Ancient Atheists, though they generally denied the Eternity of the World, yet they supposed the Substance of the Matter, not only to have been Eternal, but also Self-existent and Independent upon any other Being; they making it the first Principle and Original of all things

things, and consequently the only *Numen*. Whereas the Genuine Theists, though many of them maintained the Worlds Eternity, yet they all concluded, both the Form and Substance of it, to have always depended upon the Deity, as the Light doth upon the Sun. The Stoicks with some others being here excepted.

Met. l. i. c. 3.

XVII. *Aristotle* tells us, some were of opinion, that this Atheistick Philosophy, which derives all things from *senseless* and *stupid Matter*, in the way of *Forms* and *Qualities*, was of great Antiquity, and as old as any Records of Time amongst the Greeks; and not only so, but also that the Ancient *Theologers* themselves entertained it; εἰσὶ δὲ τινες οἱ καὶ τὰς παμπάλαιας, καὶ πολὺν πρὸς τὸ νῦν γένεσας, καὶ παλαιὰς θολογισαντας, ἑταίροι οἶονταί, ὅτι τὸ φύσεως διαλαβεῖν. Ὠκεανὸν τε γὰρ καὶ Τηθύν ἐποίησαν τὸ γένεσας πατέρας, καὶ ἦ ὅρκον τῆς θεῶν ὕδαρ, τὴν καλεσμένω ὑπὸ αὐτῆς Στύγα τῆς ποιητῆς. τιμωτάτων μὲν γὰρ τὸ πρεσβύτατον ὄρεος ἢ τὸ τιμωτάτων ἔστιν. There are some who conceive that even the most ancient of all, and the most remote from this present Generation; and they also who first Theologized, did Physiologize after this manner; forasmuch as they made the Ocean and Tethys to have been the Original of Generation; and for this cause the Oath of the Gods is said to be by water (called by the Poets Styx) as being that from which they all derived their Original. For an Oath ought to be by that which is most Honourable; and that which is most Ancient, is most Honourable. In which words it is very probable that *Aristotle* aimed at *Plato*; however it is certain that *Plato* in his *Theætetus*, affirms this Atheistick Doctrine to have been very ancient, ὅτι πάντα ἐκγονα ἐξ ἧς τε καὶ κινήσεως, that all things were the off-spring of Flux and Motion, that is, that all things were Made and Generated out of Matter; and that he chargeth *Homer* with it, in deriving the Original of the Gods themselves in like manner, from the Ocean, (or Floating Matter) in this Verse of his,

Ὠκεανὸν τε θεῶν γένεσιν, καὶ μητέρα Τηθύν.

The Father of all Gods, the Ocean is,
Tethys their Mother.

Wherefore these indeed seem to have been the ancientest of all Atheists, who though they acknowledged certain Beings superiour to men, which they called by the Name of Gods, did notwithstanding really deny a God, according to the true Notion of him, deriving the Original of all things whatsoever in the Universe, from the Ocean, that is, Fluid Matter, or, which is all one, from Night and Chaos; and supposing all their Gods to have been Made and Generated, and consequently to be Mortal and Corruptible. Of which Atheistick Theology, *Aristophanes* gives us the description, in his * *Aves*, after this manner: That at first was Nothing but Night and Chaos, which laying an Egg, from thence was produced Love, that mingling again with Chaos, begot Heaven, and Earth, and Animals, and all the Gods.

* P. 573.

χάος ὡς καὶ νύξ. ἑρέβος τε μέλαν πρῶτον, καὶ τέτατος οὐρανός.
 γῆ δ', αἰθήρ, αἰθήρ, αἰθήρ, αἰθήρ, αἰθήρ, αἰθήρ, αἰθήρ, αἰθήρ, αἰθήρ, αἰθήρ.
 τίς τε πρώτιστον ὑπώλεμον νύξ ἢ μελανόπτερος ὦν.
 ἔξ ὧς ὡς τελομαχίας ὥρας, ἔβλασεν ἔρως ὁ ποσειδῶν.
 στίλβων νῶτον πτερυγίον χρυσαῖν. εἰκὼς ἀνεμώκεσι δίναις.
 οὗτος ὃ χάει πτερόεντι μεγάς νυχίῳ, καὶ τέτατον οὐρανόν,
 ἔνεσθ' ἴδου γένος ἡμέτερον, καὶ πρῶτον ἀνέχον ἐς φῶς,
 πρῶτον δ' ἐκ τῆς γένος ἀθανάτων, πρῶτον ἔρως συνέμειξεν ἅπαντα.

*First all was Chaos, one confused Heap,
 Darkness enwrap the disagreeing Deep,
 In a mixt croud, the Jumbled Elements were,
 Nor Earth, nor Air, nor Heaven did appear;
 Till on this horrid vast Abyss of things,
 Teeming Night spreading o'er her coal-black Wings,
 Laid the first Egg; whence, after times due course,
 Issu'd forth Love (the World's Prolifick Source)
 Glist'ring with golden Wings; which fluttering o'er
 Dark Chaos, gendred all the numerous store
 Of Animals and Gods, &c.*

And whereas the Poet there makes the Birds to have been begotten between *Love* and *Chaos* before all the *Gods*; though one might think this to have been done Jocularly by him, merely to humour his Plot; yet *Salmasius* conceives, and not without some reason, that it was really a piece of the old *Atheistick Cabala*, which therefore seems to have run thus. That *Chaos* or *Matter* confusedly moved, being the first Original of all; Things did from thence rise up gradually, from lesser to greater Perfection. First Inanimate things as the Elements, Heaven, Earth and Seas, then Brute-animals, afterwards Men, and last of all the Gods. As if not only the Substance of Matter, and those Inanimate Bodies of the Elements, Fire, Water, Air and Earth, were, as *Aristotle* somewhere speaks, according to the sense of those Atheistick Theologers, * * *De Gen. & φῶς καὶ πτερόεντα τὰ θεῶν, θεοὶ δ' καὶ τὰ πάντα*, First in order of Nature before God, as being themselves also Gods, but also Brute-animals at least, if not men too. And this is the *Atheistick Creation* of the World, Gods and all, out of Senseless and Stupid Matter, or Dark *Chaos*, as the only Original Numen; the perfectly Inverted order of the Universe.

XVIII. But though this *Hypothesis* be purely Atheistick, that makes Love, which is supposed to be the Original Deity, to have it self sprung at first from an Egg of the Night; and consequently that all Deity was the Creature or Off-spring of Matter and Chaos, or Dark Fortuitous Nature; yet *Aristotle* somewhere conceives that not only *Parmenides*, but also *Hesiod*, and some others, who did in like manner make Love the Supreme Deity, and derive all things from Love and Chaos, were to be exempted out of the number of those Atheistick Materialists before described; so far as they seemed to understand by Love, an Active Principle, and Cause of Motion in the Universe; which there-

fore could not spring from an Egg of the Night, nor be the Creature of Matter, but must needs be something Independent on it, and in order of Nature before it, ὑποκρίσσει δ' ἂν τις Ἡσίοδον πρῶτον, ζητῆσαι τὸ τοῖστον, καὶν εἴ τις ἄλλος, Ἔρωτα ἢ Ἐπιθυμίαν, ἐν τοῖς ἔσιν ἔθηκεν ὡς ἀρχὴν, οἷον καὶ Παρμενίδης. καὶ γὰρ ἔστος κατασκευάζων τὴν τῷ πάντος γένεσιν

πρῶτισιν μὲν (φίσι) ἔρωτα θεῶν μάλιστα πάντων.

Ἡσίοδος δ',

πάντων μὲν πρῶτισα χάος γένετ'· αὐτὰρ ἔπειτα

Γαῖ' ἀερέερος, —

Ἡδ' ἔρος, ὃς πάντεσσι μεταπρέπῃ ἀθανάτοισιν.

ὡς δὲ ἐν τοῖς ἔσιν ὑπάρχειν τινὰ αἰτίαν, ἥτις κινήσει καὶ συνέξει τὰ πράγματα: τῶς μὲν ἔν πας χεὶρ διανέμει, ὡς δὲ τις πρῶτος, ἐξέσω κείναι ὑπερῶν. One would suspect that Hesiod, and if there be any other who made Love or Desire, a Principle of things in the Universe, aimed at this very thing, (namely, the setting of another Active Principle besides Matter :) For Parmenides, describing the Generation of the Universe, makes Love to be the Senior of all the Gods, and Hesiod, after he had mentioned Chaos, introduced Love, as the supreme Deity. As intimating herein, that besides Matter, there ought to be another Cause or Principle, that should be the Original of Motion and Activity, and also hold and conjoin all things together. But how these two Principles are to be ordered, and which of them was to be placed first, whether Love or Chaos, may be judged of afterwards. In which latter words Aristotle seems to intimate, that Love, as taken for an Active Principle, was not to be supposed to spring from Chaos, but rather to be in order of Nature before it; and therefore by this Love of theirs must needs be meant the Deity. And indeed Simmias Rhodius in his Wings, a Hymn made in Honour of this Love, that is Senior to all the Gods, and a Principle in the Universe, tells us plainly, that it is not Cupid, Venuses soft and effeminate Son, but another kind of Love

οὔτι γὰρ Κύπερος παῖς·

ἠκυπέτας δ' αὐτὸς ἔρος καλεῖμαι.

οὔτι γὰρ ἔκρενα βιάζην, ὡς γὰρ δὲ παιδοῖ.

Γαῖα, θαλάσσης τε μυχοί, θεῶν τε πᾶς τε θεὸς μοι εἶκε.

τῶν δ' ἔρων ἀνοσφιστάμην ἀγύγιον σκᾶπτον, ἀκραίῳα τέ σφιν θέμιστας,

I'm not that Wanton Boy,

The Sea-froath Goddess's only Joy.

Pure Heavenly Love I hight, and my

Soft Magick Charms, not Iron Bands, fast tie

Heaven, Earth and Seas. The Gods themselves do readily

Stoop to my Laws. The whole World daunces to my Harmony.

Moreover, this cannot be that Love neither, which is described in Plato's Symposium (as some learned men have conceived) that was begotten between Penia and Porne, this being not a

Divine

Divine but Demoniack thing (as the Philosopher there declares) no God but a *Dæmon* only, or of a Middle Nature. For it is nothing but φιλοκαλία, or the *Love of Pulchritude, as such*, which though rightly used, may perhaps Wing and Inspire the Mind, to Noble and Generous Attempts, and beget a scornful disdeign in it, of Mean, Dirty, and Sordid things; yet it is capable of being abused also, and then it will strike downward into Brutishness and Sensuality. But at best it is an Affection, belonging only to Imperfect and Parturient Beings; and therefore could not be the First Principle of all things. Wherefore we see no very great reason, but that in a Rectified and Qualified sence, this may pass for true Theology; That *Love* is the *Supreme Deity* and *Original* of all things; namely, if by it be meant, Eternal, Self-originated, Intellectual Love, or Essential and Substantial Goodness, that having an Infinite overflowing Fulness and Fecundity, dispenses it self Uninvidiously, according to the best Wisdom, Sweetly Governs all, without any Force or Violence (all things being Naturally subject to its Authority, and readily obeying its Laws) and reconciles the whole World into Harmony. For the Scripture telling us, that *God is Love*, seems to warrant thus much to us, that *Love* in some rightly Qualified sence, is *God*.

XIX. But we are to omit the Fabulous Age, and to descend to the Philosophical, to enquire there, who they were among the professed Philosophers, who Atheized in that manner, before described. It is true indeed, that *Aristotle* in other Places, accuses *Democritus* and *Leucippus* of the very same thing, that is, of assigning only a *Material Cause* of the Universe, and giving no account of the *Original of Motion*; but yet it is certain that these were not the Persons intended by him here; Those which he speaks of, being τῶν πρῶτων φιλοσοφούντων, *some of the first and most ancient Philosophers of all*. Moreover it appears by his Description of them, that they were such as did not Philosophize in the way of *Atoms*, but resolved all things whatsoever in the Universe, into ὕλη, and πάθος τῆς ὕλης, *Matter*, and the *Passions* or *Affections, Qualities* and *Forms of Matter*; so that they were not Atomical, but Hylopathian Philosophers. These two, the old Materialists and the Democriticks, did both alike derive all things from Dead and Stupid Matter, fortuitously Moved; and the Difference between them was only this, that the Democriticks manag'd this business in the way of *Atoms*, the other in that more vulgar way of *Qualities* and *Forms*: So that indeed, this is really but one and the same Atheistick Hypothesis, in two several Schemes. And as one of them is called the *Atomick Atheism*, so the other, for Distinctions sake, may be called the *Hylopathian*.

XX. Now *Aristotle* tells us plainly, that these *Hylopathian Atheists* of his, were all the first Philosophers of the *Ionick Order* and Succession, before *Anaxagoras*. Whereof *Thales* being the Head, he is consentaneously thereunto by *Aristotle*, made to be ἀρχηγός τῆς τριῶν φιλοσοφίας, *the Prince and Leader of this kind of Atheistical Philosophy*, he deriving all things whatsoever, as *Homer* had done before him, from Water, and acknowledging no other Principle but the Fluid Matter.

Notwithstanding which Accusation of *Aristotle's*, *Thales* is far otherwise represented by good Authors ; *Cicero* telling us, that besides *Water*, which he made to be the Original of all Corporeal things, he asserted also *Mind* for another Principle, which formed all things out of the *Water* ; and *Laertius* and *Plutarch* recording, that he was thought to be the first of all Philosophers who determined Souls to be Immortal ; He is said also to have affirmed, that God was *πρεσβύτατον πάντων*, the oldest of all things, and that the World was *ποίημα θεῶν*, the Workmanship of God ; *Clemens* likewise tells us that being asked *εἰ λανθάνει τὸ θεῖον πράσων τι ὁ ἀνθρώπου*, *καὶ πῶς εἶπεν ὅτι ἐστὶ διανοεόμενος* ; Whether any of a mans Actions could be concealed from the Deity ? he replied, not so much as any Thought. Moreover *Laertius* further writes of him, that he held *ἡ κόσμον ἐμψυχον καὶ δαιμόνων πλήρη*, That the World was animated, and full of Demons. Lastly *Aristotle* himself elsewhere speaks of him as a Theist, *καὶ ἐν τῷ ὅλῳ δὲ τινες ψυχὴν μεμίσχθαι φασιν. ὅθεν ἴσως καὶ ὁ αὐτὸς ὡμῶς πάντα πλήρη θεῶν εἶναι*. Some think (saith he) that Soul and Life is mingled with the whole Universe, and thence perhaps was that of *Thales*, that all things are full of Gods. Wherefore we conceive that there is very good reason, why *Thales* should be acquitted from this Accusation of Atheism. Only we shall observe the occasion of his being thus differently represented, which seems to have been this ; Because as *Laertius* and *Themistius* intimate, he left no Philosophick Writings or Monuments of his own behind him, (*Anaximander* being the first of all the Philosophick Writers :) Whence probably it came to pass, that in after times some did interpret his Philosophy one way, some another, and that he is sometimes represented as a Theist, and sometime again as a down-right Atheist.

But though *Thales* be thus by good Authority acquitted, yet his next Successor *Anaximander* can by no means be excused from this Imputation, and therefore we think it more reasonable to fasten that Title upon him, which *Aristotle* bestows on *Thales*, that he was *ἀρχηγός τῆς τριωΐτης φιλοσοφίας*, the Prince and Founder of this Atheistick Philosophy ; who derived all things from Matter, in the way of Forms and Qualities ; he supposing a certain Infinite *Materia Prima*, which was neither Air nor Water nor Fire, but indifferent to every thing, or a mixture of all, to be the only Principle of the Universe, and leading a Train of many other Atheists after him, such as *Hippo* surnamed *ἁΐθεος*, by *Simplicius* and others, *Anaximines*, and *Diogenes Apolloniates*, and many more ; who though they had some petty Differences amongst themselves, yet all agreed in this one thing, that Matter devoid of Understanding and Life, was the first Principle of all things ; till at length *Anaxagoras* stopt this Atheistick Current, amongst these Ionick Philosophers ; introducing *Mind* as a Principle of the Universe.

X XI. But there is a Passage in *Aristotle's* Physicks, which seems at first sight, to contradict this again ; and to make *Anaximander* also, not to have been an Atheist, but a Divine Philosopher. Where having

having declared that several of the Ancient Physiologers, made ἄπειρον or Infinite to be the Principle of all things, he subjoyns these words, *Lib. 3. c. 4.*
 διὸ καὶ τὰς λέγουσι, ὅτι ταύτης ἀρχὴ, αἱ μὲν αὐτὴ τῇ ἄλλων εἶναι δοκεῖ. Καὶ
 ἐξέλεον ἅπαντα καὶ πάντα κυβερνᾶν, ὡς φασιν ὅσοι μὴ ποιεῖσι τὸ ἄπειρον
 ἄλλας αἰτίας, οἷον νῦν, ἢ φιλίαν. Καὶ τὸτο εἶναι τὸ θεῖον, ἀθάνατον καὶ
 ἀνώλεθρον, ὡς φησὶν ὁ Ἀναξίμανδρος, καὶ οἱ πλείστοι τῶν φυσιολόγων. There-
 fore there seems to be no Principle of this Infinite, but this to be the
 Principle of other things, and to Contain all things and Govern all
 things, as they all say who do not make besides Infinite, any other Causes,
 such as Mind, or Friendship, and that this is the only real Numen or God
 in the World, it being Immortal and Incorruptible, as Anaximander
 affirms, and most of the Physiologers. From which Place some Late
 Writers have confidently concluded, that Anaximander, with those
 other Physiologers, there mentioned, did by Infinite, understand
 God, according to the True Notion of him, or an Infinite Mind, the
 Efficient Cause of the Universe, and not Senseless and Stupid Matter;
 since this could not be said to be Immortal and to Govern all things;
 and consequently, that Aristotle grossly contradicts himself, in mak-
 ing all those Ionick Philosophers before Anaxagoras, to have been
 Mere Materialists or Atheists. And it is possible, that Clemens Ale-
 xandrinus also, might from this very Passage of Aristotle's, not
 sufficiently considered, have been induced to rank Anaximander, a-
 mongst the Divine Philosophers, as he doth in his Protrepick to the
 Greeks; where after he had condemned certain of the old Philoso-
 phers, as Atheistick Corporealists, he subjoyns these words * τῶν δὲ
 ἄλλων φιλοσόφων, ὅσοι τὰ στοιχεῖα ὑποβάλλουσιν, ἐπολυπραγματοποιεῖν τι ὑψηλότε-
 ρον καὶ ἐξελιγμένον, οἱ μὲν αὐτῇ τὸ ἄπειρον καθύμνησαν, ὡν Ἀναξίμανδρος
 ὁ Μιλήσιος ἦν, καὶ Ἀναξαγόρας ὁ Κλαζομενίος, καὶ ὁ Ἀθηναῖος Ἀρχέλαος. * Clem. Protr.
 p. 43.
 But of the other Philosophers, who transcending all the Elements, search-
 ed after some higher and more excellent thing, some of them praised
 Infinite, amongst which was Anaximander the Milesian, Anaxagoras
 the Clazomenian, and the Athenian Archelaus. As if these Three had
 all alike acknowledged an Incorporeal Deity, and made an Infinite
 Mind, distinct from Matter, the First Original of all things.

But that forecited Passage of Aristotle's alone, well consider'd,
 will it self afford a sufficient Confutation of this Opinion; where
 Anaximander, with those other Physiologers, is plainly oppos'd to
 Anaxagoras, who besides Infinite Senseless Matter, or Similar Atoms,
 made Mind to be a Principle of the Universe, as also to Empedocles,
 who made a Plastick Life and Nature, called Friendship, another Prin-
 ciple of the Corporeal World; from whence it plainly follows, that
 Anaximander and the rest, supposed not Infinite Mind, but In-
 finite Matter, without either Mind or Plastick Nature, to have been
 the only Original of all things, and therefore the Only Deity or
 Numen.

Moreover, Democritus being linked in the Context with Anaxi-
 mander, as making both of them alike, τὸ ἄπειρον, or Infinite, to be
 the First Principle of all; it might as well be inferred from this Place,
 that Democritus was a Genuine Theist, as Anaximander. But as De-

moeritus his only Principle, was *Infinite Atoms*, without any thing of *Mind* or *Plastick Nature* ; so likewise was *Anaximander's*, an *Infinity* of *Senseless* and *Stupid Matter* ; and therefore they were both of them *Atheists* alike, though *Anaximander*, in the cited words, had the Honour (if it may be so called) to be only named, as being the most ancient of all those *Atheistical Physiologists*, and the Ringleader of them.

XXII. Neither ought it at all to seem strange, that *Anaximander*, and those other *Atheistical Materialists* should call *Infinite Matter*, devoid of all *Understanding* and *Life*, the τὸ θεῖον, *the Deity* or *Numen*, since to all those who deny a God, (according to the true Notion of him) whatsoever else they substitute in his room, by making it the *First Principle* of all things, though it be *Senseless* and *Stupid Matter*, yet this must needs be accounted the *Only Numen*, and *Divineſt* thing of all.

Nor is it to be wondred at neither, that this *Infinite*, being understood of *Matter*, should be said to be, not only *Incorruptible*, but also *Immortal*, these two being often used as *Synonymous*, and *Equivalent Expressions*. For thus in *Lucretius*, the Corruption of all *Inanimate Bodies* is called *Death*,

————— *Mors ejus quod fuit ante ;*

And again,

*Quando aliud ex alio reficit Natura, nec ullam
Rem Gigni patitur, nisi Morte adjutam alienā.*

In like manner *Mortal* is used by him for *Corruptible*,

*Nam siquid Mortale à cunctis partibus esset,
Ex oculis res quæque repente erepta periret.*

And this kind of Language was very familiar with *Heraclitus*, as appears from these Passages of his, πρὸς θάνατος, ἀέρι γένεσις· καὶ ἀέρος θάνατος, ὕδατι γένεσις· *The Death of Fire, is Generation to Air ; and the Death of Air, is Generation to Water*, that is, the *Corruption* of them. And again, ψυχῆσιν θάνατος, ὕδαρ γινέσθαι ὕδατι ὃ θάνατος, γλῶ γινέσθαι· *It is Death to Vapour or Air, to be made Water ; and Death to Water, to be made Earth*. In which *Heraclitus* did but imitate *Orpheus*, as appears from this Verse of his, cited by *Clemens Alexand.*

* Ἐστὶν ὕδαρ ψυχῆ, θάνατος δ' ὕδατος ἀποίεσθαι.

Besides which, there are many Examples of this use of the word ἀθάνατος, in other Greek Writers, and some in *Aristotle* himself, who speaking of the Heavens, attributes ἀθανασία and αἰδιότης to them,

as one and the same thing: as also affirms, that the Ancients therefore made Heaven to be the Seat of the Deity, *ὡς οὐρα μένον ἀθάνατον*, as being only Immortal, that is Incorruptible.

Indeed that other Expression, at first sight, would stagger one more, where it is said of this ἀπειρον, or Infinite, that it doth not only Contain, but also Govern all things; but *Simplicius* tells us, that this is to be understood likewise of Matter, and that no more was meant by it, than that all things were derived from it, and depended on it, as the First Principle; *ὁ δὲ λόγος τοῖς ταύτοις ὡς τῷ φυσικῶν ἀρχῶν, ἀλλ' ἐχὶ ὡς τῷ ὅσῳ φύσιν, εἰ δὲ καὶ ὡς ἐχὶν ἔλεγον καὶ κυβερνᾶν εἶδεν διαμασθῆναι. τὸ μὲν γὰρ ὡς ἐχὶν ὑπάρχει τῷ ὕλικῳ αἵτιον, ὡς διὰ πάντων χωρῶν, τὸ δὲ κυβερνᾶν ὡς καὶ τῷ ἐπιτηδεύοντι αὐτῷ, καὶ ὅσῳ αὐτῷ γινόμενον.* These Philosophers spake only of natural Principles, and not of Supernatural; and though they say, that this Infinite of theirs, does both Contain and Govern all things, yet this is not at all to be wondered at; forasmuch as Containing belongs to the Material Cause, as that which goes through all things, and likewise Governing, as that from which all things, according to a certain aptitude of it, are made. *Philoponus* (who was a Christian) represents *Aristotle's* sense in this whole place more fully, after this manner. Those of the ancient Physiologers who had no respect to any Active Efficient Cause, as *Anaxagoras* had to Mind, and *Empedocles* to Friendship and Contention, supposed Matter to be the only Cause of all things, and that it was Infinite in Magnitude, Ingenerable and Incorruptible, esteeming it to be a certain Divine thing, which did Govern all, or preside over the Compages of the Universe, and to be Immortal, that is, Undestroyable. This *Anaximenes* said to be Air, *Thales* to be Water, but *Anaximander*, a certain Middle thing; some one thing, and some another. *καὶ εἰδέναι διαμασθῆναι φησιν, ἐν τῇ καθ' ἡμᾶς ὡς ἐχὶν τὸς πρώτους μὴ ἐπιστάτας τῇ ἐφεστικῇ καὶ ὅλων δυνάμει, ἐν τῷ στοιχείῳ, ὅσῳ ἂν ὑποπῆδεν ἕκαστος, αἵτιον τοῖς ἄλλοις πᾶσι εἶναι, τὸ τοῦ οὐδὲν καὶ οὐδὲν ὑπονοήσαντι.* And *Aristotle* in this Passage, tells us, that it is no wonder, if they who did not attend to the Active Cause, that presides over the Universe, did look upon some one of the Elements (that which each of them thought to be the Cause of all other things) as God. But as they considering only the Material Principle, conceived that to be the Cause of all things; so *Anaxagoras* supposed Mind to be the Principle of all things, and *Empedocles* Friendship and Contention.

XXIII. But to make it further appear, that *Anaximander's* Philosophy was purely Atheistical; we think it convenient to shew what account is given of it by other Writers. *Plutarch* in his *Placita Philosophorum*, does at once briefly represent the *Anaximandrian* Philosophy, and Censure it after this manner. *Ἀναξίμανδρος φησιν, τῷ οὐρανῷ τὴν ἀρχὴν εἶναι τὸ ἀπειρον, ἐκ γὰρ τούτου πάντα γίνεσθαι, καὶ εἰς τὸ πάντα φθίσκειν, διὸ καὶ γινώσκειται ἀπείρους κόσμους, καὶ πάλιν φθίσκειν λέγει ἐν διὰ τί ἀπειρὸν εἶναι, ἵνα μὴ ἐλείπη ἡ γένεσις ἢ ὑφισταμένη ἀμαρτάνει δὲ τις, τὴν μὲν ὕλην ἀποφανόμενον, τὸ δὲ ποιεῖν αἴτιον ἀναρῶν, τὸ δὲ ἀπείρον εἶδεν ἄλλο, ἢ ὕλην εἶναι εἰς δυνάμει ἢ ὕλην εἶναι ἐνέργειαν, ἐὰν μὴ τὸ ποιεῖν ὑποκρίνεται.* *Anaximander the Milesian affirms, Infinite to be the First Principle. And that all things are Generated out of it, and Corrupted again into it, and therefore*

therefore that Infinite Worlds, are successively thus Generated and Corrupted. And he gives the reason why it is Infinite, that so there might be never any Fail of Generations. But he erreth in this, that assigning only a Material Cause, he takes away the Active Principle of things. For Anaximander's Infinite, is nothing else but matter; but Matter can produce nothing, unless there be also an Active Cause. Where he shews also, how Anaximenes followed Anaximander herein, in assigning only a Material Cause of the Universe, without any Efficient; though he differed from him, in making the First Matter to be Air, and deriving all things from thence, by Rarefaction and Condensation. Thus, we see, it is plain, that Anaximander's Infinite, was no Infinite Mind, which is the true Deity, but only Infinite Matter, devoid of any Life or Active Power. Eusebius is more particular in giving an account of Anaximander's *Cosmopœia*. τὸ ἄπειρον φάναι τὴν πᾶσαν αἰτίαν ἔχειν ἢ τῷ παντὶ γενέσθαι τε καὶ φθορᾶς, ἐξ ὧς τὸς περὶ αὐτὸν ἀποκεκρίσθαι, καὶ καθ' ἑκάστην ἀπείρας ἀπερὲς ὕλης κόσμους· φησὶ δὲ τὸ ἐκ τῆς αἰδέας, γένεσθαι τε καὶ φθορᾶς, καὶ τὴν γένεσιν τῶδε τὸν κόσμον ἀποκεκρίσθαι, καὶ τινὰ ἐκ τούτων σφαίραν, περιελθεῖν τὰ περὶ τὴν γῆν ἅε, ὥς τὰ δένδρα φλοιῶν. ἢς τινος ἀπορραγέως, καὶ εἰς τινος ἀποκλεισθελος κλύας, ὑποσῆναι τὸ ἥλιον, καὶ τὴν σελήνην, καὶ τὸς ἀστέρους. Anaximander affirms, Infinite (Matter) to be the only Cause of the Generation and Corruption of all things. And that the Heavens, and Infinite Worlds, were made out of it, by way of Secretion or Segregation. Also that those Generative Principles of Heat and Cold, that were contained in it from Eternity, being Segregated, when this World was made, a certain Sphere of Flame or Fire, did first arise and encompass the Air, which surrounds this Earth, (as a Bark doth a Tree) which being afterwards broken, and divided into smaller Spherical Bodies, constituted the Sun and Moon and all the Stars. Which Anaximandrian *Cosmopœia*, was briefly hinted by Aristotle in these words, οἱ δὲ ἐκ τῆς ἐνός, ἐξίστας τὰς ἐναντιότητας, ἐκκελύνουσιν, ὥς ὁ Ἄναξίμανδρος φησὶ. Some Philosophers Generate the World, by the Secretion and Segregation of inexistant Contrarieties, as Anaximander speaks. And elsewhere in his Metaphysicks, he takes notice of Ἄναξιμανδρος τὸ μίγμα, Anaximander's Mixture of things. Whence we conclude, that Anaximander's Infinite, was nothing else but an Infinite Chaos of Matter, in which were either Actually, or Potentially, contained all manner of Qualities; by the Fortuitous Secretion and Segregation of which, he supposed Infinite Worlds to be successively Generated and Corrupted. So that we may now easily guess, whence Leucippus and Democritus had their Infinite Worlds, and perceive how near a kin, these two Atheistick Hypotheses were. But it will not be amiss to take notice also of that Particular Conceit, which Anaximander had, concerning the First Original of Brute Animals, and Mankind. Of the Former Plutarch gives us this account; Ἄναξιμανδρος ἐν ὑγρῷ γεννηθῆναι τὰ πρῶτα ζῶα, φλοιῶς περιελθόμενα ἀκανθάρδεσι, περιβαύσεσσι δὲ ἢ ἡλικίας, ἀποβαλὼν ὑπὲρ τὸ ξηρότερον, καὶ περιεργυμμένους τῷ φλοιῷ, ἐπ' ὀλίγον χρόνον μετασθῆναι. That the First Animals were generated in Moisture, and encompass'd about with certain Thorny Barks, by which they were guarded and defended, which after further growth, coming to be more Dry and Cracking, they issued forth, but lived only a short time after. And as for the first Original of Men, Eusebius represents

Eu. Prap.
Lib. 1. p. 15.
Ed. Steph.

Phyl. L. 1. c. 4.

L. 1. c. 4.

Pla. Ph. 1. 5. c. 19

represents his Sence, thus : Ἐξ ἀλλοειδῶν ζώων ὁ ἄνθρωπος ἐγεννήθη, καὶ τὰ μὲν ἄλλα δι' ἐαυτῶν ταχὺ νέμεσθαι, μόνον δὲ τὸ ἄνθρωπον πολυχρόνως θείσθαι τιθνήσκουσιν, διὸ καὶ κατ' ἀρχαίς ἐν ἄνθρωποις τοῖς τὸν ὄντα διασωθῆναι. *E. P. l. i.*
Men were at first generated in the Bellies of other Animals, forasmuch as all other Animals, after they are brought forth, are quickly able to feed and nourish themselves, but Man alone needs to be nursed up a long time; and therefore could not be preserved at first, in any other way. But Plutarch expresseth this something more particularly. Ἀναξίμανδρος ἐν ἰχθύσιν ἐγενέσθαι τὸ πρῶτον ἀνθρώπου ἀποφαίνεται, καὶ τρεφέσθαι καὶ γενομένης ἰκανῶς ἐαυτοῖς σιτῆσθαι, καὶ ἐλκεῖσθαι τινικαὶ καὶ γῆς λαβέσθαι. *Symp. lib. 8. l. 8.*
Anaximander concludes that Men were at first Generated in the Bellies of Fishes, and being there nourished, till they grew strong, and were able to shift for themselves, they were afterward cast out upon Dry Land. Lastly, Anaximander's Theology, is thus both represented to us, and censured, by Velleius the Epicurean Philosopher in Cicero. *Anaximandri opinio est Nativos esse Deos, longis Intervallis Orientes Occidentisque, eosque innumerabiles esse Mundos, sed nos Deum nisi Semipiternum intelligere quæ possumus? Anaximander's Opinion is, that the Gods are Native, rising and vanishing again, in long Periods of times; and that these Gods are Innumerable Worlds; but how can we conceive that to be a God, which is not Eternal? We learn from hence, that Anaximander did indeed so far comply with Vulgar Opinion, as that he retained the Name of Gods, but however that he really denied the Existence of the thing it self, even according to the judgment of this Epicurean Philosopher. Forasmuch as all his Gods were Native and Mortal, and indeed nothing else, but those Innumerable Worlds, which he supposed in certain Periods of Time, to be successively Generated and Destroyed. Wherefore it is plain, that Anaximander's only Real Numen, that is, his First Principle, that was Ingenerable and Incorruptible, was nothing but Infinite Matter, devoid of all Understanding and Life, by the Fortuitous Secretion of whose inexistert Qualities and Parts, he supposed, First, the Elements of Earth, Water, Air and Fire, and then, the Bodies of the Sun, Moon and Stars, and both Bodies and Souls of men and other Animals, and lastly, Innumerable or Infinite such Worlds as these, as so many Secondary and Native Gods, (that were also Mortal) to have been Generated, according to that Atheistical Hypothesis described in Plato.*

XXIV: It is certain that the Vulgar in all Ages have been very ill Judges of Theists and Atheists, they having condemned many hearty Theists, as guilty of Atheism, merely because they dissented from them, in some of their Superstitious Rites and Opinions. As for example; *Anaxagoras* the Clazomenian, though he was the first of all the Ionick Philosophers, (unless *Thales* ought to be excepted) who made an Infinite *Mind* to be a Principle, that is, asserted a Deity, according to the true Notion of it, yet he was notwithstanding, generally cried down for an Atheist, merely because he affirmed the Sun to be *μὲν δὲν διάπυρον*, a *Mass of Fire*, or a *Fiery Globe*, and the Moon to be an Earth, that is, because he denied them to be *Animated* and endued with Understanding Souls, and consequently to be *Gods*. So likewise *Socrates* was both accused, and condemned, for Atheistical

Plat. Apol. Socr.

cal

Plat. Apol.

cal Impiety, as denying all Gods, though nothing was pretended to be proved against him, but only this, that he did *ὅς δὲ διδάσκον μὴ νομίζειν, ὅς ἡ πόλις νομίζει, ἔτι καὶ ὁ δαιμόνια καὶ αἰσφύγειν*, Teach that those were not true Gods which the City worshipt, and in the room thereof introduce other new Gods. And lastly, the Christians in the Primitive times, for the same reason, were vulgarly traduced for Atheists, by the Pagans, as *Justin Martyr* declares in his Apology, *ἀθεοὶ καλεῖσθαι, καὶ ὁμολογεῖν τῶν τοιούτων νομιζομένων θεῶν ἀθεοὶ εἶναι*, We are called Atheists, and we confess our selves such, in respect of those Gods which they worship, but not of the true God. And as the Vulgar have unjustly condemned many Theists for Atheists, so have they also acquitted many Rank Atheists from the Guilt of that Crime, merely because they externally complied with them, in their Religious Worship, and Forms of Speech. Neither is it only the Vulgar that have been imposed upon herein, but also the Generality of Learned men, who have been commonly so superficial in this business, as that they have hardly taken notice of above three or four Atheists that ever were in former times, as namely, *Diagoras*, *Theodorus*, *Enemerus*, and *Protagoras*; whereas *Democritus* and *Anaximander*, were as rank Atheists, as any of them all, though they had the wit to carry themselves externally, with more Cautiousness. And indeed it was really one and the self-same Form of Atheism, which both these entertained, they deriving all things alike, from Dead and Stupid Matter Fortuitously Moved, the Difference between them being only this, that they managed it two different ways; *Anaximander* in the way of Qualities and Forms, which is the more Vulgar and Obvious kind of Atheism; but *Democritus* in the way of Atoms and Figures, which seems to be a more learned kind of Atheism.

And though we do not doubt at all, but that *Plato*, in his Tenth *De Legibus*, where he attacks Atheism, did intend the Confutation as well of the *Democritick* as the *Anaximandrian* Atheism; yet whether it were, because he had no mind to take any notice at all of *Democritus*, who is not so much as once mentioned by him any where, or else because he was not so perfectly acquainted with that Atomick way of Physiologizing, certain it is, that he there describes the Atheistick Hypothesis more according to the *Anaximandrian* than the *Democritick* Form. For when he represents the Atheistick Generation of Heaven and Earth, and all things in them, as resulting from the Fortuitous Commixture of Hot and Cold, Hard and Soft, Moist and Dry *Corpuscula*; this is clearly more agreeable with the *Anaximandrian* Generation of the World, by the Secretion of Inexistent Contraries in the Matter, than the *Democritick Cosmogonia*, by the Fortuitous Concourse of Atoms, devoid of all manner of Qualities and Forms.

Some indeed seem to call that Scheme of Atheism, that deduces all things from Matter, in the way of Qualities and Forms, by the name of *Peripatetick* or *Aristotelick Atheism*; we suppose for this reason, because *Aristotle* Physiologized in that way of Forms and Qualities, educating them out of the Power of the Matter. But since *Aristotle* himself

himself cannot be justly Taxed for an Atheist, this Form of Atheism ought rather, as we conceive, to be denominated from *Anaximander*, and called the *Anaximandrian Atheism*.

XXV. Now the Reasons why *Democritus* and *Leucippus* New-modelled Atheism, from the *Anaximandrian* and *Hylopathian*, into the *Atomick Form*, seem to have been chiefly these; First, because, they being well instructed in that Atomick way of Physiologizing, were really convinced, that it was not only more Ingenious, but also more agreeable to Truth; the other by Real Qualities and Forms, seeming a thing Unintelligible. Secondly, because they foresaw, as *Lucretius* intimates, that the Production of Forms and Qualities out of Nothing, and the Corruption of them again into Nothing, would prepare an Easie way, for mens Belief of a *Divine Creation* and *Annihilation*. And lastly, because, as we have already suggested, they plainly perceived, that these *Forms* and *Qualities* of *Matter* were of a doubtful Nature, and therefore, as they were sometimes made a shelter for Atheism, so they might also prove, on the contrary, an *Asylum* for Corporeal Theism; in that it might possibly be supposed, that either the *Matter* of the whole World, or else the more Subtle and Fiery Part of it, was Originally endued with an Understanding Form or Quality, and consequently the Whole an *Animal* or *God*. Wherefore they took another more Effectual Course, to secure their Atheism, and exclude all Possibility of a Corporeal God, by deriving the Original of all things from Atoms, devoid of all Forms and Qualities, and having nothing in them, but Magnitude, Figure, Site and Motion, as the First Principles; it following unavoidably from thence, that *Life* and *Understanding*, as well as those other Qualities, could be only *Accidental* and *Secondary* Results from certain Fortuitous *Concretions* and *Contextures* of *Atoms*; so that the World could be made by no Previous Counsel or Understanding, and therefore by no Deity.

XXVI. We have here represented, Three several Forms of Atheism, the *Anaximandrian*, the *Democritical* and the *Stratonical*. But there is yet another Form of Atheism, different from them all, to be taken notice of, which is such, as supposes one kind of *Plastick* and *Spermatick*, *Methodical* and *Artificial* Nature, but without any Sense or Conscious Understanding, to preside over the whole World, and dispose and conserve all things, in that Regular Frame in which they are. Such a Form of Atheism as this, is hinted to us in that doubtful Passage of *Seneca's*; *Sive Animal est Mundus*, (for so it ought to be read, and not *Anima*) *Sive Corpus Naturæ Gubernante, ut Arbores, ut* Nat Quæst.
l. 3. S. 2. 291 *Sata; Whether the whole World be an Animal (i. e. endued with one Sentient and Rational Life) or whether it be only a Body Governed, by (a certain Plastick and Methodical, but Senseless) Nature, as Trees, and other Plants or Vegetables.* In which words are two several Hypotheses, of the Mundane System, Sceptically proposed, by one who was a Corporealist, and took it for granted that all was Body. First, that the whole World, though having nothing but Body in it, yet was notwithstanding an *Animal*, as our Humane Bodies are, endued with one *Senti-*

ent;

ent or Rational Life and Nature, one Soul or Mind, governing and ordering the Whole. Which Corporeal Cosmo-zoism we do not reckon amongst the Forms of Atheism, but rather account it for a kind of Spurious Theism, or Theism disguised in a Paganick Dress, and not without a Complication of many false apprehensions, concerning the Deity, in it. The Second is, that the whole World is no Animal, but as it were, one Huge Plant or Vegetable, a Body endued with one Plastick or Spermatick Nature, branching out the whole, Orderly and Methodically, but without any Understanding or Sense. And this must needs be accounted a Form of Atheism, because it does not derive the Original of things in the Universe, from any clearly Intellectual Principle or Conscious Nature,

XXVII. Now this Form of Atheism which supposes the Whole World (there being nothing but Body in it) not to be an Animal, but only a Great Plant or Vegetable, having one Spermatick Form, or Plastick Nature, which without any Conscious Reason or Understanding, orders the whole, though it have some nearer Correspondence with that Hylozoick Form of Atheism before described, in that it does not suppose Nature to be a mere Fortuitous, but a kind of Artificial thing; yet it differs from it in this, that the Hylozoick supposing all Matter, as such, to have Life, Essentially belonging to it, must therefore needs attribute to every part of Matter (or at least every Particular Totum, that is one by Continuity) a Distinct Plastick Life of its own, but acknowledge no one Common Life, as ruling over the whole Corporeal Universe, and consequently impute the Original of all things (as hath been already observed) to a certain Mixture of Chance, and Plastick or Methodical Nature, both together. Whereas the Cosmo-plastick Atheism, quite excludes Fortune or Chance, subjecting all things to the Regular and Orderly Fate, of one Plastick or Plantal Nature, ruling over the Whole. Thus that Philosopher before mentioned concludes, that whether the World were an Animal (in the Stoical sense) or whether it were a mere Plant or Vegetable, *Ab initio ejus usque ad exitum, quicquid facere, quicquid pati debeat, inclusum est. Ut in Semine, omnis futuri ratio hominis comprehensa est. Et Legem Barbae & Canorum, nondum natus Infant habet. Totius enim Corporis, & sequentis etatis, in parvo occultoque, Lineamenta sunt. Sic Origo Mundi, non magis Solem & Lunam, & Vices Syderum, & Animalium Ortus, quam quibus mutarentur Terrena, continuit. In his fuit Inundatio, quae non secus quam Hyems, quam Aestas, Lege Mundi venit. Whatsoever, from the beginning to the end of it, it can either Do or Suffer, it was all at first included in the Nature of the whole; As in the Seed is contained the Whole Delineation of the Future man, and the Embryo or Unborn infant, hath already in it, the Law of a Beard and Gray Hairs. The Lineaments of the whole Body, and of its following age, being there described as it were in a little and obscure Compendium. In like manner, the Original and First Rudiments of the World, contained in them, not only the Sun and Moon, the Courses of the Stars, and the Generations of Animals, but also the Vicissitudes of all Terrestrial things. And every Deluge or Inundation of Water, comes to pass no less, by the Law of the World (its Spermatick or Plastick Nature) than Winter and Summer doth.*

XXVIII. We

XXVIII. We do not deny it to be possible, but that some in all Ages might have entertained such an Atheistical Conceit as this, That the Original of this whole Mundane System was from one *Artificial, Orderly and Methodical*, but *Senseless Nature* lodged in the Matter; but we cannot trace the footsteps of this Doctrine any where so much as among the Stoicks, to which Sect *Seneca*, who speaks so waveringly and uncertainly in this point, (Whether the World were an *Animal* or a *Plant*) belonged. And indeed diverse learned men have suspected, that even the *Zenonian* and *Heraclick Deity* it self, was no other than such a *Plastick Nature* or *Spermatick Principle* in the Universe, as in the *Seeds of Vegetables and Animals*, doth frame their respective Bodies, *Orderly and Artificially*. Nor can it be denied, but that there hath been just cause given for such a suspicion; forasmuch as the best of the *Stoicks*, sometimes confounding *God* with *Nature*, seemed to make him nothing but an *Artificial Fire, Orderly and Methodically proceeding to Generation*. And it was Familiar with them, as *Laertius* tells us, to call God σπερματικὸν λόγον τῷ κόσμῳ, the *Spermatick Reason* or *Form of the World*. Nevertheless, because *Zeno* and others of the chief Stoical Doctors, did also many times assert, that there was φύσις νοερά καὶ λογική, a *Rational and Intellectual Nature* (and therefore not a *Plastick Principle* only) in the *Matter* of the Universe; as likewise that the whole World was an *Animal*, and not a mere *Plant*: Therefore we incline rather, to excuse the generality of the first and most ancient Stoicks from the imputation of Atheism, and to account this Form of Atheism which we now speak of, to be but a certain Degeneracy from the right *Heraclick* and *Zenonian Cabala*, which seemed to contain these two things in it; First, that there was an *Animalish, Sentient and Intellectual Nature*, or a *Conscious Soul and Mind*, that presided over the whole World, though lodged immediately in the *Fiery Matter* of it; Secondly, that this *Sentient and Intellectual Nature*, or *Corporeal Soul and Mind* of the Universe, did contain also under it, or within it, as the inferiour part of it, a certain *Plastick Nature* or *Spermatick Principle* which was properly the *Fate of all things*. For thus *Heracitus* defined Fate λόγον ἃ διὰ τῶν σπέρματων τῷ παντὶ διήκοντα, ἢ αἰθέριον σῶμα σπέρμα τῷ παντὶ γινέσθαι, A certain *Reason passing through the Substance of the whole World*, or an *Ethereal Body, that was the Seed of the Generation of the Universe*. And *Zeno's* first Principle, as it is said to be an *Intellectual Nature*, so it is also said, to have contained in it πᾶσι τὰς σπερματικὰς λόγους καθ' ἑκάστην καθ' ἐμμεμελῶ γίνεσθαι, All the *Spermatick Reasons and forms, by which every thing is done according to Fate*. However, though this seem to have been the genuine Doctrine, both of *Heracitus* and *Zeno*; yet others of their Followers afterwards, divided these two things from one another, and taking only the latter of them, made the *Plastick* or *Spermatick Nature*, devoid of all *Animality* or *Conscious Intellectuality*, to be the highest Principle in the Universe. Thus *Laertius* tells us, that *Boethus*, an eminent and famous Stoical Doctor did plainly deny the World to be an *Animal*, that is, to have any *Sentient, Conscious or Intellectual Nature* presiding over it, and consequently must needs make it to be but *Corpus Naturæ gubernante, ut Arbores, ut Sata, A Body govern-*

ed by a *Plastick* or *Vegetative Nature*, as *Trees, Plants and Herbs*. And as it is possible that other *Stoicks* and *Heracliticks*, might have done the like before *Boethius*, so it is very probable that he had after him many Followers; amongst which, as *Plinius Secundus* may be reckoned for one, so *Seneca* himself was not without a doubtful Tincture of this *Atheism*, as hath been already shewed. Wherefore this *Form of Atheism*, which supposes one *Plastick* or *Spermatick Nature*, one *Plantal* or *Vegetative Life* in the whole World, as the *Highest Principle*, may, for distinction sake, be called the *Pseudo-Stoical* or *Stoical Atheism*.

XXIX. Besides these *Philosophick Atheists*, whose several Forms we have now described, it cannot be doubted, but that there have been in all Ages many other *Atheists* that have not at all *Philosophized*, nor pretended to maintain any particular *Atheistick System* or *Hypothesis*, in a way of Reason, but were only led by a certain dull and sottish, though confident, Disbelief of whatsoever they could not either See or Feel: Which kind of *Atheists* may therefore well be accompted *Enthusiastical* or *Fanatical Atheists*. Though it be true in the meantime, that even all manner of *Atheists* whatsoever, and those of them who most of all pretend to Reason and Philosophy, may in some sence be justly stiled also both *Enthusiasts* and *Fanaticks*. Forasmuch as they are not led or carried on, into this way of *Atheizing*, by any clear Dictates of their Reason or Understanding, but only by an *ὁρμη ἀλογῶν*, a certain *Blind and Irrational Impetus*, they being as it were *Inspired* to it, by that lower *Earthly Life* and *Nature*, which is called in the Scripture-oracles τὸ πνεῦμα τῆ κοσμοῦ, the *Spirit of the World*, or a *Mundane Spirit*, and is opposed to the τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ, the *Spirit that is of God*. For when the Apostle speaks after this manner, *We have not received the Spirit of the World, but the Spirit that is of God*, he seems to intimate thus much unto us; That as some men were Led and *Inspired* by a *Divine Spirit*, so others again are *Inspired* by a *Mundane Spirit*, by which is meant the *Earthly Life*. Now the former of these Two, are not to be accompted *Enthusiasts*, as the word is now commonly taken in a Bad Sence, because the *Spirit of God* is no *Irrational thing*, but either the very self same thing with *Reason*, or else such a thing as *Aristotle* (as it were *Vaticinating* concerning it) somewhere calls λόγος τι κρείττον, a certain *Better and Diviner thing than Reason*, and *Plotinus* ῥίζαν λόγου, the *Root of Reason*. But on the contrary, the *Mundane Spirit*, or *Earthly Life*, is *Irrational Sottishness*; and they who are *Atheistically Inspired* by it (how abhorrent soever they may otherwise seem to be from *Enthusiasm* and *Revelations*) are notwithstanding really no better, than a kind of *Bewitched Enthusiasts* and *Blind Spiritati*, that are wholly ridden and acted by a dark, narrow and captivated Principle of Life, and, to use their own Language, *In-blown* by it, and by it bereft, even in *Speculative things*, of all *Free Reason* and *Understanding*. Nay they are *Fanaticks* too, however that word seem to have a more peculiar respect to something of a Deity: All *Atheists* being that *Blind Goddes, Natures Fanaticks*.

XXX. We have described four several Forms of *Atheism*; First, the

the *Hylopathian* or *Anaximandrian*, that derives all things from Dead and Stupid Matter in the way of *Qualities and Forms*, Generable and Corruptible : Secondly, the *Atomical* or *Democritical*, which doth the same thing in the way of *Atoms and Figures* : Thirdly, the *Cosmoplastic* or *Stoical Atheism*, which supposes one *Plastick* and *Methodical* but *Senseless Nature*, to preside over the whole *Corporeal Universe* : And lastly, the *Hylozoick* or *Stratonical*, that attributes to all Matter, as such, a certain *Living and Energetick Nature*, but devoid of all *Animality, Sense and Consciousness*. And as we do not meet with any other *Forms* or *Schemes* of *Atheism*, besides these *Four*, so we conceive that there cannot easily be any other excogitated or devised : and that upon these two following Considerations. First, because all *Atheists* are mere *Corporealists*, that is, acknowledge no other *Substance* besides *Body* or *Matter*. For as there was never any yet known, who asserting *Incorporeal Substance*, did deny a *Deity* ; so neither can there be any reason, why he that admits the former should exclude the latter. Again, the same Dull and Earthly Disbelief or confounded Sottishness of Mind, which makes men deny a *God*, must needs incline them to deny all *Incorporeal Substance* also. Wherefore as the Physicians speak of a certain *Disease* or *Madness*, called *Hydrophobia*, the *Symptom* of those that have been bitten by a mad Dog, which makes them have a monstrous Antipathy to Water ; so all *Atheists* are possessed with a certain kind of *Madness*, that may be called *Pneumatophobia*, that makes them have an irrational but desperate Abhorrence from *Spirits* or *Incorporeal Substances*, they being acted also, at the same time, with an *Hylomania*, whereby they *Madly* dote upon *Matter*, and *Devoutly* worship it, as the only *Numen*.

The Second Consideration is this, because as there are no *Atheists* but such as are mere *Corporealists*, so all *Corporealists* are not to be accounted *Atheists* neither : Those of them, who notwithstanding they make all things to be Matter, yet suppose an *Intellectual Nature* in that Matter, to preside over the *Corporeal Universe*, being in Reason and Charity to be exempted out of that number. And there have been always some, who though so strongly captivated under the power of gross Imagination, as that an *Incorporeal God* seemed to them, to be nothing but a *God of Words* (as some of them call it) a mere Empty Sound or Contradictious Expression, Something and Nothing put together ; yet notwithstanding, they have been possessed with a firm belief and persuasion of a *Deity*, or that the *System* of the *Universe* depends upon one Perfect Understanding Being as the Head of it ; and thereupon have concluded that ὅλη πᾶς ἔχουσα, a certain kind of *Body* or *Matter*, is *God*. The grossest and most sottish of all which *Corporeal Theists*, seem to be those, who contend that *God* is only one particular Piece of Organized Matter, of Humane Form and Bigness, which endued with Perfect Reason and Understanding, exerciseth an Universal Dominion over all the rest. Which *Hypothesis*, however it hath been entertained by some of the Christian Profession, both in former and later times, yet it hath seemed very ridiculous, even to many of those Heathen Philosophers themselves, who were mere *Corporealists*, such as the *Stoicks*, who exploded it with a kind of Indig-

nation, contending earnestly *μη ειναι θεον ανθρωπομορφον*, That *God* (though Corporeal) yet must not be conceived to be of any Humane Shape. And *Xenophanes*, an Ancient Philosophick Poet, expresseth the Childithness of this Conceit after this manner;

Ἄλλ' ἔτι χεῖρες γ' ἔχον βόες ἢ λέοντες,
ἢ γράψαι χεῖρασι, καὶ ἔργα τελεῖν ἄφ' ἀνδρες,
καὶ κε θεῶν ἰδίας ἔγχεσθον, καὶ σώματ' ἐπίσιν
τοιαῦθ' οἷόν περ καὶ αὐτοὶ δέμας ἔχον ὁμοῖον.

If *Oxen, Lions, Horses and Asses*, had all of them a Sense of a Deity, and were able to Limn and Paint, there is no question to be made, but that each of these several Animals would paint God according to their respective Form & Likeness, and contend that he was of that shape & no other. But that other Corporeal Theism, seems to be of the two, rather more Generous and Gentile, which supposes the whole World to be one Animal, and God to be a certain Subtle and Etherial, but Intellectual Matter, pervading it as a Soul; which was the Doctrine of others before the Stoicks, τὸ πῦρ θεόν υπελάφατον Ἰππασός τε ὁ μέλαπύλινος καὶ ὁ Ἐφέσιος Ἡρακλειτῆς, *Hippasus of Metapontus and Heraclitus the Ephesian supposed the Fiery and Etherial Matter of the World to be God*. However, neither these *Heracliticks* and *Stoicks*, nor yet the other *Anthropomorphites*, are by us condemned for downright Atheists, but rather look'd upon as a sort of Ignorant, Childish and Unskilful Theists.

Wherefore we see that *Atheists* are now reduced into a narrow Compass, since none are concluded to be *Atheists*, but such as are mere *Corporealists*, and all *Corporealists* must not be condemned for *Atheists* neither, but only those of them who assert, that there is no Conscious Intellectual Nature, presiding over the whole Universe. For this is that which the *Adepti* in *Atheism*, of what Form soever, all agree in, That the first Principle of the Universe, is no *Animalish, Sentient and Conscious Nature*, but that all *Animality, Sense and Consciousness*, is a *Secondary, Derivative and Accidental thing*, Generable and Corruptible, arising out of particular Concretions of Matter organized and dissolved together with them.

XXXI. Now if the First Principle and Original of all things in the Universe, be thus supposed to be Body or Matter, devoid of all *Animality, Sense and Consciousness*, then it must of necessity be either perfectly Dead and Stupid, and without all manner of Life, or else endued with such a kind of Life only, as is by some called *Plastick, Spermatick and Vegetative*, by others the *Life of Nature*, or *Natural Perception*. And those *Atheists* who derive all things from Dead and Stupid Matter, must also needs do this, either in the way of *Qualities and Forms*, and these are the *Anaximandrian Atheists*; or else in the way of *Atoms and Figures*, which are the *Democritical*. But those who make Matter endued with a *Plastick Life*, to be the first Original of all things, must needs suppose either *One such Plastick and Spermatick Life* only, in the whole Mass of Matter or Corporeal Universe, which are the *Stoical Atheists*; or else all Matter as such to have

have *Life* and an *Energetick Nature* belonging to it (though without any *Animal Sense* or *Self-perception*) and consequently all the Particular Parts of Matter, and every *Totum* by Continuity, to have a distinct *Plastick Life* of its own, which are the *Stratonick Atheists*. Wherefore there does not seem to be any room now left, for any other *Form* of *Atheism*, besides these *Four*, to thrust in.

And we think fit here again to inculcate, what hath been already intimated, That one Grand *Difference* amongst these several *Forms* of *Atheism* is this, That some of them attributing no *Life* at all to *Matter*, as such, nor indeed acknowledging any *Plastick Life* of Nature, distinct from the *Animal*, and supposing every thing whatsoever is in the world, besides *ὐλκῆριος*, the bare Substance of Matter considered as devoid of all Qualities, (that is, mere *extended Bulk*) to be *Generated* and *Corrupted*, consequently resolve, that all manner of *Life* whatsoever is *Generable* and *Corruptible*, or *educible* out of *Nothing* and *reducible* to *Nothing* again, and these are the *Anaximandrian* and *Democritick Atheisms*. But the other, which are the *Stoical* and *Stratonical*, do on the contrary suppose some *Life* to be *Fundamental* and *Original*, *Essential* and *Substantial*, *Ingenerable* and *Incorruptible*, as being a *First Principle* of things. Nevertheless, this not to be any *Animal*, *Conscious* and *Self-perceptive* *Life*, but a *Plastick Life* of Nature only; all *Atheists* still agreeing in those Two forementioned Things; First, that there is no other *Substance* in the World besides *Body*; Secondly, that all *Animal Life*, *Sense* and *Self-perception*, *Conscious Understanding* and *Personality* are *Generated* and *Corrupted*, successively *Educed* out of *Nothing* and *Reduced* into *Nothing* again.

XXXII. Indeed we are not ignorant, that some, who seem to be Well-wishers to *Atheism*, have talk'd sometimes of *Sensitive* and *Rational Matter*, as having a mind to suppose, Three several sorts of *Matter* in the Universe, Specifically different from one another, that were Originally such, and Self-existent from Eternity; namely *Senseless*, *Sensitive* and *Rational*: As if the *Mundane System* might be conceived to arise, from a certain Jumble of these Three several sorts of *Matter*, as it were scuffling together in the Dark, without a God, and so producing Brute Animals and Men. But as this is a mere Precarious *Hypothesis*, there being no imaginable account to be given, how there should come to be such an Essential Difference betwixt *Matters*; or why this Piece of *Matter* should be *Sensitive*, and that *Rational*, when another is altogether *Senseless*; so the Suggestors of it are but mere Novices in *Atheism*, and a kind of Bungling Well-wishers to it. First, because, according to this *Hypothesis*, no *Life* would be Produced or Destroyed in the successive *Generations* and *Corruptions* of Animals, but only *Concreted* and *Secreted* in them; and consequently all humane *Personalities* must be *Eternal* and *Incorruptible*: Which is all one, as to assert the *Præ* and *Post-existence* of all Souls, from Eternity to Eternity, a thing that all Genuine and Thorow-pac'd *Atheists* are in a manner as abhorrent from, as they are from the Deity itself. And Secondly, because there can be no imaginable Reason given by them, Why there might not be as well, a certain *Divine Mat-*

ter perfectly Intellectual and Self-existent from Eternity, as a *Sensitive* and *Rational Matter*. And therefore such an *Hypothesis* as this, can never serve the turn of Atheists. But all those that are Masters of the *Craft of Atheism*, and thorowly Catechized or Initiated in the *Dark Mysteries* thereof, (as hath been already inculcated) do perfectly agree in this, That all *Animal, Sentient and Conscious Life*, all *Souls* and *Minds*, and consequently all humane *Personalities*, are *Generated* out of *Matter*, and *Corrupted* again into it, or rather *Educed* out of *Nothing* and *Reduced* into *Nothing* again.

We understand also that there are certain *Canting Astrological Atheists*, who would deduce all things from the *Occult Qualities* and *Influences* of the Stars, according to their different *Conjunctions*, *Oppositions* and *Aspects*, in a certain blind and unaccountable manner. But these being Persons devoid of all manner of Sense, who neither so much as pretend to give an Account of these Stars, whether they be Animals or not, as also whence they derive their Original, (which if they did undertake to do *Atheistically*, they must needs resolve themselves at length into one or other of those *Hypotheses* already proposed) therefore, as we conceive, they deserve not the least Consideration. But we think fit here to observe, that such Devotoes to the heavenly Bodies, as look upon all the other Stars as petty Deities, but the Sun as the *Supreme Deity* and *Monarch* of the Universe, in the mean time conceiving it also to be *Perfectly Intellectual*, (which is in a manner the same with the *Cleanthean Hypothesis*) are not so much to be accounted *Atheists*, as *Spurious, Paganical* and *Idolatrous Theists*. And upon all these Considerations we conclude again, that there is no other *Philosophick Form* of *Atheism*, that can easily be devised, besides these *Four* mentioned, the *Anaximandrian*, the *Democritical*, the *Stoical* and the *Stratonical*.

XXXIII. Amongst which Forms of Atheism, there is yet another *Difference* to be observed, and accordingly another *Distribution* to be made of them. It being first premised, that all these forementioned Sorts of Atheists (if they will speak consistently and agreeably to their own Principles) must needs suppose all things to be one way or other *Necessary*. For though *Epicurus* introduced *Contingent Liberty*, yet it is well known, that he therein plainly contradicted his own Principles. And this indeed, was the First and Principal thing intended by us, in this whole Undertaking, to confute that False *Hypothesis* of the *Mundane System*, which makes all *Actions and Events Necessary* upon *Atheistick Grounds*, but especially in the *Mechanick way*. Wherefore in the next place we must observe, that though the Principles of all Atheists introduce *Necessity*, yet the *Necessity* of these *Atheists* is not one and the same, but of two different kinds; some of them supposing a *Necessity* of *Dead and Stupid Matter*, which is that which is commonly meant by *ὕλην ἀνάγκη*, or *Material Necessity*, and is also called by *Aristotle*, an *Absolute Necessity* of things: Others the *Necessity* of a *Plastick Life*, which the same *Aristotle* calls an *Hypothetical Necessity*. For the *Anaximandrian* and *Democritical Atheists* do both of them assert a *Material and Absolute Necessity* of all things; one in the way of

Qualities;

Qualities, and the other of *Motion and Mechanism*: But the *Stoical* and *Stratonical* *Atheists* assert a *Plastical* and *Hypothetical* *Necessity* of things only.

Now one grand Difference betwixt these two Sorts of *Atheisms* and their *Necessities* lies in this, That the Former, though they make all things *Necessary*, yet they suppose them also to be *Fortuitous*; there being no Inconsistency between these Two. And the Sence of both the *Anaximandrian* and *Democritick* *Atheisms* seems to be thus described by *Plato*, *πάντα καὶ τὸ σύνολον ἐξ ἀνάγκης συνεκείσθαι*, All things were mingled together by *Necessity* according to *Fortune*. For that Nature from whence these *Atheists* derived all things, is at once both *Necessary* and *Fortuitous*. But the *Plastick* *Atheisms* suppose such a *Necessary* Nature, for the *First Principle* of things, as is not merely *Fortuitous*, but *Regular*, *Orderly* and *Methodical*; the *Stoical* excluding all *Chance* and *Fortune* universally, because they subject all things to *One* *Plastick* Nature ruling over the whole Universe, but the *Stratonical* doing it in part only, because they derive things, from a *Mixture* of *Chance* and *Plastick* Nature both together.

And thus we see that there is a Double Notion of Nature amongst *Atheists*, as well as *Theists*; which we cannot better express than in the words of *Balbus* the *Stoick*, personated by *Cicero*: *Alii Naturam censent esse Vim quandam sine Ratione, cipientem motus in corporibus necessarios; Alii autem Vim participem Ordinis, tanquam Viâ progredientem. Cujus Solertiam, nulla Ars, nulla Manus, nemo Opifex, consequi potest imitando; Seminis enim Vim esse tantam, ut id quanquam perexiguum, nascumque sit Materiam, quâ ali augerique possit, ita fingat & efficiat, in suo quidque genere, partim ut per stirpes alantur suas, partim ut movere etiam possint, & ex se similia sui generare.* De Nat. Dei
l. 2. Some by Nature mean a certain Force without Reason and Order, exciting *Necessary* *Motions* in *Bodies*; but others understand by it, such a Force as participating of Order, proceeds as it were *Methodically*. Whose exquisiteness, no Art, no Hand, no *Opificer* can reach to by *Imitation*. For the Force of Seed is such, that though the Bulk of it be very small, yet if it get convenient Matter for its nourishment and increase, it so Forms and Frames things in their several kinds, as that they can partly through their Stocks and Trunks be nourished, and partly Move themselves also, and Generate their like. And again; *Sunt qui omnia Naturæ Nomine appellant, ut Epicurus; Sed nos, cum dicimus Naturâ constare administrariq; Mundum, non ita dicimus, ut Glebam, aut Fragmentum Lapidis, aut aliquid ejusmodi, nulla coherendi Natura; Sed ut Arborem, ut Animalia, in quibus nulla Temeritas, sed Ordo apparet & Artis quædam Similitudo.* There are some who call all things by the name of Nature, as *Epicurus*: But we, when we say that the World is administred by Nature, do not mean such a Nature as is in Clods of Earth and Pieces of Stone; but such as is in a Tree or Animal, in whose Constitution there is no Temerity, but Order and Similitude of Art. Now according to these Two different Notions of Nature, the Four forementioned Forms of *Atheism* may be again Dichotomized after this manner; into such as derive all things from a mere *Fortuitous* and *Temerarious* Nature, devoid of all Order and

and Methodicalness; and such as deduce the Original of things from a certain *Orderly, Regular and Artificial*, though *Senseless* Nature in Matter. The former of which are the *Anaximandrian* and *Democritick Atheisms*, the latter the *Stoical* and *Stratonical*.

It hath been already observed, that those Atheisms that derive all things from a mere Fortuitous Principle, as also suppose every thing besides *ὕλη ἄπειρος*, the bare Substance of Matter or Extended Bulk, to be Generated and Corrupted; though they asserted the Eternity of Matter, yet they could not, agreeably to their own Hypothesis, maintain the Eternity and Incorruptibility of the World. And accordingly hereunto, both the *Anaximandrian* and *Democritick Atheists* did conclude the World to be *γεγόμενον καὶ φθαρτέον*, such as was at first Made and should be again Corrupted. And upon this accompt, *Lucretius* concerns himself highly herein, to prove both the Novity of the World, and also its Future Dissolution and Extinction; that

Totum Nativum Mortali Corpore constat.

But instead of the Worlds Eternity, these Two sorts of Atheists, introduced another Paradox, namely an *ἄπειρος κόσμος*, an Infinity of Worlds, and that not only Successive, in that space which this World of ours is conceived now to occupy, in respect of the Infinity of Past and Future Time, but also a Contemporary Infinity of Coexistent Worlds, at all times throughout Endless and Unbounded Space.

2 Pet. 3.

However it is certain, that some Persons Atheistically inclined, have been always apt to run out another way, and to suppose that the Frame of things, and System of the World, ever was from Eternity, and ever will be to Eternity, such as now it is, dispensed by a certain *Orderly and Regular*, but yet *Senseless and Unknowing Nature*. And it is Prophesied in Scripture, that such Atheists as these should especially abound in these latter days of ours; *There shall come in the last days (ἐμπόσυντοι) Atheistical Scoffers, walking after their own Lusts and saying, Where is the promise of his Coming? For since the Fathers fell asleep all things continue as they were from the beginning of the Creation.* Which latter words are spoken only according to the received Hypothesis of the Jews, the meaning of these Atheists being quite otherwise, that there was neither Creation nor Beginning of the World; but that things had continued, such as now they are, from all Eternity. As appears also from what the Apostle there adds by way of Confutation, That they were wilfully Ignorant of this, that by the word of God the Heavens were of old, and the Earth standing out of the Water and in the Water; and that as the World that then was, overflowing with Water perished, so the Heavens & Earth which now are, by the same word are kept in store, and reserved unto Fire against the day of Judgment & Perdition of Ungodly men. And it is evident, that some of these Atheists at this very day, march in the garb of Enthusiastical Religionists, acknowledging no more a God than a Christ without them, and Allegorizing the day of Judgment and future Conflagration, into a kind of seemingly Mystical, but really Atheistical Non-sence. These, if they did Philosophize, would resolve themselves into one or other of those Two Hypotheses before mentioned

mentioned; either that of *One Plastick Orderly and Methodical*, but *Senseless Nature*, ruling over the whole Universe; or else that of *the Life of Matter*, making one or other of these two *Natures* to be their only *God or Numen*. It being sufficiently agreeable to the Principles of both these *Atheistick Hypotheses* (and no others) to maintain the Worlds both *Ante* and *Post-Eternity*; yet so as that the latter of them, namely the *Hylozoists*, admitting a certain Mixture of *Chance* together with the *Life of Matter*, would suppose, that though the main Strokes of things, might be preserved the same, and some kind of constant Regularity always kept up in the World, yet that the whole *Mundane System* did not in all respects continue the same, from *Eternity to Eternity*, without any *Variation*. But as *Strabo* tells us Strab. l. 1. that *Strato Physicus* maintained, the *Euxine Sea* at first to have had no Outlet by *Byzantium* into the *Mediterranean*, but that by the continual running in of Rivers into it, causing it to overflow, there was in length of time a passage opened by the *Propontis* and *Hellespont*. As also that the *Mediterranean Sea* forced open that passage of the *Herculean straits*, being a continual *Isthmus* or neck of Land before; that many parts of the present Continent were heretofore Sea, as also much of the present Ocean habitable Land: So it cannot be doubted, but that the same *Strato* did likewise suppose such kind of *Alternations* and *Vicissitudes* as these, in all the greater parts of the *Mundane System*.

But the *Stoical Atheists*, who made the whole World to be dispensed by one *Orderly and Plastick Nature*, might very well, and agreeably to their own *Hypothesis*, maintain, besides the *Worlds Eternity*, one *Constant and Invariable Course or Tenor* of things in it, as *Plinius Secundus* doth, who, if he were any thing, seems to have been one of these *Atheists*; *Mundum & hoc quod nomine alio Cælum appellare libuit, (cujus circumflexu reguntur cuncta) Numen esse, credi par est, Æternum, Immensum, neque Genitum neque Interituum*——— *Idem rerum Naturæ Opus, & rerum ipsa Natura*; The World, and that which by another name is called the Heavens, by whose *Circumgyration* all things are governed, ought to be believed to be a *Numen, Eternal, Immense*, such as was never Made, and shall never be Destroyed. Where by the way, it may be again observed, that those *Atheists* who denied a *God* according to the *True Notion* of him, as a *Conscious, Understanding Being*, presiding over the whole World, did notwithstanding look upon either the World it self, or else a mere *Senseless Plastick Nature* in it, as a kind of *Numen* or *Deity*, they supposing it to be *Ingénérable* and *Incorruptible*. Which same *Pliny*, as upon the grounds of the *Stoical Atheism*, he maintained against the *Anaximandrians* and *Democriticks* the *Worlds Eternity* and *Incorruptibility*; so did he likewise in way of *Opposition* to that *ἀνεστὶς ἄβυσσος*, that *Infinity of Worlds* of theirs, assert that there was but *One World*, and that *Finite*. In like manner we read concerning that Famous *Stoick Boethius*, whom *Lactantius* affirms, to have denied the World to be an *Animal* (which according to the language and sence of those times was all one as to deny a *God*) that he also maintained, contrary to the received *Doctrine* of the *Stoicks*, the *Worlds Ante-Eternity* and *Incorruptibility*, *Philosopho* in his Treatise *ὅτι ἀφθαρτος ὁ κόσμος*, or the *Incorruptibility of the World* testifying the same of him. Nat. H. l. 2. c. 7.

Nevertheless

Nevertheless it seems, that some of these Stoical Atheists did also agree with the Generality of the other Stoical Theists, in supposing a successive *Infinity of Worlds Generated and Corrupted*, by reason of intervening *Periodical Conflagrations*; though all dispensed by such a *Stupid and Senseless Nature* as governs *Plants and Trees*. For thus much we gather from those words of *Seneca* before cited, where describing this *Atheistical Hypothesis*, he tells us, that though the World were a *Plant*, that is, governed by a *Vegetative or Plastick Nature*, without any *Animality*, yet notwithstanding, *ab initio ejus usque ad exitum*, &c. it had both a Beginning and will have an End, and from its Beginning to its End, all was dispensed by a kind of *Regular Law*, even its Successive *Conflagrations* too, as well as those *Inundations or Deluges* which have sometimes hapned. Which yet they understood after such a manner, as that in these several *Revolutions and Successive Circuits* or Periods of Worlds, all things should be ἀπαελλαύτα, *exactly alike*, to what had been Infinitely before, and should be again Infinitely afterwards. Of which more elsewhere.

XXXIV. This *Quadripartite Atheism* which we have now represented, is the *Kingdom of Darknes Divided*, or Labouring with an *Intestine Seditious War* in its own Bowels, and thereby destroying it self. Inſomuch that we might well ſave our ſelves the labour of any further Confutation of Atheism, merely by committing these several *Forms of Atheism* together, and dashing them one against another, they opposing and contradicting each other, no less than they do *Theism* it self. For first, those two *Pairs of Atheisms*, on the one hand the *Anaximandrian* and *Democritick*, on the other the *Stoical* and *Stratonical*, do absolutely destroy each other; the Former of them supposing the First Principle of all things to be *Stupid Matter* devoid of all manner of Life, and contending that all Life as well as other Qualities is *Generable and Corruptible*, or a mere Accidental thing, and looking upon the *Plastick Life* of Nature as a Figment or Phantastick Capritio, a thing almost as formidable and altogether as impossible as a Deity; the other on the contrary, founding all upon this Principle, That there is a *Life and Natural Perception* Essential to Matter, *Ingenerable and Incorruptible*, and contending it to be utterly impossible to give any account of the *Phænomena* of the World, the *Original of Motion*, the *Orderly Frame and Disposition of things*, and the *Nature of Animals*, without this *Fundamental Life of Nature*.

Again, the Single Atheisms belonging to each of these several Pairs, quarrel as much also between themselves. For the *Democritick Atheism* explodes the *Anaximandrian Qualities and Forms*, demonstrating that the Natural Production of such *Entities out of Nothing*, and the *Corruption* of them again into *Nothing*, is of the two, rather more impossible, than a *Divine Creation and Annihilation*. And on the other side, the *Anaximandrian Atheist* plainly discovers, that when the *Democriticks and Atomicks* have spent all their Fury against these *Qualities and Forms*, and done what they can to ſalve the *Phænomena* of Nature, without them another way, themselves do notwithstanding like

like drunken men reel and stagger back again into them, and are unavoidably necessitated at last, to take up their Sanctuary in them.

In like manner the *Stoical* and *Stratonical* Atheists, may as effectually undo and confute each other; the Former of them urging against the Latter, That besides that Prodigious Absurdity, of making every Atom of Senseless Matter *Infallibly Wise* or *Omniscient*, without any *Consciousness*, there can be no reason at all given by the *Hylozoists*, why the Matter of the whole Universe, might not as well *Conspire and Confederate* together into *One*, as all the single Atoms that compound the Body of any Animal or Man, or why one Conscious Life might not as well result from the *Totum* of the former, as of the latter; by which means the *whole World* would become an *Animal* or *God*. Again, the Latter contending, that the *Stoical* or *Cosmo-plastick Atheist* can pretend no reason, why the whole World might not have one *Sentient* and *Rational*, as well as one *Plastick Soul* in it, that is, as well be an *Animal* as a *Plant*. Moreover, that the Sensitive Souls of Brute Animals, and the Rational Souls of Men, could never possibly emerge out of one *single, Plastick and Vegetative Soul* in the whole Universe. And lastly, that it is altogether as impossible, that the whole World should have *Life* in it, and yet none of its Parts have any *Life* of their own, as that the whole World should be *White* or *Black*, and yet no part of it have any *Whiteness* or *Blackness* at all in it. And therefore that the *Stoical Atheists*, as well as the *Stoical Theists*, do both alike deny *Incorporeal Substance* but in words only, whilst they really admit the thing it self; because *One* and the same *Life*, ruling over all the distant parts of the Corporeal Universe, must needs be an *Incorporeal Substance*, it being all in the Whole, and all acting upon every part, and yet none of it in any part by it self; for then it would be many and not one. From all which it may be concluded, That Atheism is a certain strange kind of *Monster*, with *Four Heads*, that are all of them perpetually biting, tearing and devouring one another.

Now though these several Forms of Atheism do mutually destroy each other, and none of them be really Considerable or Formidable in it self, as to any strength of Reason which it hath; yet as they are compared together among themselves; so some of them may be more considerable than the rest. For first, as the *Qualities* and *Forms* of the *Anaximandrian Atheist*, supposed to be really distinct from the Substances, are things unintelligible in themselves; so he cannot, with any colour or pretence of Reason, maintain the Natural Production of them out of *Nothing*, and the *Reduction* of them again into *Nothing*, and yet withstand a *Divine Creation* and *Annihilation*, as an Impossibility. Moreover the *Anaximandrian Atheism*, is as it were swallowed up into the *Democritick*, and further improved in it, this latter carrying on the same Design, with more seeming Artifice, greater Plausibility of Wit, and a more pompous Show of Something where indeed there is Nothing. Upon which accompt, it hath for many Ages past beaten the *Anaximandrian*

drian Atheism, in a manner quite off the Stage, and reigned there alone. So that the *Democritick* or *Atomick Atheism*, seems to be much more considerable of the Two, than the *Anaximandrian* or *Hylopathian*.

Again; as for the two other Forms of Atheism, if there were any *Life* at all in *Matter*, as the First and Immediate Recipient of it, then in reason this must needs be supposed to be after the same manner in it, that all other Corporeal Qualities are in Bodies, so as to be *Divisible* together with it, and some of it be in every part of the Matter; which is according to the *Hypothesis* of the *Hylozoists*: Whereas on the contrary the *Stoical Atheists* supposing one *Life* only in the whole Mass of Matter, after such a manner, as that none of the parts of it by themselves should have any *Life* of their own, do thereby no less than the *Stoical Theists*, make this *Life* of theirs to be no Corporeal Quality or Form, but an *Incorporeal Substance*; which is to contradict their own *Hypothesis*. From whence we may conclude, that the *Cosmoplastick* or *Stoical Atheism*, is of the two, less considerable than the *Hylozoick* or *Stratonical*.

§. 4. c. 3.

Wherefore amongst these Four Forms of Atheism, that have been propounded, these Two, the *Atomick* or *Democritical*, and the *Hylozoick* or *Stratonical* are the Chief. The former of which, namely the *Democritick Atheism*, admitting a true Notion of Body, that (according to the Doctrine of the first and most Ancient Atomists) it is nothing but *Resisting Bulk*, devoid of all manner of *Life*; yet because it takes for granted, that there is no other Substance in the World besides *Body*, does therefore conclude, that all *Life* and *Understanding* in Animals and Men, is *Generated* out of *Dead* and *Stupid Matter*, though not as *Qualities* and *Forms* (which is the *Anaximandrian way*) but as resulting from the *Contextures* of *Atoms*, or some peculiar Composition of *Magnitudes*, *Figures*, *Sites* and *Motions*, and consequently that they are themselves really nothing else but *Local Motion* and *Mechanism*: Which is a thing, that sometime since, was very *Pertinently* and *Judiciously* both observed and perstringed, by the Learned Author of the *Exercitatio Epistolica*, now a Reverend Bishop. But the latter, namely the *Hylozoick*, though truly acknowledging on the contrary, that *Life*, *Cogitation* and *Understanding* are *Entities* really distinct from *Local Motion* and *Mechanism*, and that therefore they cannot be *Generated* out of *Dead* and *Stupid Matter*, but must needs be somewhere in the World, *Originally*, *Essentially*, and *Fundamentally*; yet because they take it also for granted, that there is no other Substance besides *Matter*, do thereupon adulterate the *Notion* of *Matter* or *Body*, blending and confounding it with *Life*, as making them but two *Inadequate Conceptions* of *Substance*, and concluding that all *Matter* and *Substance* as such, hath *Life* and *Perception* or *Understanding* *Natural* and *Inconscious*, *Essentially* belonging to it; and that *Sense* and *Conscious Reason* or *Understanding* in Animals arises only from the *Accidental Modification* of this *Fundamental Life* of *Matter* by *Organization*.

We

We conclude therefore, that if these Two Atheistick Hypotheses, which are found to be the most Considerable, be once Confuted, the Reality of all Atheism will be *ipso facto* Confuted. There being indeed nothing more requisite, to a thorough Confutation of *Atheism*, than the proving of these *Two things*; First, that *Life* and *Understanding* are not Essential to Matter as such; and Secondly, that they can never possibly rise out of any *Mixture* or *Modification* of *Dead* and *Stupid Matter* whatsoever. The reason of which Assertion is, because all Atheists, as was before observed, are mere Corporealists, of which there can be but these Two Sorts; Either such as make *Life* to be Essential to Matter, and therefore to be Ingenerable and Incorruptible; or else such as suppose *Life* and Every thing besides *ὕλη ἁπλοῦς*, the *Bare Substance* of Matter, or *Extended Bulk* to be merely Accidental, Generable or Corruptible, as rising out of some Mixture or Modification of it. And as the Proving of those Two Things will overthrow all Atheism, so it will likewise lay a clear Foundation, for the demonstrating of a Deity distinct from the Corporeal World.

XXXV. Now that *Life* and *Perception* or *Understanding*, should be Essential to Matter as such, or that all *Senseless Matter* should be Perfectly and Infallibly wise (though without Consciousness) as to all its own Congruities and Capabilities, which is the Doctrine of the *Hylozoists*; This I say, is an *Hypothesis* so Prodigiously Paradoxical, and so Outragiously Wild, as that very few men ever could have Atheistick Faith enough, to swallow it down and digest it. Wherefore this *Hylozoick Atheism* hath been very obscure ever since its first Emerision, and hath found so few Fautors and Abettors, that it hath look'd like a forlorn and deserted thing. Neither indeed are there any Publick Monuments at all extant, in which it is avowedly Maintained, Stated and Reduced into any System. Insomuch that we should not have taken any notice of it at this time, as a Particular Form of *Atheism*, nor have Conjured it up out of its Grave, had we not Understood, that *Strato's Ghost* had begun to walk of late, and that among some Well-wishers to Atheism, despairing in a manner of the *Atomick Form*, this *Hylozoick Hypothesis*, began already to be look'd upon, as the Rising Sun of Atheism,---*Et tanquam Spes altera Trojæ*, it seeming to smile upon them, and flatter them at a distance, with some fairer hopes of supporting that Ruinous and Desperate Cause.

Whereas on the Contrary, that other *Atomick Atheism*, as it insists upon a *True Notion* of *Body*, that it is nothing but *Resisting Bulk*; by which means we, joyning issue thereupon, shall be fairly conducted on to a clear Decision of this present Controversie, as likewise to the disintangling of many other points of Philosophy; so it is that which hath filled the World with the Noise of it, for Two Thousand years past; that concerning which several Volumes have been formerly written, in which it hath been stated and brought into a kind of System; and which hath of late obtained a Resurrection amongst us; together with the *Atomick Physiology*, and been recommended to

the World anew, under a Specious Shew of Wit and profound Philosophy.

Wherefore as we could not here insist upon both these Forms of Atheism together, because that would have been to confound the Language of Atheists, and to have made them like the Cadmean Offspring, to do immediate Execution upon themselves; so we were in all reason obliged to make our First and Principal Assault upon the *Atomick Atheism*, as being the only considerable, upon this account, because it is that alone which publickly confronts the World, and like that proud *Uncircumcised Philistine*, openly *defies the Hosts of the Living God*. Intending nevertheless in the Close of this whole Discourse, (that is, the Last Book) where we are to determine the *Right Intellectual System of the Universe*, and to assert an *Incorporeal Deity*, to demonstrate, That *Life, Cogitation and Understanding* do not Essentially belong to *Matter*, and all *Substance* as such, but are the Peculiar Attributes and Characteristicks of *Substance Incorporeal*.

XXXVI. However since we have now started these Several Forms of Atheism, we shall not in the mean time neglect any of them neither. For in the Answer to the *Second Atheistick Ground*, we shall Confute them all together at once, as agreeing in this One Fundamental Principle, *That the Original of all things in the Universe is Senseless Matter, or Matter devoid of all Animality or Conscious Life*. In the Reply to the *Fourth Atheistick Argumentation*, we shall briefly hint the Grounds of Reason, from which Incorporeal Substance is Demonstrated. In the Examination of the *Fifth*, we shall confute the *Anaximandrian Atheism* there propounded, which is as it were, the *First Sciography*, and *Rude Delineation of Atheism*. And in the Confutation of the *Sixth*, we shall shew, how the ancient *Atomick Atheists*, did preventively overthrow the Foundation of *Hylozoism*. Besides all which, in order to a Fuller and more Thorough Confutation, both of the *Cosmo-plastick* and *Hylozoick Atheisms*, we shall in this very place take occasion to insist largely upon the *Plastick life of Nature*, giving in the First Place, a True Account of it; and then afterwards shewing, how grossly it is misunderstood, and the Pretence of it abused by the Asserters of both these Atheistick Hypotheses. The Heads of which Larger Digression, because they could not be so conveniently inserted in the Contents of the Chapter, shall be represented to the Readers View, at the End of it.

XXXVII. For we think fit here to observe, that neither the *Cosmo-plastick* or *Stoical*, nor the *Hylozoick* or *Stratonical Atheists* are therefore condemned by us, because they suppose such a thing, as a *Plastick Nature, or Life distinct from the Animal*; albeit this be not only exploded, as an Absolute Non-entity, by the *Atomick Atheists*, who might possibly be afraid of it, as that which approached too near to a Deity, or else would hazard the introducing of it; but also utterly discarded by some *Professed Theists* of later times; who might notwithstanding have an Undiscerned Tang of the *Mechanick Atheism*

Atheism, hanging about them, in that their so confident rejecting of all *Final* and *Intending Causality* in Nature, and admitting of no other *Causes* of things, as *Philosophical*, save the *Material* and *Mechanical* only. This being really to banish all *Mental*, and consequently *Divine Causality*, quite out of the World; and to make the whole World to be nothing else, but a mere *Heap* of *Dust*, Fortuitously agitated, or a *Dead Cadaverous* thing, that hath no *Signatures* of *Mind* and *Understanding*, *Counsel* and *Wisdom* at all upon it; nor indeed any other *Vitality* acting in it, than only the Production of a certain *Quantity* of *Local Motion* and the Conservation of it according to some *General Laws*; which things the Democritick Atheists take for granted, would all be as they are, though there were no God. And thus **Aristotle* describes this kind of Philosophy, That it made the whole World to consist, *ἐκ σωματικῶν μόνων, καὶ μονάδων τάξιν μὲν ἐχούτων, ἀλλ' οὐχ ὅτι πάλμπαν*, of nothing but Bodies and Monads (that is, Atoms or Small Particles of Matter) only ranged and disposed together into such an order, but altogether Dead and Inanimate.

**De Caelo*. l. 2.
c. 12.

2. For unless there be such a thing admitted as a *Plastick Nature*, that acts *ἐνὲν ἑαυτῷ*, for the sake of something, and in order to Ends, Regularly, Artificially and Methodically, it seems that one or other of these Two Things must be concluded, That Either in the Efformation and Organization of the Bodies of Animals, as well as the other Phenomena, every thing comes to pass *Fortuitously*, and happens to be as it is, without the Guidance and Direction of any *Mind* or *Understanding*; Or else, that God himself doth all *Immediately*, and as it were with his own Hands, Form the Body of every Gnat and Fly, Insect and Mite, as of other Animals in Generations, all whose Members have so much of Contrivance in them, that *Galen* professed he could never enough admire that Artifice which was in the Leg of a Fly, (and yet he would have admired the Wisdom of Nature more, had he been but acquainted with the Use of Microscopes.) I say, upon supposition of no *Plastick Nature*, one or other of these Two things must be concluded; because it is not conceived by any, that the things of Nature are all thus administred, with such exact Regularity and Constancy every where, merely by the Wisdom, Providence and Efficiency, of those Inferior Spirits, *Demons* or Angels. As also, though it be true that the Works of Nature are dispensed by a *Divine Law* and *Command*, yet this is not to be understood in a *Vulgar Sense*, as if they were all effected by the mere Force of a *Verbal Law* or *Outward Command*, because Inanimate things are not *Commandable* nor *Governable* by such a *Law*; and therefore besides the Divine Will and Pleasure, there must needs be some other Immediate Agent and Executioner provided, for the producing of every Effect; since not so much as a Stone or other Heavy Body, could at any time fall downward, merely by the Force of a *Verbal Law*, without any other *Efficient Cause*; but either God himself must immediately impel it, or else there must be some other subordinate Cause in Nature for that Motion. Wherefore the *Divine Law* and *Command*, by which the things of Nature are administred, must be conceived to be the Real Appointment of some *Energetick*, *Effectual* and *Operative Cause* for the Production of every Effect.

3. Now to assert the Former of these Two things, that all the Effects of Nature come to pass by *Material* and *Mechanical Necessity*, or the mere *Fortuitous Motion* of *Matter*, without any Guidance or Direction, is a thing no less Irrational than it is Impious and Atheistical. Not only because it is utterly Unconceivable and Impossible, that such Infinite Regularity and Artificialness, as is every where throughout the whole World, should constantly result out of the *Fortuitous Motion of Matter*, but also because there are many such Particular *Phænomena* in Nature, as do plainly transcend the *Powers of Mechanism*, of which therefore no Sufficient Mechanical Reasons can be devised, as the *Motion of Respiration* in Animals; as there are also other *Phænomena* that are perfectly Cross to the *Laws of Mechanism*; as for Example, that of the *Distant Poles* of the *Æquator* and *Ecliptick*, which we shall insist upon afterward. Of both which kinds, there have been other Instances proposed, by my Learned Friend Dr. More in his *Enchiridion Metaphysicum*, and very ingeniously improved by him to this very purpose, namely to Evince that there is something in Nature besides Mechanism, and consequently Substance Incorporeal.

Moreover those Theists, who Philosophize after this manner, by resolving all the Corporeal *Phænomena* into *Fortuitous Mechanism*, or the *Necessary and Unguided Motion of Matter*, make God to be nothing else in the World, but an *Idle Spectator* of the Various Results of the *Fortuitous* and *Necessary Motions* of Bodies; and render his Wisdom altogether Useless and Insignificant, as being a thing wholly Inclosed and shut up within his own breast, and not at all acting abroad upon any thing without him.

De part. An.
l. I. c. I.

Furthermore all such *Mechanists* as these, whether *Theists* or *Atheists*, do, according to that Judicious Censure passed by *Aristotle* long since upon *Democritus*, but substitute as it were $\chi\epsilon\gamma\alpha\ \epsilon\upsilon\lambda\iota\nu\iota\omega\ \tau\epsilon\lambda\iota\omega\varsigma$, a *Carpenters* or *Artificers Wooden Hand*, moved by *Strings* and *Wires*, in stead of a *Living Hand*. They make a kind of Dead and Wooden World, as it were a Carved Statue, that hath nothing neither *Vital* nor *Magical* at all in it. Whereas to those who are Considerative, it will plainly appear, that there is a *Mixture of Life* or *Plastick Nature* together with *Mechanism*, which runs through the whole Corporeal Universe.

And whereas it is pretended, not only that all Corporeal *Phænomena* may be sufficiently salved *Mechanically*, without any *Final*, *Intending* and *Directive Causality*, but also that all other Reasons of things in Nature, besides the *Material* and *Mechanical*, are altogether *Unphilosophical*, the same *Aristotle* ingeniously exposes the Ridiculousness of this Pretence after this manner; telling us, That it is just as if a Carpenter, Joyner or Carver should give this accompt, as the only Satisfactory, of any Artificial Fabrick or Piece of Carved Imagery, $\epsilon\tau\iota\ \epsilon\mu\pi\epsilon\sigma\sigma\acute{\iota}\lambda\omicron\varsigma\ \tau\delta\ \delta\epsilon\chi\omicron\mu\epsilon\tau\omicron\varsigma\ \tau\omicron\ \mu\epsilon\lambda\omicron\ \kappa\omicron\iota\lambda\omicron\nu\ \epsilon\gamma\iota\upsilon\epsilon\tau\omicron$, $\tau\delta\ \delta\epsilon\ \epsilon\pi\iota\pi\epsilon\delta\omicron\nu$, that because the Instruments, Axes and Hatchets, Plains and Chissels, happened to fall

fall so and so upon the Timber, cutting it here and there, that therefore it was hollow in one place, and plain in another, and the like, and by that means the whole came to be of such a Form. For is it not altogether as Absurd and Ridiculous, for men to undertake to give an account of the Formation and Organization of the Bodies of Animals, by mere Fortuitous Mechanism, without any Final or Intending Causality, as why there was an Heart here and Brains there, and why the Heart had so many and such different Valves in the Entrance and Outlet of its Ventracles, and why all the other Organick Parts, Veins and Arteries, Nerves and Muscles, Bones and Cartilages, with the Joints and Members, were of such a Form? Because forsooth, the Fluid Matter of the Seed happened to move so and so, in several places, and thereby to cause all those Differences, which are also divers in different Animals; all being the Necessary Result of a certain Quantity of Motion at first indifferently impressed, upon the small Particles of the Matter of this Universe turned round in a Vortex. But as the same Aristotle adds, no Carpenter or Artificer is so simple, as to give such an Account as this, and think it satisfactory, but he will rather declare, that himself directed the Motion of the Instruments, after such a manner, and in order to such Ends: * βέλτιον δὲ τέλει, ἢ ὅτι ἰκανὸν ἔσται αὐτὰς, τὸ τοσούτον εἰπεῖν, ὅτι ἐμπροσθέντος τῆς οὐραρίας, &c. ἀλλὰ διότι τῷ πληγῶν ἐποίησατο τοιαύτῳ, καὶ τίνος ἕνεκα; ἔπειτα τῷ αὐτῶν, ὅπως τοιοῦτον ἢ τοιοῦτον ἦν ποιεῖν. A Carpenter would give a better account than so, for he would not think it sufficient to say, that the Fabrick came to be of such a form, because the Instruments happened to fall so and so, but he will tell you that it was because himself made such strokes, and that he directed the Instruments and determined their motion after such a manner, to this End that he might make the Whole a Fabrick fit and useful for such purposes. And this is to assign the Final Cause. And certainly there is scarcely any man in his Wits, that will not acknowledge the Reason of the different Valves in the Heart, from the apparent Usefulness of them, according to those particular Structures of theirs, to be more Satisfactory, than any which can be brought from mere Fortuitous Mechanism, or the Unguided Motion of the Seminal Matter.

4. And as for the Latter Part of the Disjunction, That every thing in Nature should be done Immediately by God himself; this, as according to Vulgar Apprehension, it would render Divine Providence Operose, Sollicitous and Distractious, and thereby make the Belief of it to be entertained with greater difficulty, and give advantage to Atheists; so in the Judgment of the Writer *De Mundo*, it is not so Decorous in respect of God neither, that he should αὐτοεργεῖν ἅπαντα, set his own Hand, as it were, to every Work, and immediately do all the Meanest and Triflingest things himself Drudgingly, without making use of any Inferior and Subordinate Instruments. * εἰς ὃν ἀσμενον ἦν αὐτὸν δοκεῖν ἐργεῖν αὐτοεργεῖν ἅπαντα, καὶ διατελεῖν ἃ βάλοιτο, καὶ ἐπιστάμενον διοικεῖν, πολὺ μᾶλλον ἀπρεπές ἂν εἴη τῷ Θεῷ. Σεμνότερον ὃ καὶ προωδέστερον τὴν δυνάμειν αὐτῆς, διὰ τῆς σύμπαντος κόσμου διοικήσαν, ἥλιον τε καὶ σελήνην, &c. If it were not congruous in respect of the State & Majesty of Xerxes the Great King of Persia that he should condescend to do all the meanest Offices him-

self; much less can this be thought decorous in respect of God. But it seems far more August, and becoming of the Divine Majesty, that a certain Power and Vertue, derived from him, and passing through the Universe, should move the Sun and Moon, and be the Immediate Cause of those lower things done here upon Earth.

Moreover it seems not so agreeable to Reason neither, that Nature as a Distinct thing from the Deity, should be quite Superfeded or made to Signifie Nothing, God himself doing all things Immediately and Miraculously; from whence it would follow also, that they are all done either *Forcibly* and *Violently*, or else *Artificially* only, and none of them by any *Inward Principle* of their own.

Lastly; This Opinion is further Confuted, by that Slow and Gradual Process that is in the Generations of things, which would seem to be but a Vain and Idle Pomp, or a Trifling Formality, if the Agent were Omnipotent: as also by those ἀμαρτήματα (as Aristotle calls them) those Errors and Bungles which are committed, when the Matter is Inept and Contumacious; which argue the Agent not to be Irresistible, and that Nature is such a thing, as is not altogether incapable (as well as *Humane Art*) of being sometimes frustrated and disappointed, by the Indisposition of Matter. Whereas an *Omnipotent Agent*, as it could dispatch its work in a Moment, so it would always do it *Infallibly* and *Irresistibly*; no *Ineptitude* or *Stubbornness* of Matter, being ever able to hinder such a one, or make him *Bungle* or *Fumble* in any thing.

5. Wherefore since neither all things are produced Fortuitously, or by the Unguided Mechanism of Matter, nor God himself may reasonably be thought to do all things Immediately and Miraculously; it may well be concluded, that there is a *Plastick Nature* under him, which as an Inferior and Subordinate Instrument, doth Drudgingly Execute that Part of his Providence, which consists in the Regular and Orderly Motion of Matter: yet so as that there is also besides this, a Higher Providence to be acknowledged, which presiding over it, doth often supply the Defects of it, and sometimes Overrule it; forasmuch as this *Plastick Nature* cannot act *Electively* nor with *Discretion*. And by this means the Wisdom of God will not be shut up nor concluded wholly within his own Breast, but will display it self abroad, and print its Stamps and Signatures every where throughout the World; so that God, as Plato (after Orpheus) speaks, will be not only the *Beginning* and *End*, but also the *Middle* of all things, they being as much to be ascribed to his Causality, as if himself had done them all Immediately, without the concurrent Instrumentality of any Subordinate Natural Cause. Notwithstanding which, in this way it will appear also to Humane Reason, that all things are Disposed and Ordered by the Deity, without any Sollicitous Care or Distractious Providence.

And indeed those Mechanick Theists, who rejecting a Plastick Nature, affect to concern the Deity as little as is possible in Mundane Affairs, either for fear of debasing him and bringing him down to

too mean Offices, or else of subjecting him to Sollicitous Encumberment, and for that Cause would have God to contribute nothing more to the Mundane System and Oeconomy, than only the First Impressing of a certain Quantity of Motion, upon the Matter, and the After-conserving of it, according to some General Laws: These men (I say) seem not very well to understand themselves in this. Forasmuch as they must of necessity, either suppose these their *Laws of Motion* to execute themselves, or else be forced perpetually to concern the Deity in the Immediate Motion of every Atom of Matter throughout the Universe, in order to the Execution and Observation of them. The Former of which being a Thing plainly Absurd and Ridiculous, and the Latter that, which these Philosophers themselves are extremely abhorrent from, we cannot make any other Conclusion than this, That they do but unskilfully and unawares establish that very Thing which in words they oppose; and that their *Laws of Nature* concerning *Motion*, are Really nothing else, but a *Plastick Nature*, acting upon the Matter of the whole Corporeal Universe, both Maintaining the Same Quantity of Motion always in it, and also Dispensing it (by Transferring it out of one Body into another) according to such Laws, Fatally Imprest upon it. Now if there be a *Plastick Nature*, that governs the *Motion of Matter*, every where according to *Laws*, there can be no Reason given, why the same might not also extend further, to the Regular Disposal of that Matter, in the *Formation of Plants and Animals* and other things, in order to that Apt Coherent Frame and Harmony of the whole Universe,

6. And as this *Plastick Nature* is a thing which seems to be in it self most Reasonable, so hath it also had the Suffrage of the best Philosophers in all Ages. For First, it is well known, that *Aristotle* concerns himself in nothing more zealously than this, That Mundane things are not Effected, merely by the *Necessary* and *Unguided Motion of Matter*, or by *Fortuitous Mechanism*, but by such a *Nature* as acts *Regularly* and *Artificially* for *Ends*; yet so as that this *Nature* is not the Highest Principle neither, or the Supreme *Numen*, but Subordinate to a Perfect *Mind* or *Intellect*, he affirming, that $\nu\epsilon\varsigma\ \alpha\iota\tau\iota\omicron\nu\ \eta\zeta\ \phi\upsilon\sigma\iota\varsigma\ \tau\epsilon\delta\epsilon\ \tau\epsilon\ \pi\alpha\nu\tau\omicron\varsigma$, That *Mind* together with *Nature* was the Cause of this Universe; and that Heaven and Earth, Plants and Animals were framed by them both; that is, by *Mind* as the Principal and Directive Cause, but by *Nature* as a Subservient or Executive Instrument: and elsewhere joyning in like manner *God* and *Nature* both together, as when he concludes, That *God* and *Nature* do nothing in Vain.

Neither was *Aristotle* the First Broacher or Inventor of this Doctrine, *Plato* before him having plainly asserted the same. For in a Passage already cited, he affirms that *Nature together with Reason*, and according to it, orders all things; thereby making *Nature*, as a Distinct thing from the Deity, to be a Subordinate Cause under the Reason and Wisdom of it. And elsewhere he resolves, that there are $\epsilon\mu\phi\epsilon\rho\omicron\nu\varsigma\ \phi\upsilon\sigma\iota\kappa\alpha\varsigma\ \alpha\iota\tau\iota\alpha\iota$, $\alpha\iota\varsigma\ \iota\mu\mu\epsilon\tau\epsilon\sigma\tau\alpha\iota\varsigma\ \delta\ \delta\epsilon\omicron\varsigma\ \chi\epsilon\iota\tau\alpha\iota$, Certain Causes of a Wise and Artificial Nature, which the Deity uses as Subservient to it self; as also, that there are $\xi\upsilon\nu\alpha\iota\tau\iota\alpha\ \omicron\iota\varsigma\ \xi\upsilon\nu\epsilon\gamma\epsilon\gamma\omicron\iota\varsigma\ \delta\epsilon\omicron\varsigma\ \chi\epsilon\iota\tau\alpha\iota$, Con-causes which God makes use of, as Subordinately Cooperative with himself. More-

Moreover before Plato, Empedocles Philosophized also in the same manner, when supposing Two Worlds, the one Archetypal, the other Ex-
 typal, he made $\phi\iota\lambda\iota\alpha$ and $\nu\epsilon\iota\kappa\omicron\varsigma$, Friendship & Discord, to be the $\alpha\rho\chi\eta$ $\delta\epsilon\gamma\eta\sigma\tau\epsilon$
 $\epsilon\lambda\theta$, the Active Principle and Immediate Operator in this Lower World.
 He not understanding thereby, as Plutarch and some others have con-
 ceited, Two Substantial Principles in the World, the one of Good
 the other of Evil, but only a Plastick Nature, as Aristotle in sundry
 places intimates: which he called by that name, partly because he ap-
 prehended that the Result and Upshot of Nature in all Generations
 and Corruptions, amounted to nothing more than Mixtures and Separa-
 tions, or Concretion and Secretion of Preexistent things, and partly be-
 cause this Plastick Nature is that which doth reconcile the Contrarie-
 ties and Enmities of Particular things, and bring them into one Gene-
 ral Harmony in the Whole. Which latter is a Notion that Plotinus, de-
 scribing this very Seminary Reason or Plastick Nature of the World,
 (though taking it in something a larger fence, than we do in this place)
 En. 3. l. 2. c. 16. doth ingeniously pursue after this manner; $\alpha\upsilon\tau\iota\theta\epsilon\iota\varsigma$ η $\alpha\lambda\lambda\eta\lambda\omicron\iota\varsigma$ $\tau\alpha$ $\mu\epsilon\tau\epsilon\kappa$
 $\tau\epsilon$ $\pi\omicron\iota\omicron\iota\sigma\tau\epsilon\varsigma$ $\epsilon\upsilon\delta\epsilon\alpha$, $\pi\omicron\lambda\epsilon\mu\epsilon\kappa$ η $\mu\acute{\alpha}\chi\eta\varsigma$ $\sigma\upsilon\varsigma\tau\alpha\sigma\alpha\iota$ η $\gamma\epsilon\upsilon\sigma\alpha\iota$ $\epsilon\iota\varsigma$ $\gamma\alpha\sigma\tau\alpha\tau\omicron$ η $\epsilon\tau\omega\varsigma$ $\delta\epsilon\tau\iota$ $\epsilon\iota\varsigma$
 $\pi\acute{\alpha}\varsigma$; $\epsilon\iota$ $\mu\grave{\eta}$ $\epsilon\upsilon\eta$ $\gamma\eta\upsilon\omicron\mu\epsilon\tau\omicron\upsilon$ $\tau\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$ $\epsilon\alpha\upsilon\tau\alpha\iota$ $\tau\omicron\iota\varsigma$ $\mu\epsilon\tau\epsilon\kappa\tau\epsilon$ $\pi\omicron\lambda\epsilon\mu\iota\omicron\upsilon$, $\epsilon\tau\omega\varsigma$ $\epsilon\upsilon\eta$ $\delta\epsilon\tau\iota$ η
 $\phi\iota\lambda\omicron\upsilon$, $\alpha\sigma\phi\alpha\iota$ $\alpha\upsilon\tau\epsilon$ $\delta\epsilon\sigma\mu\alpha\tau\omicron$ $\lambda\omicron\gamma\omicron\varsigma$ $\epsilon\iota\varsigma$, δ $\tau\epsilon$ $\delta\epsilon\sigma\mu\alpha\tau\omicron\varsigma$, $\epsilon\chi\omega\upsilon$ $\epsilon\upsilon$ $\alpha\upsilon\tau\alpha\iota$ $\pi\omicron\lambda$
 $\lambda\alpha\varsigma$ $\mu\acute{\alpha}\chi\eta\varsigma$. $\tau\omicron$ $\mu\epsilon\tau\epsilon$ $\delta\epsilon$ $\delta\epsilon\sigma\mu\alpha$ $\tau\alpha$ $\mu\epsilon\mu\alpha\chi\eta\mu\epsilon\tau\alpha$, $\omicron\delta\omega$ $\epsilon\iota\varsigma$ $\mu\iota\alpha\upsilon$ $\alpha\rho\mu\omicron\iota\alpha\upsilon$, $\alpha\gamma\epsilon\iota$ $\sigma\upsilon\mu$
 $\phi\omega\upsilon\upsilon\omicron\upsilon$. — $\omega\varsigma$ $\tau\epsilon$ $\mu\acute{\alpha}\lambda\lambda\omicron\upsilon$ $\alpha\upsilon\tau\iota\varsigma$ $\tau\eta$ $\alpha\rho\mu\omicron\iota\alpha$ $\tau\eta$ $\delta\alpha\mu\alpha\chi\eta\mu\epsilon\tau\alpha$ $\epsilon\iota\kappa\alpha\sigma\tau\epsilon$. The Semi-
 nary Reason or Plastick Nature of the Universe, opposing the Parts to
 one another and making them severally Indigent, produces by that means
 War and Contention. And therefore though it be One, yet notwithstanding
 it consists of Different and Contrary things. For there being Hostility in
 its Parts, it is nevertheless Friendly and Agreeable in the Whole; after
 the same manner as in a Dramatick Poem, Clashings and Contentions are
 reconciled into one Harmony. And therefore the Seminary and Plastick
 Nature of the World, may fitly be resembled to the Harmony of Disagree-
 ing things. Which Plotinick Doctrine, may well pass for a Com-
 mentary upon Empedocles, accordingly as Simplicius briefly represents
 his fence, $\epsilon\mu\pi\epsilon\delta\omicron\kappa\lambda\eta\varsigma$ $\delta\upsilon\omicron$ $\kappa\omicron\sigma\mu\omicron\varsigma$ $\sigma\upsilon\upsilon\kappa\iota\sigma\iota\varsigma$, τ $\mu\epsilon\tau$ $\eta\upsilon\omega\mu\epsilon\tau\omicron\upsilon$ η $\nu\omicron\upsilon\tau\tau\omicron\upsilon$, $\tau\omicron\iota$ $\delta\epsilon$
 In Arist. de Cael. l. 1. c. 10. $\delta\iota\alpha\kappa\epsilon\chi\epsilon\mu\epsilon\tau\omicron\upsilon$ η $\alpha\iota\sigma\theta\eta\tau\omicron\upsilon$, η $\epsilon\upsilon$ $\tau\omicron\tau\omega$ $\kappa\omicron\sigma\mu\omega$ $\tau\eta\upsilon$ $\epsilon\upsilon\omega\varsigma\iota\upsilon$ $\alpha\rho\chi\eta$ η $\tau\eta\upsilon$ $\delta\iota\alpha\kappa\epsilon\chi\epsilon\iota\upsilon$.
 Empedocles makes Two Worlds, the one United and Intelligible, the o-
 ther Divided and Sensible; and in this lower Sensible World, he takes no-
 tice both of Unity and Discord.

It was before observed, that Heraclitus likewise did assert a Regu-
 lar and Artificial Nature, as the Fate of things in this Lower World;
 for his Reason passing thorough the Substance of all things, or Ethereal
 Body, which was the Seed of the Generation of the Universe, was no-
 thing but that Spermatick or Plastick Nature which we now speak of.
 And whereas there is an odd Passage of this Philosophers recorded,
 $\kappa\omicron\sigma\mu\omicron\upsilon$ $\tau\omicron\upsilon\delta\epsilon$ $\epsilon\tau\epsilon$ $\tau\iota\varsigma$ $\theta\epsilon\omega\upsilon$ $\epsilon\tau$ $\alpha\upsilon\theta\epsilon\omega\pi\omega\upsilon$ $\epsilon\pi\omicron\iota\omicron\iota\sigma\epsilon$, that neither any God nor
 Man made this World, which as it is justly derided by Plutarch for its
 Simplicity, so it looks very Atheistically at first sight; yet because Hera-
 clitus hath not been accompted an Atheist, we therefore conceive the
 meaning of it to have been this, That the World was not made by a-
 ny whatsoever, after such a manner as an Artificer makes an House,
 by

by Machins and Engins, acting from without upon the Matter, Cumberfomly and Moliminoufly, but by a certain *Inward Plaftick Nature* of its own.

And as *Hippocrates* followed *Heracitus* in this (as was before declared) fo did *Zeno* and the *Stoicks* alfo, they fupposing befides an *Intellectual Nature*, as the *Supreme Architect* and *Master-builder* of the World, another *Plaftick Nature* as the *Immediate Workman* and *Operatour*. Which *Plaftick Nature* hath been already described in the words of *Balbus*, as a thing which acts not *Fortuitoufly* but *Regularly*, *Orderly* and *Artificially*; and *Laertius* tells * us, it was defined by *Zeno* himself after this manner, *ἔστι δὲ φύσις ἕξις ἐξ αὐτῆς κινουμένη καὶ σπερματικὴς λόγος, ἀποτελεῖσαι τε καὶ συνέχεσαι τὰ ἐξ αὐτῆς ἐν ἀερισμένοις χρόνοις, καὶ ταῦτα θράσσει ἀφ' οὗον ἀπεκρίσθαι*. *Nature is a Habit moved from it self according to Spermatick Reasons or Seminal Principles, perfecting and containing thofe feveral things, which in determinate times are produced from it, and acting agreeably to that from which it was fe-creted.*

* In Vita Zeni

Laftly, as the *Latter Platonists* and *Peripateticks* have unanimously followed their *Masters* herein, whose *Vegetative Soul* alfo is no other than a *Plaftick Nature*; fo the *Chymists* and *Paracelfians* infift much upon the fame thing, and feem rather to have carried the *Notion* on further, in the *Bodies of Animals*, where they call it by a new name of their own, the *Archens*.

Moreover, we cannot but obferve here, that as amongst the *Ancients*, They were generally condemned for down-right *Atheifts*, who acknowledged no other Principle befides *Body* or *Matter*, *Necceffarily* and *Fortuitoufly* moved, fuch as *Democritus* and the firft *Ionicks*; fo even *Anaxagoras* himfelf, notwithstanding that he was a professed *Theift*, and plainly afferted *Mind* to be a *Principle*, yet becaufe he attributed too much to *Material Necceffity*, admitting neither this *Plaftick Nature* nor a *Mundane Soul*, was feverely cenfured, not only by the *Vulgar* (who unjuftly taxed him for an *Atheift*) but alfo by *Plato* and *Aristotle*, as a kind of *spurious* and *imperfect Theift*, and one who had given great advantage to *Atheifm*. *Aristotle* in his *Metaphy-ficks* thus represents his *Philofophy*, * *Ἀναξαγόρας τε γὰρ μηχανὴν χεῖνται τὰ νῦν, πρὸς τὴν κοσμοποιίαν, καὶ ὅταν ἀπορήσῃ διὰ τὴν αἰτίαν, ἐξ ἀνάγκης ὅτι, τότε ἐλκεν αὐτὸν, ἐν ᾧ τοῖς ἄλλοις πάντα μάλλον αἰτιάται ἢ τὰ ζωνόμενα ἢ τὸν ἄνθρωπον*. *Anaxagoras useth Mind and Intellect, that is, God, as a Machin in the Cosmiopoeia, and when he is at a lofs to give an accompt of things by Material Necceffity, then and never but then, does he draw in Mind or God to help him out; but otherwife he will rather assign any thing else for a Cause than Mind.* Now if *Aristotle* cenfure *Anaxagoras* in this manner, though a professed *Theift*, becaufe he did but seldom make ufe of a *Mental Cause*, for the falving of the *Phenomena* of the World, and only then when he was at a lofs for other *Material* and *Mechanical Causes* (which it feems he fometimes confessed himfelf to be) what would that *Philofopher* have thought of thofe our fo confident *Mechanifts* of later times, who will never vouchsafe fo much

* L. I. c. 4.

as once to be beholding to God Almighty, for any thing in the Oeconomy of the Corporeal World, after the first Impression of Motion upon the Matter?

Plato likewise in his *Phædo* and elsewhere, condemns this *Anaxagoras* by name, for this very thing, that though he acknowledged *Mind* to be a Cause, yet he seldom made use of it, for salving the *Phænomena*; but in his twelfth *de Legibus*, he perstringeth him Unnamed, as one who though a professed Theist, had notwithstanding given great Encouragement to Atheism, after this manner; * λέγοντες ὡς πᾶς ἐστὶν ὁ διακυβερνήτης πάνθ' ὅσα κατ' ἑρῶν, αὐτοὶ δὲ πάλιν ἀμαρτάνουσιν ψυχῆς φύσεως, ὅτι πρεσβύτερον ἐστὶν σώματι, ἅπανθ' ὡς εἰπεῖν ἔπος, ἀνέτρεξαν πάλιν, τὰ γὰρ δὲ πρὸ τῆς ὁμμάτων πάντα, αὐτοῖς ἐφάνη, τὰ κατ' ἑρῶν φερόμενα, μετὰ εἶναι λίθων, καὶ γῆς, καὶ πολλῶν ἄλλων ἀψύχων σωμάτων, διανεμόντων ταῖς αἰτίας πάντος τοῦ κόσμου, ταῦτ' ἦν τὰ τότε ἐξαιρεσμενά πολλὰς ἀθεότητος. Some of them who had concluded, that it was *Mind* that ordered all things in the Heavens, themselves erring concerning the Nature of the Soul, and not making that Older than the Body, have overturned all again; for Heavenly Bodies being supposed by them, to be full of Stones, and Earth, and other Inanimate things (dispensing the Causes of the whole Universe) they did by this means occasion much Atheism and Impiety.

Furthermore the same *Plato* there tells us, that in those times of his, Astronomers and Physiologers commonly lay under the prejudice and suspicion of Atheism amongst the vulgar, merely for this reason, because they dealt so much in Material Causes, οἱ πολλοὶ διανοεῖσθαι τὰς τὰ τοιαῦτα μὲταχειροσμενὰς, ἀστρονομία τε καὶ ταῖς μετὰ ταύτης ἀναγκαίαις ἄλλαις τέχναις, ἀδύνατον γίνεσθαι, καθεωρομένους ὡς οἶόντι γινόμενα ἀνάγκης τὰ προγινώσκοντες, ἀλλ' ὁ διανοίας βελήσεως ἀγαθῶν πέρι τελευτῶν. The Vulgar think that they who addict themselves to Astronomy and Physiology, are made Atheists thereby, they seeing as much as is possible how things come to pass by Material Necessities, and being thereby disposed to think them not to be ordered by Mind and Will, for the sake of Good. From whence we may observe, that according to the Natural Apprehensions of Men in all Ages, they who resolve the *Phænomena* of Nature, into Material Necessity, allowing of no Final nor Mental Causality (disposing things in order to Ends) have been strongly suspected for Friends to Atheism.

7. But because some may pretend, that the *Plastick Nature* is all one with an *Occult Quality*, we shall here show how great a Difference there is betwixt these Two. For he that asserts an *Occult Quality*, for the Cause of any *Phænomenon*, does indeed assign no Cause at all of it, but only declare his own Ignorance of the Cause; but he that asserts a *Plastick Nature*, assigns a Determinate and proper Cause, nay the only Intelligible Cause, of that which is the greatest of all *Phænomena* in the World, namely the τὸ εὖ καὶ καλῶς, the Orderly, Regular and Artificial Frame of things in the Universe, whereof the *Mechanick Philosophers*, however pretending to salve all *Phænomena* by Matter and Motion, assign no Cause at all. Mind and Understanding

is the only true Cause of Orderly Regularity, and he that asserts a *Plastick Nature*, asserts *Mental Causality* in the World; but the *Fortuitous Mechanists*, who exploding *Final Causes*, will not allow *Mind* and *Understanding* to have any Influence at all upon the Frame of things, can never possibly assign any Cause of this Grand *Phenomenon*, unless *Confusion* may be said to be the Cause of *Order*; and *Fortune* or *Chance* of *Constant Regularity*; and therefore themselves must resolve it into an *Occult Quality*. Nor indeed does there appear any great reason why such men should assert an Infinite Mind in the World, since they do not allow it to act any where at all, and therefore must needs make it to be in Vain.

8. Now this *Plastick Nature* being a thing which is not without some Difficulty in the Conception of it, we shall here endeavour to do these Two things concerning it; First, to set down a right Representation thereof, and then afterwards to show how extremely the Notion of it hath been Mistaken, Perverted and Abused by those Atheists, who would make it to be the only *God Almighty*, or *First Principle* of all things.

How the *Plastick Nature* is in general to be conceiv'd, *Aristotle* instructs us in these words, * *εἰ ἐν ἑνὶ τῷ ξύλῳ ἡ ναυπηγικὴ ὁμοίως ἂν τῇ φύσιν ἐποίει*. * *Phys. I. 2. c. 8.*
If the Naupegeical Art, that is the Art of the Shipwright, were in the Timber it self, Operatively and Effectually, it would there act just as Nature doth. And the Case is the same for all other Arts; If the *Oecodomic* Art, which is in the Mind of the Architect, were supposed to be transfused into the Stones, Bricks and Mortar, there acting upon them in such a manner, as to make them come together of themselves and range themselves into the Form of a complete Edifice, as *Amphion* was said by his Harp, to have made the Stones move, and place themselves Orderly of their own accord, and so to have built the Walls of *Thebes*: Or if the Musical Art were conceived to be immediately in the Instruments and Strings, animating them as a Living Soul, and making them to move exactly according to the Laws of Harmony, without any External Impulse. These and such like Instances, in *Aristotle's* Judgment, would be fit Iconisms or Representations of the *Plastick Nature*, That being *Art it self acting Immediately upon the Matter as an inward Principle in it.* To which purpose the same Philosopher adds, that this thing might be further illustrated by an other Instance or Resemblance, *μάλιστα δ' ὁ ἥλων; ὅταν τις ἰατρεύει αὐτὸς ἑαυτὸν, τότε γὰρ εἰσικεν ἡ φύσις*. *Nature may be yet more clearly Resembled to the Medicinal Art, when it is employed by the Physician, in curing himself.* So that the meaning of this Philosopher is, that Nature is to be conceived as *Art Acting* not from without and at a Distance, but *Immediately* upon the thing it self which is Formed by it. And thus we have the first General Conception of the *Plastick Nature*, That it is *Art it self, acting immediately on the Matter, as an Inward Principle.*

9. In the next Place we are to observe, that though the *Plastick Nature* be a kind of *Art*, yet there are some Considerable *Preeminences* which

Pl. Em. 3.1.8.
§.1.

which it hath above *Humane Art*, the First whereof is this; That whereas *Humane Art* cannot act upon the Matter otherwise than from without and at a distance, nor communicate it self to it, but with a great deal of *Tumult* and *Hurliburly*, *Noise* and *Clatter*, it using Hands and Axes, Saws and Hammers, and after this manner with much ado, by Knockings and Thrustings, slowly introducing its Form or *Idea* (as for Example of a Ship or House) into the Materials. Nature in the mean time is another kind of *Art*, which *Insinuating* it self *Immediately* into things themselves, and there acting more Commandingly upon the Matter as an Inward Principle, does its Work *Easily*, *Cleverly* and *Silently*. Nature is *Art* as it were *Incorporated* and *Imbodied in matter*, which doth not act upon it from without *Mechanically*, but from within *Vitally* and *Magically*, ὅτε χεῖρες ἐνταῦθα, ὅτε πόδες, ὅτε τι ὄργανον ἐπακτῶν ἢ σὺμφῶν, ὕλης δὲ αἰὲρ ἐφ' ἧς ποιήσῃ, καὶ ἢν ἐν αἰδέῃ ποιεῖ, πάντι περ δ' ἄλλων. αἰὲρ δὲ καὶ τὸ μοχλᾶσθαι ἀφελεῖν ὅα τ' φυσικῆς ποιήσεως. ποῖος γὰρ ὁδοισμῶς, ἢ τις μοχλεία, &c. Here are no Hands, nor Feet, nor any Instrument, Connate or Adventitious, there being only need of Matter to work upon and to be brought into a certain Form, and Nothing else. For it is manifest that the Operation of Nature is different from Mechanism, it doing not its Work by Truſſion or Pulſion, by Knockings or Thrustings, as if it were without that which it wrought upon. But as God is Inward to every thing, so Nature Acts Immediately upon the Matter, as an Inward and Living Soul or Law in it.

10. Another Preeminence of Nature above *Humane Art* is this, That whereas *Humane Artists* are often to seek and at a loss, and therefore Consult and Deliberate, as also upon second thoughts mend their former Work; Nature, on the contrary, is never to seek what to do, nor at a stand; and for that Reason also (besides another that will be Suggested afterwards) it doth never Consult nor Deliberate. Indeed *Aristotle* intimates, as if this had been the Grand Objection of the old Atheistick Philosophers against the *Plastick Nature*, That because we do not see Natural Bodies to Consult or Deliberate, therefore there could be Nothing of Art, Counsel or Contrivance in them, but all came to pass Fortuitously. But he confutes it after this manner*
 * Phys. 1.2.6.8. ἂτοπον δὲ τὸ μὴ οἰεῖσθαι ἐνεχέειν τὰ γίνεσθαι, ἐὰν μὴ ἴδωσι τὸ κινεῖν βεβλῶσθαι μόνον, καὶ τοῖς καὶ τὴν τέχνην βεβλῶνται. It is absurd for Men to think nothing to be done for Ends, if they do not see that which moves to consult, although Art it self doth not Consult. Whence he concludes that Nature may Act Artificially, Orderly and Methodically, for the sake of Ends, though it never Consult or Deliberate. Indeed *Humane Artists* themselves do not Consult properly as they are Artists, but when ever they do it, it is for want of Art, and because they are to seek, their Art being Imperfect and Adventitious: but Art it self or Perfect Art, is never to seek, and therefore doth never Consult or Deliberate. And Nature is this Art, which never hesitates nor studies, as unresolved what to do, but is always readily prompted; nor does it ever repent afterwards of what it hath formerly done, or go about, as it were upon second thoughts, to alter and mend its former Course, but it goes on in one Constant, Unrepenting Tenor, from Generation to Generation, because it is the Stamp or Impress of that Infallibly Omnis-

Omniscient Art, of the Divine Understanding, which is the very Law and Rule of what is Simply the Best in every thing.

And thus we have seen the Difference between *Nature* and *Humane Art*; that the Latter is Imperfect Art, acting upon the Matter from without, and at a Distance; but the Former is *Art it self* or *Perfect Art*, acting as an *Inward Principle* in it. Wherefore when Art is said to imitate Nature, the meaning thereof is, that Imperfect *Humane Art* imitates that *Perfect Art of Nature*, which is really no other than the *Divine Art* it self, as before *Aristotle*, *Plato* had declared in his *Sophist*, in these words, τα φυσικὰ λεγόμενα ποιεῖσθαι δεῖα τέχνη. *Those things which are said to be done by Nature, are indeed done by Divine Art.*

II. Notwithstanding which, we are to take notice in the next place, that as *Nature* is not the *Deity* it self, but a Thing very remote from it and far below it, so neither is it the *Divine Art*, as it is in it self *Pure* and *Abstract*, but *Concrete* and *Embodied* only; for the *Divine Art* considered in it self, is nothing but *Knowledge*, *Understanding* or *Wisdom* in the Mind of *God*: Now *Knowledge* and *Understanding*, in its own Nature is *χωρισμὸν τι*, a certain *Separate and Abstract thing*, and of so Subtil and Refined a Nature, as that it is not Capable of being Incorporated with Matter, or Mingled and Blended with it, as the *Soul* of it. And therefore *Aristotle's* Second Instance, which he propounds as most pertinent to Illustrate this business of Nature by, namely of the *Physicians Art curing himself*, is not so adequate thereunto; because when the Medicinal Art Cures the Physician in whom it is, it doth not there Act as *Nature*, that is, as *Concrete* and *Embodied Art*, but as *Knowledge* and *Understanding* only, which is *Art Naked*, *Abstract* and *Unbodied*; as also it doth its Work *Ambiguously*, by the Physician's Willing and Prescribing to himself, the use of such Medicaments, as do but conduce, by removing of Impediments, to help that which is *Nature* indeed, or the *Inward Archæus* to effect the Cure. Art is defined by *Aristotle*, to be λόγος τῆ ἕως ἀνὰ ὕλης, *The Reason of the thing without Matter*; and so the *Divine Art* or *Knowledge* in the Mind of *God* is *Unbodied Reason*; but *Nature* is *Ratio Mersa & Confusa*, *Reason Immersed and Plunged* into Matter, and as it were *Fuddled* in it, and *Confounded* with it. *Nature* is not the *Divine Art Archetypal*, but only *Ectypal*, it is a living Stamp or Signature of the *Divine Wisdom*, which though it act exactly according to its *Arthetype*, yet it doth not at all Comprehend nor Understand the Reason of what it self doth. And the Difference between these two, may be resembled to that between the λόγος ἐνδιάθετος, *the Reason of the Mind and Conception*, called *Verbum Mentis*, and the λόγος προφορικός, *The Reason of External Speech*; the Latter of which though it bear a certain Stamp and Impress of the Former upon it, yet it self is nothing but *Articulate Sound*, devoid of all *Understanding* and *Sense*. Or else we may Illustrate this business by another Similitude, comparing the *Divine Art and Wisdom* to an *Architect*, but *Nature* to a *Manuary Opificer*; the Difference betwixt which two is thus set forth by *Aristotle* pertinently to our purpose; τὸς ἀρχιτέκτονα καὶ τὸν χειρουργόν.

ναστον τιμιωτέρας ἢ μάλλον εἰδέναι νομίζομεν τῆ χειροτέχνων, ἢ σφαττέρας, ὅτι τὰς αἰτίας τῆ ποιημάτων ἴσασιν. οἱ δ' ἄσφατ ἢ τῆ ἀφύχων ἔνια, ποιεῖ μὲν, ἐκ εἰδότης ἢ ποιητοῖον καλεῖ τι πῦρ. τὰ μὲν ἐν ἀφύχας φύσιν τινὶ ποιεῖν τῶτων ἔκαστον. τὰς ἢ χειροτέχνων δι' ἔθος. *We account the Architects in every thing more honourable than the Mannary Opificers, because they understand the Reason of the things done, whereas the other, as some Inanimate things, only Do, not knowing what they Do: the Difference between them being only this, that Inanimate Things Act by a certain Nature in them, but the Mannary Opificer by Habit.* Thus Nature may be called the χειροτέχνης or Mannary Opificer that Acts subserviently under the Architectonical Art and Wisdom of the Divine Understanding, ἢ ποιεῖ μὲν ἐκ εἰδότης, which does Do without Knowing the Reason of what it Doth.

En. 4. 4. 6. 13.

12. Wherefore as we did before observe the Preeminences of Nature above Humane Art, so we must here take Notice also of the Imperfections and Defects of it, in which respect it falls short of Humane Art, which are likewise Two; and the First of them is this, That though it Act Artificially for the sake of Ends, yet it self doth neither Intend those Ends, nor Understand the Reason of that it doth. Nature is not Master of that Consummate Art and Wisdom according to which it acts, but only a Servant to it, and a Drudging Executioner of the Dictates of it. This Difference betwixt Nature and Abstract Art or Wisdom is expressed by Plotinus in these words: τί διοίσῃ τὸ λεγόμενης φύσεως φερόμενης; ὅτι ἡ μὲν φερόμενης πρῶτον, ἡ δ' φύσις ἐχάτων, ἰνδαλμα τὸ φερόμενης ἢ φύσις, ἢ ψυχῆς ἐχάτων ὄν, ἐχάτων ἢ τὸ ἐκ αὐτῇ ἐλλαμπόμενον λόγον ἔχῃ. οἷον εἰ ἐν κρητὶ βαθεῖ, δικνέιτο εἰς ἐχάτων ἐπὶ δάπερα ἐν τῇ ἐπιφανείᾳ τύπος· ἐν ἀργῆς μὲν οὗτος τῷ ἄνω, ἰχνὺς ἢ ἀθενὺς οὗτος τῷ κάτω, ὅθεν εἰδὲ οἶδε φύσις, μόνον ἢ ποιεῖ. *How doth Wisdom differ from that which is called Nature? Verily in this Manner, That Wisdom is the First Thing, but Nature the Last and Lowest; for Nature is but an Image or Imitation of Wisdom, the Last thing of the Soul, which hath the lowest Impress of Reason shining upon it; as when a thick piece of Wax, is thoroughly impressed upon by a Seal, that Impress which is clear and distinct in the superiour Superficies of it, will in the lower side be weak and obscure; and such is the Stamp and Signature of Nature, compared with that of Wisdom and Understanding, Nature being a thing which doth only Do, but not Know.* And elsewhere the same Writer declares the Difference between the Spermatick λόγοι, or Reasons, and Knowledges or

En. 2. 1. 3. f. 17.

Conceptions of the Mind in this manner; Πότερα ἢ οἱ λόγοι ἔσται οἱ ἐν ψυχῇ νοήματα; ἀλλὰ πᾶς ἢ τὰ νοήματα ποιήσῃ; ὁ γὰρ λόγος ἐν ὕλῃ ποιεῖ, ἢ τὸ ποιεῖν φυσικῶς, ἢ νόησις, εἰδὲ ὁρασις, ἀλλὰ δύναμις τρεπτική τὴ ὕλῃς, ἐκ εἰδότης, ἀλλὰ δ' ἔρασα μόνον, οἷον τύπον ἢ χῆμα ἐν ὕδατι. *Whether are these Plastick Reasons or Forms in the Soul Knowledges? But how shall it then Act according to those Knowledges? For the Plastick Reason or Form Acts or Works in Matter, and that which acts Naturally is not Intellection nor Vision, but a certain Power of moving Matter, which doth not Know, but only Do, and makes as it were a Stamp or Figure in Water.*

And with this Doctrine of the Ancients, a Modern Judicious Writer and Sagacious Inquirer into Nature, seems fully to agree, that Nature is such a Thing as doth not Know but only Do: For after he had admired

admired that *Wisdom* and *Art* by which the Bodies of Animals are framed, he concludes that one or other of these two things must needs be acknowledged, that either the *Vegetative* or *Plastick Power* of the Soul, by which it Fabricates and Organizes its own body, is more Excellent and Divine than the Rational ; Or else, *In Naturæ Operibus neq; Prudentiam nec Intellectum inesse, sed ita solum videri Conceptui nostro, qui secundum Artes nostras & Facultates, seu Exemplaria à nobismetipsis mutuata, de rebus Naturæ divinis judicamus ; Quasi Principia Naturæ Activæ, effectus suos eo modo producerent, quo nos opera nostra Artificialia solemus : That in the Works of Nature there is neither Prudence nor Understanding, but only it seems so to our Apprehensions, who judge of these Divine things of Nature, according to our own Arts and Faculties, and Patterns borrowed from our selves ; as if the Active Principles of Nature did produce their Effects in the same manner, as we do our Artificial Works.* Wherefore we conclude, agreeably to the Sense of the best Philosophers, both Ancient and Modern, That Nature is such a Thing, as though it act Artificially and for the sake of Ends, yet it doth but Ape and Mimick the Divine Art and Wisdom, it self not Understanding those Ends which it Acts for, nor the Reason of what it doth in order to them ; for which Cause also it is not Capable of Consultation or Deliberation, nor can it Act Electively or with Discretion.

13. But because this may seem strange at the first sight, that Nature should be said to Act *Exemplariter*, for the sake of Ends, and Regularly or Artificially, and yet be it self devoid of Knowledge and Understanding, we shall therefore endeavour to perswade the Possibility, and facilitate the Belief of it, by some other Instances ; and first by that of Habits, particularly those Musical ones, of Singing, Playing upon Instruments, and Dancing. Which Habits direct every Motion of the Hand, Voice, and Body, and prompt them readily, without any Deliberation or Studied Consideration, what the next following Note or Motion should be. If you jogg a sleeping Musician, and sing but the first Words of a Song to him, which he had either himself composed, or learnt before, he will presently take it from you, and that perhaps before he is thoroughly awake, going on with it, and singing out the remainder of the whole Song to the End. Thus the Fingers of an exercised Lutenist, and the Legs and whole Body of a skilful Dancer, are directed to move Regularly and Orderly, in a long Train and Series of Motions, by those Artificial Habits in them, which do not themselves at all comprehend those Laws and Rules of Musick or Harmony, by which they are governed : So that the same thing may be said of these Habits, which was said before of Nature, That they do not Know, but only Do. And thus we see there is no Reason, why this Plastick Nature (which is supposed to move Body Regularly and Artificially) should be thought to be an Absolute Impossibility, since Habits do in like manner, Gradually Evolve themselves, in a long Train or Series of Regular and Artificial Motions, readily prompting the doing of them, without comprehending that Art and Reason by which they are directed. The forementioned Philosopher illustrates the Seminary Reason and Plastick Nature of the Universe, by this

En. 3. l. 2. f. 16. very Instance : ἡ τοίνυν ἐνέργεια αὐτῆς τεχνικὴ ὡς τὸ ἀνὸ ὀρχήματος, καὶ ὡς ἔστιν ἔμ. ὁ γὰρ ὀρχηστὴς, τῇ ἑστὶ τεχνικῇ ζωῇ ὅμοιον αὐτὸς, καὶ ἡ τέχνη αὐτὸν κινεῖ, καὶ ἑστὶ κινεῖ, ὡς τὸ ζωῆς αὐτῆς πινυμένης πάσης ὅσης. *The Energy of Nature is Artificial, as when a Dancer moves ; for a Dancer resembles this Artificial Life of Nature, forasmuch as Art it self moves him, and so moves him as being such a Life in him.* And agreeably to this Conceit, the Ancient Mythologists represented the Nature of the Universe, by Pan Playing upon a Pipe or Harp, and being in love with the Nymph Echo ; as if Nature did, by a kind of Silent Melody, make all the Parts of the Universe every where Daunce in measure & Proportion, it self being as it were in the mean time delighted and ravished with the Re-echoing of its own Harmony. *Habits* are said to be an *Adventitious* and *Acquired Nature*, and Nature was before defined by the Stoicks to be ἔξις, or a *Habit* : so that there seems to be no other Difference between these two, than this, that whereas the One is *Acquired by Teaching, Industry and Exercise* ; the other, as was expressed by Hippocrates, is ἀποαδιδωτος καὶ ἐκ μάθησα, *Unlearned and Untaught*, and may in some sence also be said to be αὐτοδιδωτος, *Self-taught*, though she be indeed always Inwardly Prompted, Secretly Whispered into, and Inspired, by the *Divine Art and Wisdom*.

14. Moreover, that something may Act *Artificially* and for *Ends*, without Comprehending the Reason of what it doth, may be further evinced from those *Natural Instincts* that are in Animals, which without Knowledge direct them to Act *Regularly*, in Order both to their own *Good* and the *Good* of the *Universe*. As for Example ; the Bees in Mellification, and in framing their Combs and Hexagonal Cells, the Spiders in spinning their Webs, the Birds in building their Nests, and many other Animals in such like Actions of theirs ; which would seem to argue a great Sagacity in them, whereas notwithstanding, as Aristotle observes, ὅτε τέχνη ὅτε ζητιότητα ὅτε βουλομένη ποιεῖ. *They do these things, neither by Art nor by Counsel nor by any Deliberation of their own*, and therefore are not *Masters of that Wisdom* according to which they Act, but only *Passive* to the Instincts and Impresses thereof upon them. And indeed to affirm, that Brute Animals do all these things by a *Knowledge* of their own, and which themselves are *Masters of*, and that without Deliberation and Consultation, were to make them to be endued with a most *Perfect Intellect*, far transcending that of *Humane Reason* ; whereas it is plain enough, that *Brutes* are not above Consultation, but Below it, and that these Instincts of Nature in them, are Nothing but a kind of *Fate* upon them.

15. There is in the next place another *Imperfection* to be observed in the *Plastick Nature*, that as it doth not comprehend the Reason of its own Action, so neither is it *Clearly and Expressly Conscious* of what it doth ; in which Respect, it doth not only fall short of *Humane Art*, but even of that very Manner of Acting which is in Brutes themselves, who though they do not Understand the Reason of those Actions, that their Natural Instincts lead them to, yet they are generally conceived to be *Conscious* of them, and to do them by *Phancy* ; whereas the *Plastick*

Plastick Nature in the *Formation* of *Plants* and *Animals*, seems to have no *Animal Fancie*, no *Exprefs συναισθησις, Con-sense or Consciousness* of what it doth. Thus the often Commended Philosopher, ἡ φύσις ἐστὶ φαντασίαν ἔχουσα, ἢ ὃ νόησις φαντασίας κρείττων, φαντασία δὲ μεταξύ φύσεως τύπε καὶ νοήσεως· ἢ μὲν γὰρ ἔθενός ἀντίληψιν ἐστὶ συνέσιν ἔχει. *Nature hath not so much as any Fancie in it; As Intellection and Knowledge is a thing Superiour to Fancie, so Fancie is Superiour to the Impress of Nature, for Nature hath no Apprehension nor Conscious Perception of any thing. In a Word, Nature is a thing that hath no such Self-perception or Self-injoyment in it, as Animals have.* En. 4. L. 4. J. 13.

16. Now we are well aware, that this is a Thing which the Narrow Principles of some late Philosophers will not admit of, that there should be any *Action* distinct from *Local Motion* besides *Expresly Conscious Cogitation*. For they making the first General Heads of all Entity, to be *Extension* and *Cogitation*, or *Extended Being* and *Cogitative*, and then supposing that the Essence of *Cogitation* consists in *Expresly Consciousness*, must needs by this means exclude such a *Plastick Life* of *Nature*, as we speak of, that is supposed to act without *Animal Fancie* or *Expresly Consciousness*. Wherefore we conceive that the first Heads of *Being* ought rather to be expressed thus; *Resisting* or *Antitypous Extension*, and *Life*, (i.e. *Internal Energy* and *Self-activity*;) and then again, that *Life* or *Internal Self-activity*, is to be subdivided into such as either acts with *expresly Consciousness* and *Synæsthesis*, or such as is without it; the Latter of which is this *Plastick Life* of *Nature*: So that there may be an *Action* distinct from *Local Motion*, or a *Vital Energy*, which is not accompanied with that *Fancie*, or *Consciousness*, that is in the *Energies* of the *Animal Life*; that is, there may be a simple *Internal Energy* or *Vital Autokinesis*, which is without that *Duplication*, that is included in the *Nature* of *συναισθησις, Con-sense and Consciousness*, which makes a *Being* to be *Present* with it self, *Attentive* to its own *Actions*, or *Animadversive* of them, to perceive it self to *Do* or *Suffer*, and to have a *Fruition* or *Enjoyment* of it self. And indeed it must be granted, that what moves *Matter* or determines the *Motion* of it *Vitally*, must needs do it by some other *Energy* of its own, as it is Reasonable also to conceive, that it self hath some *Vital Sympathy* with that *Matter* which it Acts upon. But we apprehend, that Both these may be without *Clear* and *Expresly Consciousness*. Thus the Philosopher, πάντα ζωὴ ἐνέργεια, καὶ ἡ φάυλη, ἐνέργεια δὲ, ὅχι ὡς τὸ πῦρ ἐνέργει, ἀλλ' ἡ ἐνέργεια αὐτῆς, καὶ μὴ αἰσθησις τις παρ' αὐτῆς, κίνησις τις ἐν αὐτῇ. *Every Life is Energie, even the worst of Lives, and therefore that of Nature. Whose Energie is not like that of Fire, but such an Energie, as though there be no Sense belonging to it, yet is it not Temerarious or Fortuitous, but Orderly & Regular.* En. 3. L. 2 & 164

Wherefore this Controversie whether the *Energy* of the *Plastick Nature*, be *Cogitation*, or no, seems to be but a *Logomachy*, or Contention about Words. For if *Clear* and *Expresly Consciousness* be supposed to be included in *Cogitation*, then it must needs be granted that *Cogitation* doth not belong to the *Plastick Life* of *Nature*: but if the Notion of that Word be enlarged so as to comprehend all *Action* distinct from *Local Motion*, and to be of equal *Extent* with *Life*, then the *Energie* of *Nature* is *Cogitation*. O 3 Never

Nevertheless if any one think fit to attribute some Obscure and Imperfect Sense or Perception, different from that of *Animals*, to the *Energie* of Nature, and will therefore call it a kind of *Drowsie*, *Unawakened*, or *Astonish'd Cogitation*, the Philosopher, before mentioned, will not very much gainsay it : ἔτις βέλῃται σύνεσιν τινα ἢ αἰσθῆσιν αὐτῇ διδέναι, ἔχουσιν λέγειν ὅτι τῶν ἄλλων τῷ αἰσθῆσιν ἢ τῷ σύνεσιν, ἀλλ' οἷον ἔτις τῷ τῷ ὕπνῳ τῇ τῇ ἐγρηγόρετος περὶ αἰσθῆσε: *If any will needs attribute some kind of Apprehension or Sense to Nature, then it must not be such a Sense or Apprehension, as is in Animals, but something that differs as much from it, as the Sense or Cogitation of one in a profound sleep, differs from that of one who is awake.* And since it cannot be denied but that the *Plastick Nature* hath a certain *Dull* and *Obscure Idea* of that which it Stamps and Prints upon Matter, the same Philosopher himself sticks not to call this *Idea* of Nature, *Ἰαμα* and *θεάμεμα*, a *Spectacle* and *Contemplamen*, as likewise the *Energy* of Nature towards it, *θεωρεῖα* & *ἡσυχία*, a *Silent Contemplation*; nay he allows, that Nature may be said to be, in some Sence, *φιλοθεάμων*, a *Lover of Spectacles or Contemplation*.

17. However, that there may be some Vital Energy without Clear and Express *συναισθῆσις*, *Con-sense* and *Consciousness*, *Animadversion*, *Attention*, or *Self-perception*, seems reasonable upon several accounts. For first, those Philosophers themselves, who make the *Essence* of the *Soul* to consist in *Cogitation*, and again the *Essence* of *Cogitation* in Clear and Express *Consciousness*, cannot render it any way probable; that the Souls of Men in all profound Sleeps, Lethargies and Apoplexies, as also of Embryo's in the Womb, from their very first arrival thither, are never so much as one moment without Expressly *Conscious Cogitations*; which if they were, according to the Principles of their Philosophy, they must, *ipso facto*, cease to have any Being. Now if the Souls of Men and Animals be at any time without *Consciousness* and *Self-perception*, then it must needs be granted, that Clear and Express *Consciousness* is not *Essential* to *Life*. There is some appearance of *Life* and *Vital Sympathy* in certain Vegetables and Plants, which however called *Sensitive Plants* and *Plant-animals*, cannot well be supposed to have *Animal Sense* and *Fancy*, or Express *Consciousness* in them; although we are not ignorant in the mean time, how some endeavour to salve all those *Phænomena Mechanically*. It is certain, that our Humane Souls themselves are not always *Conscious*, of whatever they have in them; for even the Sleeping Geometrician, hath at that time, all his Geometrical Theorems and Knowledges some way in him; as also the Sleeping Musician, all his Musical Skill and Songs: and therefore why may it not be possible for the Soul to have likewise some *Actual Energie* in it, which it is not Expressly *Conscious* of? We have all Experience, of our doing many *Animal Actions Non-attendingly*, which we reflect upon afterwards; as also that we often continue a long Series of Bodily Motions, by a mere *Virtual Intention* of our Minds, and as it were by *Half a Cogitation*. That *Vital Sympathy*, by which our Soul is united and tied fast, as it were with a Knot, to the Body, is a thing that we have no direct *Consciousness* of, but only in its Effects. Nor can we tell how we come to be so different-ly

ly affected in our Souls, from the many different Motions made upon our Bodies. As likewise we are not Conscious to our selves of that Energy, whereby we impress Variety of *Motions* and *Figurations* upon the *Animal Spirits* of our Brain in our *Phantastick Thoughts*. For though the *Geometrician* perceive himself to make Lines, Triangles and Circles in the Dust, with his Finger, yet he is not aware, how he makes all those same Figures, first upon the Corporeal Spirits of his Brain, from whence notwithstanding, as from a Glass, they are reflected to him, *Fancy* being rightly concluded by *Aristotle* to be a *Weak and Obscure Sense*. There is also another more Interior kind of *Plastick Power* in the Soul (if we may so call it) whereby it is Formative of its own Cogitations, which it self is not always Conscious of; as when in Sleep or Dreams, it frames Interlocutory Discourses betwixt it self and other Persons, in a long Series, with Coherent Sence and Apt Connexions, in which oftentimes it seems to be surprized with unexpected Answers and Reparties; though it self were all the while the Poet and Inventor of the whole Fable. Not only our Nictations for the most part when we are awake, but also our Nocturnal Volutations in Sleep, are performed with very little or no Consciousness. Respiration or that Motion of the *Diaphragma* and other Muscles which causes it (there being no sufficient Mechanical accompt given of it) may well be concluded to be always a Vital Motion, though it be not always Animal; since no man can affirm that he is perpetually Conscious to himself, of that Energy of his Soul, which does produce it when he is awake, much less when asleep. And Lastly, the Cartesian Attempts to salve the Motion of the Heart Mechanically, seem to be abundantly confuted, by Autopsy and Experiment, evincing the *Systole* of the Heart to be a *Muscular Constriction*, caused by some Vital Principle, to make which, nothing but a *Pulsifick Corporeal Quality* in the Substance of the Heart it self, is very Unphilosophical and Absurd. Now as we have no voluntary *Imperium* at all, upon the *Systole* and *Diastole* of the Heart, so are we not conscious to our selves of any Energy of our own Soul that causes them, and therefore we may reasonably conclude from hence also, that there is some *Vital Energy*, without *Animal Fancy* or *Synæsthesis*, express *Consciousness* and *Self-perception*.

18. Wherefore the Plastick Nature acting neither by *Knowledge* nor by *Animal Fancy*, neither *Electively* nor *Hormetically*, must be concluded to act *Fatally*, *Magically* and *Sympathetically*. And thus that Curious and Diligent Inquirer into Nature, before commended, resolves, *Natura tanquam Fato quodam, seu Mandato secundum Leges operante, movet*; Nature moveth as it were by a kind of Fate or Command, acting according to Laws. Fate, and the Laws or Commands of the Deity, concerning the Mundane Oeconomy (they being really the same thing) ought not to be looked upon, neither as *Verbal things*, nor as mere *Will* and *Cogitation* in the Mind of God; but as an *Energetical* and *Effectual Principle*, constituted by the Deity, for the bringing of things decreed to pass. The Aphrodisian Philosopher with others of the Ancients, have concluded, that *Fate* and *Nature* are but two different Names, for one and the same thing, and that

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τίτε ἐμαρτυρόν ἡ φύσις, καὶ τὸ ἡ φύσιν ἐμαρτυρόν, both that which is done *Fatally*, is done *Naturally*, and also whatever is done *Naturally*, is done *Fatally*; but that which we assert in this place is only this, that the *Plastick Nature* may be said to be, the *True and Proper Fate of Matter*, or the *Corporeal World*. Now that which acts not by any *Knowledge* or *Fancy*, *Will* or *Appetite* of its own, but only *Fatally* according to *Laws* and *Impresses* made upon it (but differently in different Cases) may be said also to act *Magically* and *Sympathetically*. Ἡ ἀληθινή μαγεία (saith the Philosopher) ἡ ἐν τῷ παντὶ φιλία καὶ ἐχθρὰ, *The true Magick is the Friendship and Discord that is in the Universe*; and again *Magick* is said to be founded ἐν τῇ συμπλεείᾳ καὶ τῇ τῆ δυνάμεων τῶν πολλῶν ποικιλίᾳ πρὸς ἓν ζῶον συντελούντων, *In the Sympathy and Variety of diverse Powers conspiring together into one Animal*. Of which Passages, though the Principal meaning seem to be this, that the ground of *Magical Fascination*, is one *Vital Unitive Principle* in the *Universe*; yet they imply also, that there is a certain *Vital Energy*, not in the way of *Knowledge* and *Fancy*, *Will* and *Animal Appetite*, but *Fatally Sympathetical* and *Magical*. As indeed that *Mutual Sympathy* which we have constant Experience of, betwixt our *soul* and our *Body*, (being not a *Material* and *Mechanical*, but *Vital* thing) may be called also *Magical*.

19. From what hath been hitherto declared concerning the *Plastick Nature*, it may appear; That though it be a thing that acts for *Ends Artificially*, and which may be also called the *Divine Art*, and the *Fate of the Corporeal World*; yet for all that it is neither *God* nor *Goddeß*, but a *Low and Imperfect Creature*. Forasmuch as it is not *Master* of that *Reason* and *Wisdom* according to which it acts, nor does it properly *Intend* those *Ends* which it acts for, nor indeed is it *Expresly* *Conscious* of what it doth; it not *Knowing* but only *Doing*, according to *Commands & Laws* imprest upon it. Neither of which things ought to seem strange or incredible, since *Nature* may as well act *Regularly* and *Artificially*, without any *Knowledge* and *Consciousness* of its own, as *Forms of Letters* compounded together, may *Print Coherent Philosophick Sense*, though they understand nothing at all; and it may also act for the sake of those *Ends*, that are not intended by it self, but some *Higher Being*, as well as the *Saw* or *Hatchet* in the hand of the *Architect* or *Mechanick* doth, τὸ σκέπτερον ἐνεχά τς πελεκᾶ, ἀλλ' ὁ πρὸς τοιοῦτον, ἀλλὰ τὸ πρὸς τοιοῦτον ὑπηρετῶν, *the Ax cuts for the sake of something, though it self does not ratiocinate, nor intend or design any thing, but is only subservient to that which does so*. It is true, that our *Humane Actions* are not governed by such exact *Reason*, *Art*, and *Wisdom*, nor carried on with such *Constancy*, *Eavenness* and *Uniformity*, as the *Actions of Nature* are; notwithstanding which, since we act according to a *Knowledge* of our own, and are *Masters* of that *Wisdom* by which our *Actions* are directed, since we do not act *Fatally* only, but *Electively* and *Intendingly*, with *Consciousness* and *Self-perception*; the *Rational Life* that is in us, ought to be accounted a much *Higher* and more *Noble Perfection*, than that *Plastick Life of Nature*. Nay, this *Plastick Nature*, is so far from being the *First* and *Highest Life*, that it is indeed the *Last* and *Lowest* of all

Simplic. in Arist. Phys. L. 2.

all *Lives*; it being really the same thing with the *Vegetative*, which is Inferiour to the *Sensitive*. The difference betwixt *Nature* and *Wisdom* was before observed, that *Wisdom* is the *First* and *Highest* thing, but *Nature* the *Last* and *Lowest*; this latter being but an Umbratile Imitation of the former. And to this purpose, this Plastick Nature is further described by the same Philosopher in these Words, *ἐστὶν τοίνυν ὁ λόγος ἐκ ἀκρότου νός, ὅθεν αὐτονός, ὁ δὲ καὶ ψυχῆς καθάρως τὸ γένος· ἡγετιμώδης ὁ ἐκείνους, καὶ οἷον ἐκλαμψὶς ἐξ ἀμφοῖν νός καὶ ψυχῆς, καὶ ψυχῆς καὶ νός διακειμένης γεννησάντων τὸ λόγον τῆτον.* The *Spermatick Reason* or *Plastick Nature*, is no pure *Mind* or perfect *Intellect*, nor any kind of pure *Soul* neither; but something which depends upon it, being as it were an *Effulgency* or *Eradiation*, from both together, *Mind* and *Soul*, or *Soul* affected according to *Mind*, generating the same as a *Lower* kind of *Life*.

En. 3. l. 2. c. 18.

And though this *Plastick Nature* contain no small part of *Divine Providence* in it, yet since it is a thing that cannot act *Electively* nor with *Discretion*, it must needs be granted that there is a *Higher* and *Diviner Providence* than this, which also presides over the *Corporeal World* it self, which was a thing likewise insisted upon by that Philosopher, *γίνεται τὰ ἐν τῷ παντί καὶ τῷ σπερματικῷ, ἀλλὰ καὶ λόγος ἀληθινή* καὶ τῷ περιλήγων, ἢ καὶ τὸς τῷ σπερμολόγων λόγος, ὃ ᾗ ἐν τοῖς σπερματικῷς λόγοις ἐνι, καὶ τῷ γνωμένων, ὡς τὸς σπερματικῷς αὐτὸς λόγος. The things in the world, are not administered merely by *Spermatick Reasons*, but by *Perileptick* (that is, *Comprehensive Intellectual Reasons*) which are in order of *Nature* before the other, because in the *Spermatick Reasons* cannot be contained that which is contrary to them, &c. Where though this Philosopher may extend his *Spermatick Reasons* further than we do our *Plastick Nature* in this place, (which is only confined to the *Motions of Matter*) yet he concludes, that there is a higher Principle presiding over the *Universe* than this. So that it is not *Ratio mersa & confusa*, a *Reason drowned in Matter*, and *confounded with it*, which is the *Supreme Governour* of the *World*, but a *Providence* perfectly *Intellectual*, *Abstract* and *Released*.

En. 4. l. 4. c. 39.

20. But though the *Plastick Nature* be the *Lowest* of all *Lives*, nevertheless since it is a *Life*, it must needs be *Incorporeal*; all *Life* being such. For *Body* being nothing but *Antitypous Extension*, or *Resisting Bulk*, nothing but mere *Outside*, *Aliud extra Aliud*, together with *Passive Capability*, hath no *Internal Energy*, *Self-activity*, or *Life* belonging to it; it is not able so much as to *Move it self*, and therefore much less can it *Artificially direct* its own *Motion*. Moreover, in the *Efformation* of the *Bodies of Animals*, it is *One* and the self-same thing that directs the *Whole*; that which *Contrives* and *Frames* the *Eye*, cannot be a distinct thing from that which *Frames* the *Ear*; nor that which makes the *Hand*, from that which makes the *Foot*; the same thing which delineates the *Veins*, must also form the *Arteries*; and that which fabricates the *Nerves*, must also project the *Muscles* and *Joynts*; it must be the same thing that designs and *Organizes* the *Heart* and *Brain*, with such *Communications* betwixt them; *One* and the self-same thing must needs have in it, the entire

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Idea and the complete Model or Platform of the whole Organick Body. For the several parts of Matter distant from one another, acting alone by themselves, without any common Directrix, being not able to confer together, nor communicate with each other, could never possibly conspire to make up one such uniform and Orderly System or Compages, as the Body of every Animal is. The same is to be said likewise concerning the Plastick Nature of the whole Corporeal Universe, in which ἀπαντα πρὸς ἓν συντέτακται, *all things are ordered together conspiringly into One*. It must be one and the same thing, which formeth the whole, or else it could never have fallen into such an Uniform Order and Harmony. Now that which is One and the Same, acting upon several distant parts of Matter, cannot be Corporeal.

Indeed *Aristotle* is severely censured by some learned men for this, that though he talk every where of such a Nature as acts Regularly, Artificially and Methodically, in order to the Best, yet he does not where positively declare whether this Nature of his be Corporeal or Incorporeal, Substantial or Accidental, which yet is the less to be wondred at in him, because he does not clearly determine these same points concerning the Rational Soul neither, but seems to stagger uncertainly about them. In the mean time it cannot be denied, but that *Aristotle's* Followers do for the most part conclude this Nature of his to be Corporeal; whereas notwithstanding, according to the Principles of this Philosophy, it cannot possibly be such: For there is nothing else attributed to Body in it, besides these three, Matter, Form and Accidents; neither of which can be the *Aristotelick* Nature. First, it cannot be Matter; because Nature, according to *Aristotle*, is supposed to be the Principle of Motion and Activity, which Matter in it self is devoid of. Moreover *Aristotle* concludes, that they who assign only a Material Cause, assign no Cause at all τὸ δὲ καλῶς, *of well and fit*, of that Regular and Artificial Frame of things which is ascribed to Nature; upon both which accompts, it is determined by that Philosopher, that ἡ φύσις μᾶλλον ἀρχὴ καὶ αἰτία τοῦ ὕλης, *Nature is more a Principle and Cause than Matter*, and therefore it cannot be one and the same thing with it. Again, it is as plain, that *Aristotle's* Nature cannot be the Forms of particular Bodies neither, as Vulgar Peripateticks seem to conceive, these being all Generated and Produced by Nature, and as well Corruptible as Generable. Whereas Nature is such a thing as is neither Generated nor Corrupted, it being the Principle and Cause of all Generation and Corruption. To make Nature and the Material Forms of Bodies to be one and the self-same thing, is all one as if one should make the Seal (with the Stamper too) to be one and the same thing, with the Signature upon the Wax. And Lastly, *Aristotle's* Nature can least of all be the Accidents or Qualities of Bodies; because these act only in Vertue of their Substance, neither can they exercise any Active Power over the Substance it self in which they are; whereas the Plastick Nature is a thing that Domineers over the Substance of the whole Corporeal Universe, and which Subordinately to the Deity, put both Heaven and Earth into this Frame in which now it is. Wherefore since *Aristotle's* Nature can be neither the

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Matter, nor the *Forms*, nor the *Accidents of Bodies*, it is plain, that according to his own Principles, it must be Incorporeal.

21. Now if the *Plastick Nature* be Incorporeal, then it must of necessity, be either an Inferiour *Power* or *Faculty* of some *Soul* which is also *Conscious*, *Sensitive* or *Rational*; or else a lower *Substantial Life* by it self, devoid of *Animal Consciousness*. The *Platonists* seem to affirm both these together, namely that there is a *Plastick Nature* lodged in all particular *Souls* of *Animals*, *Brutes* and *Men*, and also that there is a *General Plastick* or *Spermatick Principle* of the whole *Universe* distinct from their *Higher Mundane Soul*, though subordinate to it, and dependent upon it, ἡ λεγομένη φύσις γέννημα ψυχῆς προ-
τερος δυνάμειον ζώον. That which is called *Nature*, is the Off-spring of an higher *Soul*, which hath a more *Powerful Life* in it. And though *Aristotle* do not so clearly acknowledge the *Incorporeity* and *Substantiality* of *Souls*, yet he concurs very much with this *Platonick Doctrine*, that *Nature* is either a *Lower Power* or *Faculty* of some *Conscious Soul*, or else an *Inferiour kind of Life* by it self, depending upon a *Superiour Soul*.

And this we shall make to appear from his Book *De Partibus Ani-* L.I.c.ii
malium, after we have taken notice of some considerable Preliminary Passages in it in order thereunto. For having first declared, that besides the *Material Cause*, there are other *Causes* also of *Natural Generations*, namely these two, ἢτε ἡ ἐννεα καὶ ὅθεν ἡ ἀρχὴ τῆς κινήσεως, that for whose sake, (or the *Final Cause*) and that from which the *Principle of Motion* is, (or the *Efficient Cause*) he determines that the former of these Two, is the principal, φαίνεται ὅτι πρώτη ἢν λεγόμεν ἐννεα τινος. λόγῳ γὰρ ὅτις, ἀρχὴ ὁ λόγος, ὁμοίως, ἔντε τοῖς καὶ τέχνῳ καὶ τοῖς φύσιν συνε-
κίδον. The chiefest of these two *Causes* seems to be the *Final* or the *Intending Cause*; for this is *Reason*, and *Reason* is alike a *Principle* in *Artificial* and in *Natural things*. Nay the *Philosopher* adds excellently, that there is more of *Reason* and *Art*, in the things of *Nature*, than there is in those things that are *Artificially* made by men, μάλλον δ' ἔστι τὸ ἔννεα καὶ τὸ καλὸν ἐν τοῖς φύσεως ἔργοις, ἢ ἐν τοῖς καὶ τέχνῳ. There is more of *Final* or *Intending Causality* and of the reason of *Good*, in the works of *Nature* than in those of *Humane Art*. After which he greatly complains of the first and most Ancient *Physiologers*, meaning thereby *Anaximander*, and those other *Ionicks* before *Anaxagoras*, that they considered only τὴν ὕλην ἀρχὴν, the *Material Principle* and *Cause* of things, without attending to those Two other *Causes*, the *Principle of Motion*, and that which aims at *Ends*, they talking only, of *Fire*, *Water*, *Air* and *Earth*, and generating the whole *World*, from the *Fortuitous Concourse* of these *Senseless Bodies*. But at length *Aristotle* falls upon *Democritus*, who being *Junior* to those others before mentioned, *Philosophised* after the same *Atheistical* manner, but in a new way of his own, by *Atoms*; acknowledging no other *Nature*, neither in the *Universe*, nor in the *Bodies* of *Animals*, than that of *Fortuitous Mechanism*, and supposing all things to arise from the different *Compositions* of *Magnitudes*, *Figures*, *Sites*, and *Motions*. Of which *Democritick Philosophy*, he-gives his Cen-
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De part. An.
Lib. 1. cap. 1.

sure in these following words, εἰ μὲν ἐν τῷ χήματι καὶ τῷ χρώματι ἕκαστον ἔστι, τῶν τε ζώων καὶ τῶν μορίων, ὁρθῶς ἂν Δημόκριτος λέγοι, &c. If Animals and their several parts did consist of nothing but Figure and Colour, then indeed Democritus would be in the right: But a Dead man hath the same Form and Figure of Body, that he had before, and yet for all that he is not a Man; neither is a Brazen or Wooden Hand a Hand, but only Equivocally, as a Painted Physician, or Pipes made of Stone are so called. No member of a Dead Mans Body, is that which it was before, when he was alive, neither Eye, nor Hand, nor Foot. Wherefore this is but a rude way of Philosophizing, and just as if a Carpenter should talk of a Wooden Hand. For thus these Physiologers declare the Generations and Causes of Figures only, or the Matter out of which things are made, as Air and Earth. Whereas no Artificer would think it sufficient, to render such a Cause of any Artificial Fabrick, because the Instrument happened to fall so upon the Timber, that therefore it was Hollow here and Plane there; but rather because himself made such strokes, and for such Ends, &c.

Now in the close of all, this Philosopher at length declares, That there is another Principle of Corporeal things, besides the Material, and such as is not only the Cause of Motion, but also acts Artificially in order to Ends, εἰ τι τοιούτων ὁ δὴ καλεῖσθαι φύσιν, there is such a thing as that which we call Nature, that is, not the Fortuitous Motion of Senseless Matter, but a Plastick Regular and Artificial Nature, such as acts for Ends and Good; declaring in the same place, what this Nature is, namely that it is ψυχὴ, ἢ ψυχῆς μέρος, ἢ μὴ ἀνδ' ψυχῆς, Soul, or Part of Soul, or not without Soul; and from thence inferring, that it properly belongs to a Physiologer, to treat concerning the Soul also. But he concludes afterwards, ὅτι πάντα ψυχὴ φύσις, that the whole Soul is not Nature; whence it remains, that according to Aristotle's sense, Nature is ἢ ψυχῆς μέρος, ἢ μὴ ἀνδ' ψυχῆς, either part of a Soul or not without Soul, that is, either a lower Part or Faculty of some Conscious Soul; or else an Inferiour kind of Life by it self, which is not without Soul, but Subordinate to it and dependent on it.

22. As for the Bodies of Animals Aristotle first resolves in General, that Nature in them is either the whole Soul, or else some part of it, φύσις ὡς ἡ κινῶσα, καὶ ὡς τὸ τέλος τῆς ζωῆς, ἢτοι πάντα ἢ ψυχὴ, ἢ μέρος τι αὐτῆς, Nature as the Moving Principle, or as that which acts Artificially for Ends, (so far as concerns the Bodies of Animals) is either the whole Soul, or else some Part of it. But afterward he determines more particularly, that the Plastick Nature is not the whole Soul in Animals, but only some part of it; ὅτι πάντα ψυχὴ φύσις, ἀλλὰ τι μείζον αὐτῆς, that is, Nature in Animals, properly so called, is some Lower Power or Faculty lodged in their respective Souls, whether Sensitive or Rational.

And that there is Plastick Nature in the Souls of Animals, the same Aristotle elsewhere affirms and proves after this manner: τί τὸ συνέχον εἰς τ' ἀναμίχτα φερόμενα, τὸ πῦρ καὶ τὴν γῆν. διασπασθήσεται ὅδ' εἰ μὴ τι ἔσται τὸ κωλύσον, εἰδ' ἔστι, τὸτ' ἐστὶν ἡ ψυχὴ, καὶ τὸ αἴτιον τῶ ἀσφάλεσθαι καὶ τρεφεσθαι. What is that which in the Bodies of Animals holds together

together such things as of their own Nature would otherwise move contrary ways, and flie asunder, as Fire and Earth, which would be distracted and dissipated, the one tending upwards, the other downwards, were there not something to hinder them: now if there be any such thing, this must be the Soul, which is also the Cause of Nourishment and Augmentation. Where the Philosopher adds, that though some were of Opinion, that Fire was that which was the Cause of Nourishment and Augmentation in Animals, yet this was indeed but συνελτιον πως, & μὴν ἀπλᾶς γὰρ αἴτιον, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον ἡ ψυχὴ, *only the Concause or Instrument, and not simply the Cause, but rather the Soul.* And to the same purpose he philosophizeth elsewhere, ἐδὲ γὰρ ἡ πέψις δι' ἧς ἡ τροφή γίνεται τοῖς ζώοις ὅτε ἀνδρὶ ψυχῆς, ὅτε θερμότητος ὅτι, περὶ γὰρ ἐργάζεται πάντα. *Neither is Concoction by which Nourishment is made in Animals done without the Soul, nor without Heat, for all things are done by Fire.*

And certainly it seems very agreeable to the *Phænomena*, to acknowledge something in the Bodies of Animals Superiour to Mechanism, as that may well be thought to be, which keeps the more fluid parts of them constantly in the same Form and Figure, so as not to be enormously altered in their Growth by disproportionate nourishment; that which restores Flesh that was lost, consolidates dissolved Continuities, Incorporates the newly received Nourishment, and joyns it Continuously with the preexistent parts of Flesh and Bone; which regenerates and repairs Veins consumed or cut off; which causes Dentition in so regular a manner, and that not only in Infants, but also Adult persons; that which casts off Excrements and dischargeth Superfluities; which makes things seem ungrateful to an Interiour Sense, that were notwithstanding pleasing to the Taste. That Nature of *Hippocrates*, that is the Curatrix of Diseases, αἱ φύσεις τῶν νοσούντων ἰντεγί, and that *Archæus* of the Chymists or Paracelsians, to which all Medicaments are but Subservient, as being able to effect nothing of themselves without it. I say, there seems to be such a Principle as this in the Bodies of Animals, which is not *Mechanical* but *Vital*; and therefore since Entities are not to be multiplied without necessity, we may with *Aristotle* conclude it to be μετῆς or μελειον ἢ ψυχῆς, *a certain part of the Soul* of those Animals, or a Lower Inconscious Power lodged in them.

23. Besides this Plastick Nature which is in Animals, forming their several Bodies Artificially, as so many Microcosms or *Little Worlds*, there must be also a general Plastick Nature in the *Macrocosm* the whole Corporeal Universe, that which makes all things thus to conspire every where, and agree together into one Harmony. Concerning which *Plastick Nature* of the Universe, the Author *de Mundo* writes after this manner, καὶ τὸ ὅλον κόσμον διακόσμησε μία ἡ διὰ πάντων δυνάμις, *One Power passing thorough all things, ordered and formed the whole World.* Again he calls the same πνεῦμα, καὶ ἐμψυχον, καὶ γόνιμον ζώον, *a Spirit, and a Living and Generative Nature*, and plainly declares it, to be a thing distinct from the Deity, but Subordinate to it and dependent on it. But *Aristotle* himself in that ge-

De Part. An.
lib. 1. c. 1.

nuine Work of his before mentioned, speaks clearly and positively concerning this Plastick Nature of the Universe, as well as that of Animals, in these words, φαίνεται γὰρ ὡσαύτῃ τοῖς περὶ χηλαῖς ὅτιν ἡ τέχνη, ὅτως ἐν αὐτοῖς τοῖς πράγμασιν ἅμῃ τις ἀρχὴ καὶ αἰτία τοιαύτη ἢν ἔχοντες, καθάπερ τὸ θερμὸν καὶ τὸ ψυχρὸν ἐκ τῆς παντός. διὸ μᾶλλον εἰκός ἢ θερμὸν γενῆσθαι ὑπὸ τοιαύτης αἰτίας, εἰ μέγιστον, καὶ εἶναι διὰ τοιαύτῃ αἰτίαν μᾶλλον, ἢ τὰ ζῶα τὰ θνητά. τὸ γὰρ τεταγμένον καὶ ὁρμημένον πολὺ μᾶλλον φαίνεται ἐν τοῖς θερμοῖς, ἢ παρὲς ἡμᾶς· τὸ δὲ ἄλλοτε ἄλλως, καὶ ὡς ἔτυχεν, παρὲς τὰ θνητά μᾶλλον· οἱ δὲ ἄνθρωποι μὲν ζῶων ἕκαστον φύσιν φαίνει εἶναι καὶ γενέσθαι· ἢ δὲ θερμὸν ἀπὸ τύχης καὶ τῆς αὐτομάτης τοῖστον συστῆναι, ἐν ᾧ ἀπὸ τύχης καὶ ἀταξίας ἴσθ' ὅπῃ φαίνεται. *It seemeth, that as there is Art in Artificial things, so in the things of Nature, there is another such like Principle or Cause, which we our selves partake of; in the same manner as we do of Heat and Cold, from the Universe. Wherefore it is more probable that the whole World was at first made by such a Cause as this (if at least it were made) and that it is still conserved by the same, than that Mortal Animals should be so: For there is much more of Order and determinate Regularity, in the Heavenly Bodies than in our selves; but more of Fortuitousness and inconstant Regularity among these Mortal things. Notwithstanding which, some there are, who, though they cannot but acknowledge that the Bodies of Animals were all framed by an Artificial Nature, yet they will needs contend that the System of the Heavens sprung merely from Fortune and Chance; although there be not the least appearance of Fortuitousness or Temerity in it. And then he sums up all into this Conclusion, ὡς εἶναι φανερόν ὅτι ἐκ τῆς τοῖστον οὐδὲ καὶ καλῶς μὲν φύσιν. Wherefore it is manifest, that there is some such thing as that which we call Nature, that is, that there is not only an Artificial, Methodical and Plastick Nature in Animals, by which their respective Bodies are Framed and Conserved; but also that there is such a General Plastick Nature likewise in the Universe, by which the Heavens and whole World are thus Artificially Ordered and Disposed.*

24. Now whereas Aristotle in the forecited Words, tells us, that we partake of Life and Understanding, from that in the Universe, after the same manner as we partake of Heat and Cold, from that Heat and Cold that is in the Universe; It is observable, that this was a Notion borrowed from Socrates; (as we understand both from Xenophon and Plato) that Philosopher having used it as an Argumentation to prove a Deity. And the Sence of it is represented after this manner by the Latin Poet;

*Principio Cælum ac Terram, Cæmpósque Liqueñtes,
Lucentémque Globum Lunæ, Titaniáque Astra,
Spiritus intus alit, totósque Infusa per Artus,
Mens agitat Molem, & Magno se Corpore miscet.
Inde Hominum Pecudúmque Genus, Vitæque Volantúm.*

From whence it may be collected, that Aristotle did suppose, this Plastick Nature of the Universe to be, ἢ μέρος ψυχῆς, ἢ μὴ ἀνδρ. ψυχῆς, Either Part of some Mundane Soul, that was also Conscious and Intellectual,

Equal, (as that Plastick Nature in Animals is) or at least some Inferiour Principle, depending on such a Soul. And indeed whatever the Doctrine of the modern Peripateticks be, we make no doubt at all, but that Aristotle himself held the Worlds Animation, or a Mundane Soul; Forasmuch as he plainly declares himself concerning it, elsewhere in his Book *De Cælo*, after this manner; ἀλλ' ἡμεῖς ὡς αἰεὶ σωμα- Lib. 2. 12.
των μόνον αὐτῶν, καὶ μονάδων, τάξιν μὲν ἔχοντων, ἀψύχων δὲ πᾶμπαν, διανο-
ύμεθα. δ' εἰ δὲ ὡς μετεχόντων ὑπολαμβάνειν προφθεῖν καὶ ζωῆς. But we com-
monly think of the Heavens, as nothing else but Bodies and Monads;
having only a certain Order, but altogether inanimate; whereas we
ought on the contrary to conceive of them, as partaking of Life,
and Action: that is, as being endued with a Rational or Intellectual
Life. For so *Simplicius* there rightly expounds the place, δ' εἰ δὲ ὡς πε-
ρὶ ἐμψύχων αὐτῶν συλλογίζεσθαι, καὶ λογικὴν ἔχοντων ψυχὴν, ὡς καὶ προφθεῖν καὶ
ζωῆς λογικῆς μετέχον. τὸ μὲν γὰρ ποιεῖν, καὶ κατὰ τὴν ἀλόγων ψυχῶν κατηγο-
ρεῖσθαι, καὶ κατὰ τὴν ἀψύχων σωματῶν, τὸ δὲ προφθεῖν καὶ ζωῆς κατὰ τὴν
λογικῶν ψυχῶν κατηγορεῖσθαι. But we ought to think of the Heavens, as Animated with a
Rational Soul, and thereby partaking of Action and Rational Life. For
(saith he) though πᾶν be affirmed not only of Irrational Souls, but also
of Inanimate Bodies, yet the word προφθεῖν does only denominate Rational
Beings. But further, to take away all manner of scruple or doubt,
concerning this business; that Philosopher before in the same Book,
ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ βιβλίῳ, ὅτι ὁ οὐρανὸς ἐμψύχος, καὶ ἀρχὴν κινήσεως ἔχει, That the
Heaven is Animated, and hath a Principle of Motion within it self:
Where by the Heaven, as in many other places of Aristotle and Plato,
is to be understood the Whole World.

There is indeed One Passage in the same Book *De Cælo*, which at
first sight, and slightly considered, may seem to contradict this again,
and therefore probably is that, which hath led many into a contrary
Perswasion, that Aristotle denied the Worlds Animation, ἀλλὰ μὴν ἔτι L. 2. 11.
ὅτι ψυχῆς οὐλοῦν ἀναγκαστικὸς μένειν αἰδίων. ὅθεν γὰρ τὴν ψυχῆς οὐκ ἔστιν εἶναι τὴν
ποιῶντι ζωὴν ἀλύπον καὶ μακαρίαν· ἀνάγκη γὰρ καὶ τὴν κίνησιν μετὰ εἰσὶν ὄσαν,
πεφυκότος τῆς πρώτης σώματος· ἄλλως καὶ κινεῖν συνεχῶς, ἀχολον εἶναι, καὶ πάσης
ἀπὸ πλῆθος ῥασιμῆς ἐμφορεῖσθαι. ἔγωγε μὲν δὲ ὡς αὐτὴ τῇ ψυχῇ τῇ κατὰ τὴν
ζωὴν ὅτι ἀνάγκη ἢ αἰεὶ ἢ ὑπὸν γινώσκου, τὸ σώματος ἀνεσις, ἀλλ' ἀναγκαστικὸν
ἰξίωνος πινος μοῖραν κατέχον αὐτὴν αἰδίων καὶ ἀτρεπτον. But it is not reasonable
neither, to think that the Heavens continue to Eternity, moved by a
Soul necessitating, or violently compelling them. Nor indeed is it possible,
that the Life of such a Soul should be pleasurable or happy. Forasmuch as the
continual Violent Motion of a Body (naturally inclining to move another
way) must needs be a very unquiet thing, and void of all Mental Re-
pose; especially when there is no such Relaxation, as the Souls of Mortal
Animals have by sleep; and therefore such a Soul of the World as this,
must of necessity be condemned to an Eternal Ixionian Fate. But in
these Words Aristotle does not deny the Heavens to be moved by a
Soul of their own, (which is positively affirmed by him elsewhere)
but only by such a Soul, as should Violently and Forcibly agitate, or
drive them round, contrary to their own Natural Inclination, where-
by in the mean time, they tended downwards of themselves to-
wards the Centre. And his sence, concerning the Motion of the
P 2 Heavens,

Heavens, is truly represented by *Simplicius* in this manner, τὸ ὅλον φύσικον καὶ ἐμφυχον, ὑπὸ ψυχῆς κινεῖται, διὰ μέσης τῆς φύσεως. *The whole World or Heaven, being as well a natural, as an Animalish Body, is moved properly by Soul, but yet by means of Nature also, as an Instrument, so that the Motion of it is not Violent.* But whereas *Aristotle* there insinuates, as if *Plato* had held the Heavens to be moved, by a Soul violently, contrary to their Nature; *Simplicius*, though sufficiently addicted to *Aristotle*, ingenuously acknowledges his Error herein, and vindicating *Plato* from that Imputation, shews how he likewise held a Plastick Nature, as well as a Mundane Soul; and that amongst his Ten Instances of Motion, * the Ninth is that of Nature, τὴν ἑτέρου αἰεὶ κινῶσαν, καὶ μεταβαλλομένην ὑφ' ἑτέρας, that which always moves another, being it self changed by something else; as the Tenth, that of the Mundane Soul, τὴν ἑαυτὴν κινῶσαν καὶ ἑτέρας, that which originally both moves it self and other things: as if his Meaning in that place were, That though Nature be a Life and Internal Energy, yet it acts Subserviently to a Higher Soul, as the First Original Mover.

* De Leg. l. 10.

But the Grand Objection against *Aristotle's* holding the Worlds Animation, is still behind; namely from that in his *Metaphysics*, where he determines the Highest Starry Heaven, to be moved by an Immoveable Mover, commonly supposed to be the Deity it self, and no Soul of the World; and all the other Spheres likewise, to be moved by so many Separate Intelligencies, and not by Souls. To which we reply, that indeed *Aristotle's* First Immoveable Mover is no Mundane Soul, but an Abstract Intellect Separate from Matter, and the very Deity it self; whose manner of moving the Heavens is thus described by him, κινεῖ ὡς ἐρώμενον, It Moveth only as being Loved: wherefore besides this Supreme Unmoved Mover, that Philosopher supposed another Inferiour Moved Mover also, that is, a Mundane Soul, as the Proper and Immediate Efficient Cause of the Heavenly Motions; of which he speaks after this manner, κινούμενον ὃ τὰλλα κινεῖ, that which it self being moved, (objectively, or by Appetite and Desire of the First Good) moveth other things. And thus that safe and sure-footed Interpreter, *Alex. Aphrodisius*, expounds his Masters Meaning; That the Heaven being Animated, and therefore indeed Moved by an Internal Principle of its own, is notwithstanding Originally moved, by a certain Immoveable and Separate Nature, which is above Soul, τὰ νοεῖν τε αὐτὸ καὶ ἐφ' ἑσιν καὶ ὀρεξίαν ἔχον τὸ ὁμοιωσέως αὐτῷ, both by its contemplating of it, and having an Appetite and Desire, of assimilating it self thereunto. *Aristotle* seeming to have borrowed this Notion from *Plato*, who makes the Constant Regular Circumgyration of the Heavens, to be an Imitation of the Motion or Energy of Intellect. So that *Aristotle's* First Mover, is not properly the Efficient, but only the Final and Objective Cause, of the Heavenly Motions, the Immediate Efficient Cause thereof being ψυχή καὶ φύσις, Soul and Nature.

Quaest. Nat. I.
l. c. 1.

Neither may this be Confuted from those other *Aristotelick* Intelligences of the Lesser Orbs; that Philosopher conceiving in like manner concerning them, that they were also the Abstract Minds or Intellects of certain

certain other inferior Souls, which moved their several Respective Bodies or Orbs, Circularly and Uniformly, in a kind of Imitation of them. For this plainly appears from hence, in that he affirms of these his *Inferiour Intelligences* likewise as well as of the *Supreme Mover*, that they do *κινῆν ὡς τέλος*, *Move only as the end*.

Where it is Evident, that though *Aristotle* did plainly suppose a *Mundane Intellectual Soul*, such as also contained, either in it, or under it, a *Plastick Nature*, yet he did not make either of these to be the *Supreme Deity*; but resolved the First Principle of things, to be *One Absolutely Perfect Mind or Intellect*, *Separate from Matter*, which was ἀκίνητος ὥς ἑαυτῇ, *an Immoveable Nature*, whose *Essence was his Operation*, and which Moved only as being Loved, or as the *Final Cause*: of which he pronounces in this manner, ὅτι ἐκ τοιαύτης ἀρχῆς ἡγετῆται ὁ οὐρανὸς καὶ ἡ φύσις, *That upon such a Principle as this, Heaven and Nature depends*; that is, the *Animated Heaven*, or *Mundane Soul*, together with the *Plastick Nature* of the Universe, must of necessity depend upon such an *Absolutely Perfect*, and *Immoveable Mind or Intellect*. Met. L. 14. c. 7. Par.

Having now declared the *Aristotelick Doctrine* concerning the *Plastick Nature* of the Universe, with which the *Platonick* also agrees, that it is, ἢ μέρος ψυχῆς, ἢ μὴ ἀντὶ ψυχῆς, *either Part of a Mundane Intellectual Soul*, (that is a *Lower Power and Faculty* of it) or *else not without it, but some inferior thing depending on it*; we think fit to add in this place, that though there were no such *Mundane Soul*, as both *Plato* and *Aristotle* supposed, distinct from the *Supreme Deity*, yet there might notwithstanding be a *Plastick Nature* of the Universe, depending immediately upon the *Deity it self*. For the *Plastick Nature* essentially depends upon *Mind or Intellect*, and could not possibly be without it; according to those words before cited, ἐκ τοιαύτης ἀρχῆς ἡγετῆται ἡ φύσις, *Nature depends upon such an Intellectual Principle*; and for this Cause that *Philosopher* does elsewhere joyn *νῦς* and *φύσις*, *Mind and Nature* both together.

25. Besides this *General Plastick Nature* of the Universe, and those *Particular Plastick Powers* in the *Souls of Animals*, it is not impossible but that there may be other *Plastick Natures* also (as certain *Lower Lives*, or *Vegetative Souls*) in some *Greater Parts* of the Universe; all of them depending, if not upon some higher *Conscious Soul*, yet at least upon a *Perfect Intellect*, presiding over the whole. As for Example; Though it be not reasonable to think, that every *Plant*, *Herb* and *Pile of Grass*, hath a *Particular Plastick Life*, or *Vegetative Soul* of its own, distinct from the *Mechanism* of the Body; nor that the whole *Earth* is an *Animal* endued with a *Conscious Soul*: yet there may possibly be, for ought we know, one *Plastick Nature* or *Life*, belonging to the whole *Terrestrial* (or *Terraqueous*) *Globe*, by which all *Plants* and *Vegetables*, continuous with it, may be differently formed, according to their different *Seeds*, as also *Minerals* and other *Bodies* framed, and whatsoever else is above the *Power* of *Fortuitous Mechanism* effected, as by the *Immediate Cause*, though

always Subordinate to other Causes, the chief whereof is the Deity. And this perhaps may ease the Minds of those, who cannot but think it too much, to impose all upon one Plastick Nature of the Universe.

26. And now we have finished our First Task, which was to give an Account of the *Plastick Nature*, the Sum whereof briefly amounts to this; That it is a certain *Lower Life* than the *Animal*, which acts *Regularly* and *Artificially*, according to the Direction of *Mind* and *Understanding*, *Reason* and *Wisdom*, for *Ends*, or in Order to *Good*, though it self do not know the Reason of what it does, nor is *Master* of that *Wisdom* according to which it acts, but only a *Servant* to it, and *Drudging Executioner* of the same; it operating *Fatally* and *Sympathetically*, according to *Laws* and *Commands*, prescribed to it by a *Perfect Intellect*, and imprest upon it; and which is either a *Lower Faculty* of some *Conscious Soul*, or else an *Inferiour kind of Life* or *Soul* by it self; but essentially depending upon an *Higher Intellect*.

We procede to our *Second Undertaking*; which was to shew, how grossly those Two Sorts of *Atheists* before mentioned, the *Stoical* or *Cosmo-plastick*, and the *Stratonical* or *Hylozoick*, both of them acknowledging this *Plastick Life of Nature*, do mistake the Notion of it, or Pervert it and Abuse it, to make a certain Spurious and Counterfeit God-Almighty of it, (or a *First Principle* of all things) thereby excluding the True Omnipotent Deity, which is a *Perfect Mind*, or *Consciously Understanding Nature*, presiding over the Universe; they substituting this Stupid *Plastick Nature* in the room of it.

Now the Chief Errors or Mistakes of these *Atheists* concerning the *Plastick Nature*, are these *Four* following. First, that they make that to be the *First Principle* of all, and the *Highest thing* in the Universe, which is the *Last* and *Lowest* of all *Lives*; a thing Essentially *Secondary*, *Derivative* and *Dependent*. For the *Plastick Life of Nature* is but the mere *Umbrage* of *Intellectuality*, a faint and shadowy *Imitation* of *Mind* and *Understanding*; upon which it doth as Essentially depend, as the Shadow doth upon the Body, the Image in the Glass upon the Face, or the Echo upon the Original Voice. So that if there had been no *Perfect Mind* or *Intellect* in the World, there could no more have been any *Plastick Nature* in it, than there could be an Image in the Glass without a Face, or an Echo without an Original Voice. If there be $\Psi\upsilon\sigma\iota\varsigma$, then there must be $\text{N}\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$, if there be a *Plastick Nature*, that acts *Regularly* and *Artificially* in Order to *Ends*, and according to the *Best Wisdom*, though it self not comprehending the reason of it, nor being clearly *Conscious* of what it doth; then there must of necessity be a *Perfect Mind* or *Intellect*, that is, a *Deity* upon which it depends. Wherefore *Aristotle* does like a Philosopher in joyning $\Psi\upsilon\sigma\iota\varsigma$ and $\text{N}\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$, *Nature* and *Mind* both together; but these *Atheists* do very Absurdly and Unphilosophically, that would make a *Senseless* and *Inconscious Plastick Nature*, and therefore without any *Mind* or *Intellect*, to be the *First Original* of all things.

Secondly, these *Atheists* augment the Former Error, in supposing those

those Higher *Lives of Sense or Animality*, and of *Reason or Understanding*, to rise both of them from that Lower *Senseless Life of Nature*, as the only *Original Fundamental Life*. Which is a thing altogether as *Irrational and Absurd*, as if one should suppose the *Light* that is in the *Air or Æther*, to be the *Only Original and Fundamental Light*, and the *Light of the Sun and Stars* but a *Secondary and Derivative* thing from it, and nothing but the *Light of the Air Modified and Improved* by *Condensation*. Or as if one should maintain that the *Sun and Moon*, and all the *Stars*, were really nothing else, but the mere *Reflections* of those *Images* that we see in *Rivers and Ponds of Water*. But this hath always been the *Sottish Humour and Guise of Atheists*, to invert the *Order of the Universe*, and hang the *Picture of the World*, as of a *Man*, with its *Heels upwards*. *Conscious Reason and Understanding*, being a far higher *Degree of Life and Perfection*, than that *Dull Plastick Nature*, which does only *Do*, but not *Know*, can never possibly emerge out of it; neither can the *Duplication of Corporeal Organs* be ever able to advance that *Simple and Stupid Life of Nature* into *Redoubled Consciousness or Self-perception*; nor any *Triplification* or indeed *Milleclupation* of them, improve the same into *Reasoning Understanding*.

Thirdly; for the better *Colouring of the Former Errors*, the *Hylozoists* adulterate the *Notion of the Plastick Life of Nature*, confounding it with *Wisdom and Understanding*. And though themselves acknowledge, that no *Animal-sense, Self-perception and Consciousness* belongs to it, yet they will have it to be a thing *Perfectly Wise*, and consequently every *Atom of Senseless Matter* that is in the whole *World*, to be *Infallibly Omniscient*, as to all its own *Capacities and Congruities*, or whatsoever it self can *Do or Suffer*; which is plainly *Contradictious*. For though there may be such a thing as the *Plastick Nature*, that according to the *Former Description* of it, can *Do* without *Knowing*, and is devoid of *Express Consciousness or Self-perception*, yet *Perfect Knowledge and Understanding* without *Consciousness*, is *Non-sence and Impossibility*. Wherefore this must needs be condemned for a great piece of *Sottishness*, in the *Hylozoick Atheists*, that they attribute *Perfect Wisdom and Understanding* to a *Stupid Inconscious Nature*, which is nothing but *χρηστέον*, the mere *Drudging Instrument*, or *Manuary Opificer of Perfect Mind*.

Lastly, these *Atheists* err in this, that they make this *Plastick Life of Nature*, to be a mere *Material or Corporeal thing*; whereas *Matter or Body* cannot move it self, much less therefore can it *Artificially* order and dispose its own *Motion*. And though the *Plastick Nature* be indeed the *Lowest of all Lives*, yet notwithstanding since it is a *Life*, or *Internal Energy*, and *Self-activity*, distinct from *Local Motion*, it must needs be *Incorporeal*, all *Life* being *Essentially* such. But the *Hylozoists* conceive grossly both of *Life and Understanding*, spreading them all over upon *Matter*, just as *Butter* is spread upon *Bread*, or *Plaster* upon a *Wall*, and accordingly slicing them out, in different *Quantities and Bulks*, together with it; they contending that they
are

are but *Inadequate Conceptions* of Body, as the only Substance; and consequently concluding, that the Vulgarly received *Notion of God*, is nothing else but such an *Inadequate Conception of the Matter* of the Whole Corporeal Universe, mistaken for a Complete and Entire Substance by it self, that is supposed to be the Cause of all things. Which fond Dream or Dotage of theirs, will be further confuted in due place. But it is now time to put a Period, to this long (though necessary) *Digression*, concerning the *Plastick Life of Nature*, or an *Artificial, Orderly and Methodical Nature*.

XXXVIII. *Plato* gives an accompt, why he judged it necessary in those times, publickly to propose that *Atheistick Hypothesis*, in order to a Confutation, as also to produce Rational Arguments for the Proof of a Deity, after this manner; *εἰ μὴ κατέσπαρμένοι ἦσαν οἱ τοῖσιν λόγοι ἐν τοῖς πόσιν, ὡς ἔπ' αὖ εἰπεῖν, ἀνθρώποις, ὅδεῖ ἀν' ἑδ' αὖ ἔπειτα ἐπαμυνόντων λόγων, ὡς εἰσὶ θεοὶ, νῦν δ' ἀνάγκη* Had not these *Atheistick Doctrines* been publickly divulged, and made known in a manner to all, it would not have been needful to have confuted them, nor by Reasons to prove a Deity; but now it is necessary. And we conceive that the same Necessity at this time, will justifie our present undertaking likewise; since these *Atheistick Doctrines* have been as boldly vented, and publickly asserted in this latter Age of ours, as ever they could be in *Plato's* time. When the severity of the Athenian Government, must needs be a great check to such Designs, *Socrates* having been put to death upon a mere false and groundless Accusation of *Atheism*, and *Protagoras*, (who doubtless was a Real Atheist) having escaped the same punishment no otherwise than by flight, his Books being notwithstanding publickly burnt in the Market-place at *Athens*, and himself condemned to perpetual Exile, though there was nothing at that time proved against him, save only this one Sceptical Passage, in the beginning of a Book of his, *περὶ μὲν δὲ οὐκ ἔχω εἰπεῖν, εἰδ' ὡς εἰσὶν, εἰδ' ὡς οὐ εἰσὶ, πολλὰ γὰρ τὰ χαλίσματα εἰδέναι, ἥτε ἀδιότῃς, ἢ, ὅσον ἂν ὁ βίος τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ* Concerning the Gods, I have nothing at all to say, either that they be or be not; there being many things that hinder the knowledge of this Matter, both the Obscurity of the thing it self, and the shortness of humane Life. Whereas *Atheism* in this Latter Age of ours, hath been impudently asserted, and most industriously promoted: that very Atomick Form, that was first introduced (a little before *Plato's* time) by *Leucippus*, *Protagoras* and *Democritus*, having been also Revived amongst us, and that with no small Pomp and Ostentation of Wisdom and Philosophy.

Diog. La. in
Vita Prot.

It was before observed that there were Two several *Forms of Atomical Philosophy*; First, the most Ancient and Genuine that was Religious, called *Moschical* (or if you will *Mosaical*) and *Pythagorical*; Secondly, the *Adulterated Atheistick Atomology*, called *Leucippean* or *Democritical*. Now accordingly, there have been in this Latter Age of ours, Two several successive *Resurrections* or *Restitutions* of those Two Atomologies. For *Renatus Cartesius* first revived and restored the Atomick Philosophy, agreeably for the most part, to that ancient *Moschical* and *Pythagorick Form*, acknowledging besides *Extended Substance*

Substance and Corporeal Atoms, another *Cogitative Incorporeal Substance*, and joyning *Metaphysicks* or *Theology*, together with *Physiology*, to make up one entire *System of Philosophy*. Nor can it well be doubted, but that this *Physiology* of his, as to the *Mechanick* part of it, hath been Elaborated by the ingenious Author, into an Exactness at least equal with the best *Atomologies* of the Ancients. Nevertheless, this Cartesian Philosophy is highly obnoxious to Censure upon some Accompts, the Chief whereof is this; That deviating from that Primitive *Moschical Atomology*, in rejecting all *Plastick Nature*, it derives the whole System of the Corporeal Universe, from the *Necessary Motion of Matter*, only divided into Particles Insensibly small, and turned round in a *Vortex*, without the Guidance or Direction of any *Understanding Nature*. By means whereof, though it boast of Salving all the *Corporeal Phenomena*, by mere *Fortuitous Mechanism*, and without any *Final* or *Mental Causality*, yet it gives no Accompt at all of that which is the Grandest of all *Phenomena*, the τὸ εὖ καὶ καλῶς, *The Orderly Regularity and Harmony of the Mundane System*. The Occasion of which Miscarriage hath been already intimated, namely from the acknowledging only *Two Heads* of Being, *Extended* and *Cogitative*, and making the *Essence of Cogitation* to consist in *Express Consciousness*; from whence it follows, that there could be no *Plastick Nature*, and therefore either all things must be done by *Fortuitous Mechanism*, or else God himself be brought Immediately upon the Stage, for the salving of all *Phenomena*. Which Latter Absurdity, our Philosopher being over careful to avoid, cast himself upon the Former, the banishing of all *Final* and *Mental Causality* quite out of the World, and acknowledging no other Philosophick Causes, beside *Material* and *Mechanical*. It cannot be denied, but that even some of the ancient Religious Atomists, were also too much infected with this *Mechanizing Humour*; but *Renatus Cartesius* hath not only outdone them all herein, but even the very Atheists themselves also, as shall be shewed afterward. And therefore as much as in him lies, has quite disarmed the World, of that grand Argument for a Deity, taken from the *Regular Frame and Harmony of the Universe*. To which Gross Miscarriage of his, there might be also another added, That he seems to make Matter *Necessarily Existent*, and *Essentially Infinite and Eternal*. Notwithstanding all which, we cannot entertain that Uncharitable Opinion of him, that he really designed *Atheism*, the Fundamental Principles of his Philosophy being such, as that no Atheistick Structure can possibly be built upon them. But shortly after this Cartesian *Restitution* of the *Primitive Atomology* that acknowledgeth *Incorporeal Substance*, we have had our *Leucippus* and *Democritus* too, who also revived and brought again upon the Stage, that other *Atheistick Atomology*, that makes ἀνευ τῆς ὄλης αἰτίας, *Senseless and Lifeless Atoms*, to be the only Principles of all things in the Universe, thereby necessarily excluding, besides *Incorporeal Substance* and *Immortality of Souls*, a *Deity* and *Natural Morality*; as also making all Actions and Events, *Materially* and *Mechanically necessary*.

Now there could be no Satisfactory Confutation of this Atheistick Hypothesis, without a fair Proposal first made of the several Grounds of

of it, to their best advantage, which we have therefore endeavour'd in the Former Chapter. The *Answers* to which *Atheistick Arguments*, ought, according to the Laws of Method, to be reserved for the Last Part of the whole Treatise, where we are positively to determine the *Right Intellectual System of the Universe*; it being properly our Work here, only to give an Account of the *Three False Hypotheses* of the *Mundane System*, together with their several *Grounds*. Nevertheless, because it might not only seem Indecorous, for the *Answers* to those *Atheistick Arguments*, to be so long deferred, and placed so far behind the *Arguments* themselves, but also prove otherwise really Inconvenient, we shall therefore choose rather to break those *Laws of Method*, (neglecting the *Scrupulosity* thereof) and subjoyn them immediately in this place, craving the *Readers Pardon* for this *Preposterousness*.

It is certain that the *Source* of all *Atheism*, is generally a Dull and Earthy Disbelief of the Existence of things beyond the Reach of Sense; and it cannot be denied but that there is something of *Immorality* in the Temper of all *Atheists*, as all *Atheistick Doctrine* tends also to *Immorality*. Notwithstanding which, it must not be therefore concluded, that all *Dogmatick Atheists* came to be such, merely by means of *Gross Intemperance*, *Sensuality*, and *Debauchery*. *Plato* indeed describes one sort of *Atheists* in this manner; οἷς ἂν πρὸς τῇ δόξῃ, τῇ θεῶν ἕνεκα εἶναι πολλὰ, ἀναστῆσαι τε καὶ λυπῶν περσάσθαι, μνημαὶ τε ἰσχυροὶ καὶ μαθηδὸς ἰσχυροὶ παρῶν. Such who together with this Opinion, that all things are void of Gods, are acted also by Intemperance of Pleasures and Pains, and hurried away with Violent Lusts, being Persons otherwise endued with strong Memories, and quick Wits. And these are the *Debauched*, *Ranting*, and *Hectoring Atheists*. But besides These, that *Philosopher* tells us, that there is another Sort of *Atheists* also, οἷς μὴ νομίζουσι θεὸς εἶναι τὸ παρῶν, ὡς φιλοσοφῶντες ἀνθρώπων, οἷς μὴ νομίζουσι θεὸς εἶναι τὸ παρῶν, οἷς μὴ νομίζουσι θεὸς εἶναι τὸ παρῶν, οἷς μὴ νομίζουσι θεὸς εἶναι τὸ παρῶν. Such, who though they think there be no Gods at all, yet notwithstanding being naturally disposed to Justice and Moderation, as they will not do Outragious and Exorbitant things themselves, so they will shun the Conversation of wicked debauched persons, and delight rather in the Society of those that are Fair and Just. And these are a sort of *Externally honest*, or *Civilized Atheists*. Now what that thing is, which besides *Gross Sensuality* and *Debauchery*, might tempt men to entertain *Atheistick Opinions*, the same *Philosopher* also declares; namely that it is, an *Affectation of Singularity*, or of seeming Wiser than the Generality of Mankind. For thus when *Clinias* had disputed honestly against *Atheists*, from those *Vulgar Topicks*, of the *Regularity* and *Harmony* of the *Universe* (observable in the *Courses* of *Sun*, *Moon* and *Stars*, and the *Seasons* of the *Year*) and of the common *Notions* of *Mankind*, in that both *Greeks* and *Barbarians* generally agreed in this, that there were *Gods*, thinking he had thereby made a *Sufficient Confutation* of *Atheism*, the *Athenian Hospes* hereupon discovers a great *Fear* and *Jealousie* which he had, lest he should thereby but render himself an

Di Leg. l. 10.
p. 908.

ibid.

an Object of Contempt to Atheists, as being a conceited and scornful Generation of men. ΑΘ. φοβέμαι γὰρ ὡς μακάρετε τὸς ἠοχθινούς, μήπως ὑμῶν καταφρονήσωσιν, ὑμεῖς μὲν γὰρ ἐν ἰσῇ αὐτῇ πέρε, τὼ δὲ διαφορῆς αἰτίαν, ἀλλ' ἠγείσθε ἀκριβεία μόνον ἠδονῶν τε καὶ ἐπιθυμιῶν ἐπὶ τῇ ἀκριβείᾳ βίον ὀρεῖσθαι τοῖς ψυχαῖς αὐτῇ, &c. I am afraid of those wicked men

the Atheists, lest they should despise you: For you are ignorant concerning them, when you think the only Cause of Atheism to be Intemperance of Pleasures and Lusts, violently hurrying mens Souls on to a wicked Life. Clin. What other Cause of Atheism can there be besides this?

Ath. That which you are not aware of, who live remotely, namely, Ἀμαθία μάλα χαλεπὴ δοῦσα εἶναι μέγιστον φερόμενος. A certain grievous Ignorance, which yet notwithstanding hath the appearance of the greatest Wisdom. And therefore afterwards, when that Philosopher goes about to propose the Atheistick Hypothesis, he calls it, τὸ ὅτι πολλοῖς δεξιόχρηστον εἶναι σοφώτατον ἀπάντων λόγων, That which to many seemeth to be the Wifest and Profoundest of all Doctrines.

And we find the same thing at this very day, that Atheists make a great Pretence to Wisdom and Philosophy, and that many are tempted to maintain Atheistick Opinions, that they may gain a Reputation of Wit by it. Which indeed was one Reason that the rather induced us, nakedly to reveal all the Mysteries of Atheism, because we observed, that so long as these things are concealed and kept up in Huggermugger, many will be the rather apt to suspect, that there is some great Depth and Profundity of Wisdom lodged in them, and that it is some Noble and Generous Truth, which the Bigotick Religionists endeavour to smother and oppress.

Now the Case being thus, it was pertinently suggested also, by the forementioned Philosopher, ὅτι συμμετρὸν γὰρ τὸ διαφερόν, εἰ φαίνεται οἱ λόγοι ἀπρόσμενοι ἀσέβων, ἄλλοις τε ἐξάχροντες, μηδὲ εὖ τοῖς λόγοις, ἀλλ' ἐρηματικῶς χεῶμενοι, That it must needs be a Matter of no small moment, for any one to make it appear, that they who maintain wicked Atheistical Opinions, do none of them reason rightly, but grossly fumble in all their Ratiocinations. And we hope to effect this in our present Undertaking, to make it evident, that Atheists are no such Conjurers, as (though they hold no Spirits) they would be thought to be; no such Gigantick men of Reason, nor Profound Philosophers, but that notwithstanding all their Pretensions to Wit, their Atheism is really nothing else, but ἀμαθία μάλα χαλεπὴ, a most Grievous Ignorance, Stupidity and Stupidity of Mind in them.

Wherefore we shall in the next place, Conjure down all those Devils raised and displayed in their most Formidable Colours, in the Precedent Chapter; or rather we shall discover that they are really nothing else, but what these Atheists pretend God and Incorporeal Spirits to be, *Mere Phantastick Spectres and Impostures*, Vain Imaginations of deluded Minds, utterly devoid of all Truth and Reality. Neither shall we only Confute those Atheistick Arguments, and so stand upon our defensive Posture; but we shall also assault Atheism even with its own Weapons, and plainly demonstrate, that all Forms
of

of Atheism are unintelligible Nonsense, and Absolute Impossibility to Humane Reason. As we shall likewise over and above, Occasionally insert some (as we think) Undeniable Arguments for a Deity.

The Digression concerning the *Plastick* Life of Nature, or an *Artificial*, *Orderly* and *Methodical* Nature, N. 37. Chap. 3.

1. That neither the Hylozoick nor Cosmo-plastick Atheists are condemned for asserting an Orderly and Artificial Plastick Nature, as a Life distinct from the Animal, however this be a Thing exploded, not only by the Atomick Atheists, but also by some Professed Theists, who notwithstanding might have an undiscerned Tang of the Mechanically-Atheistick Humour hanging about them.
2. If there be no Plastick Artificial Nature admitted, then it must be concluded, that either all things come to pass by Fortuitous Mechanism, and Material Necessity (the Motion of Matter unguided) or else that God doth $\omega\tau\epsilon\gamma\epsilon\upsilon\nu \ \alpha\pi\alpha\upsilon\lambda\alpha$, do all things himself Immediately and Miraculously, framing the Body of every Gnat and Fly, as it were with his own hands; since Divine Laws and Commands cannot Execute themselves, nor be the proper Efficient Causes of things in Nature.
3. To suppose all things to come to pass Fortuitously, or by the Unguided Motion of Matter, a thing altogether as Irrational as it is Atheistical and Impious; there being many Phænomena, not only above the Powers of Mechanism, but also contrary to the Laws of it. The Mechanick Theists make God but an Idle Spectator of the Fortuitous Motions of Matter, and render his Wisdom altogether Useless and Insignificant. Aristotle's Judicious Censure of the Fortuitous Mechanists, with the Ridiculousness of that Pretence, that Material and Mechanical Reasons are the Only Philosophical.
4. That it seems neither decorous in respect of God, nor congruous to Reason, that he should $\omega\tau\epsilon\gamma\epsilon\upsilon\nu \ \alpha\pi\alpha\upsilon\lambda\alpha$, do all things himself Immediately and Miraculously, Nature being quite Superjeded and made to signify nothing. The same further confuted by the Slow and Gradual Process of things in Nature, as also by those Errors and Bungles that are committed, when the Matter proves Inept and Contumacious, arguing the Agent not to be Irresistible.
5. Reasonably inferred, that there is a Plastick Nature in the Universe, as a Subordinate Instrument of Divine Providence, in the Orderly Disposal of Matter; but yet so as not without a Higher Providence presiding over it, forasmuch as this Plastick Nature, cannot act Electively or with Discretion. Those Laws of Nature concerning Motion, which the Mechanick Theists themselves suppose, really nothing else but a Plastick Nature.
6. The Agreeableness of this Doctrine with the Sentiments of the best Philosophers in all Ages, Aristotle, Plato, Empedocles, Heraclitus, Hippocrates,

pocrates, Zeno and the Paracelsians. Anaxagoras, though a Professed Theist, severely censur'd, both by Aristotle and Plato, as an Encourager of Atheism, merely because he used Material and Mechanical Causes more than Mental and Final. Physiologists and Astronomers why vulgarly suspected of Atheism in Plato's time. 7. The Plastick Nature, no Occult Quality, but the only Intelligible Cause of that which is the Grandest of all Phænomena, the Orderly Regularity and Harmony of Things, which the Mechanick Theists, however pretending to solve all Phænomena, can give no account at all of. A God, or Infinite Mind, asserted by them, in vain and to no purpose. 8. Two Things here to be performed by us; First to give an Account of the Plastick Nature, and then to shew how the Notion of it hath been Mistaken, and Abused by Atheists. The First General Account of this Plastick Nature according to Aristotle, that it is to be conceived as Art it self acting, Inwardly and Immediately upon the Matter: as if Harmony Living in the Musical Instruments, should move the Strings of them, without any External Impulse. 9. Two Preeminencies of the Plastick Nature above Humane Art. First, that whereas Humane Art acts upon the Matter from without Cumberse-ly and Moliminously, with Tumult and Hurliburly, Nature acting on it from within more Commandingly, doth its Work Easily, Cleaverly and Silently. Humane Art acts on the Matter Mechanically, but Nature Vitally and Magically. 10. The Second Preeminence of Nature above Humane Art, that, whereas Humane Artists are often to seek and at a loss, anxiously Consult and Deliberate, and upon Second thoughts Mend their former Work, Nature is never to seek, nor Unresolved what to do, nor doth she ever Repent afterwards of what she hath done, changing her Former Course. Humane Artists themselves Consult not, as Artists, but only for want of Art; and therefore Nature, though never Consulting, may act Artificially. Concluded, that what is called Nature, is really the Divine Art. 11. Nevertheless, that Nature is not the Divine Art, Pure and Abstract, but Concreted and Embodied in Matter: Ratio Mersa & Confusa: Not the Divine Art Archetypal, but Ectypal. Nature differs from the Divine Art, as the Manuary Officer from the Architect. 12. Two Imperfections of the Plastick Nature, in respect whereof it falls short even of Humane Art; First, That though it act for Ends Artificially, yet it self neither Intends those Ends, nor Understands the Reason of what it doth, and therefore cannot act Electively. The Difference between the Spermatick Reasons and Knowledge. Nature doth but Ape or Mimick the Divine Art or Wisdom, being not Master of that Reason, according to which it acts, but only a Servant to it, and Drudging Executioner of it. 13. Proved that there may be such a thing as acts Artificially, though it self do not comprehend that Art, by which its Actions are Governed, First from Musical Habits; The Dauncer resembles the Artificial Life of Nature. 14. The same further evinced from the Instincts of Brute-animals, directing them to act Rationally and Artificially, in order to their own Good and the Good of the Universe, without any Reason of their own. The Instincts in Brutes but Passive Impresses of the Divine Wisdom, and a kind of Fate upon them. 15. The Second Imperfection of the Plastick Nature, that it

acts without Animal Phancy, *συναισθησις*, Express Con-sense, and Con-sciousness, and is devoid of Self-perception and Self-enjoyment.

16. Whether this Energy of the Plastick Nature, be to be called Cogitation or no, but a Logomachy or Contention about Words. Granted that what moves Matter Vitally, must needs do it by some Energy of its own, distinct from Local Motion; but that there may be a simple Vital Energy, without that Duplicity which is in Synæsthesis, or clear and express Consciousness. Nevertheless that the Energy of Nature might be called a certain Drowse, Unawakened, or Astonish'd Cogitation.

17. Instances which render it probable, that there may be a Vital Energy, without Synæsthesis, clear and express Con-sense, or Consciousness.

18. The Plastick Nature, acting neither Knowingly nor Phantastically, acts Fatally, Magically and Sympathetically. The Divine Laws and Fate, as to Matter, not mere Cogitation in the Mind of God, but an Energetick and Effectual Principle; and the Plastick Nature, the true and proper Fate of Matter, or the Corporeal World. What Magick is, and that Nature which acts Fatally, acts also Magically and Sympathetically.

19. That the Plastick Nature, though it be the Divine Art and Fate, yet for all that, it is neither God nor Goddess, but a Low and Imperfect Creature, it acting Artificially and Rationally no otherwise, than compounded Forms of Letters, when printing Coherent Philosophick Sense, nor for Ends, than a Saw or Hatchet in the hands of a skilful Mechanick. The Plastick and Vegetative Life of Nature the Lowest of all Lives, and Inferiour to the Sensitive. A Higher Providence than that of the Plastick Nature governing the Corporeal World it self.

20. Notwithstanding which, forasmuch as the Plastick Nature is a Life, it must needs be Incorporeal. One and the same thing, having in it an entire Model and Platform, and acting upon several distant parts of Matter at once coherently, cannot be Corporeal; and though Aristotle no where declare whether his Nature be Corporeal or Incorporeal (which he neither doth clearly concerning the Rational Soul) and his Followers conclude it to be Corporeal, yet according to the very Principles of that Philosophy it must needs be otherwise.

21. The Plastick Nature being Incorporeal, must either be a Lower Power lodged in Souls that are also Conscious, Sensitive or Rational; or else a distinct Substantial Life by it self, and Inferiour Kind of Soul. How the Platonists complicate both these together; with Aristotle's agreeable Determination, that Nature is either Part of a Soul, or not without Soul.

22. The Plastick Nature as to Animals, according to Aristotle, a Part or Lower Power of their Respective Souls. That the Phænomena prove a Plastick Nature or Archeus in Animals, to make which a distinct thing from the Soul, is to multiply Entities without necessity. The Soul endued with a Plastick Power, the chief Formatrix of its own Body, the Contribution of certain other Causes not excluded.

23. That besides that Plastick Principle in Particular Animals, forming them as so many Little Worlds, there is a General Plastick Nature in the whole Corporeal Universe, which likewise according to Aristotle is either a Part and Lower Power of a Conscious Mundane Soul, or else something depending on it.

24. That no less according to Aristotle than Plato and Socrates, our selves partake of Life from the Life of the Universe, as well as we do of Heat and Cold, from

from the Heat and Cold of the Universe; from whence it appears, that Aristotle also held the worlds Animation, with further Undeniable Proof thereof. An Answer to Two the most considerable places of that Philosopher that seem to imply the contrary. That Aristotles First Immoveable Mover, was no Soul, but a Perfect Intellect Abstract from Matter, but that he supposed this to move only as a Final Cause, or as being Loved, and besides it a Mundane Soul and Plastick Nature, to move the Heavens Efficiently. Neither Aristotle's Nature nor his Mundane Soul, the Supreme Deity. However, though there be no such Mundane Soul as both Plato and Aristotle conceived, yet notwithstanding there may be a Plastick Nature depending upon a Higher Intellectual Principle. 25. No Impossibility of some other Particular Plastick Principles; and though it be not reasonable to think, that every Plant, Herb, and Pile of Grass hath a Plastick or Vegetative Soul of its own, nor that the Earth is an Animal; yet that there may possibly be One Plastick Inconscious Nature, in the whole Terraqueous Globe, by which Vegetables may be severally organized and framed, and all things performed which transcend the Power of Fortuitous Mechanism. 26. Our Second Undertaking, which was to shew how grossly those Atheists, (who acknowledge this Plastick Nature) Misunderstand it and Abuse the Notion, to make a Counterfeit God-almighty or Numen of it, to the exclusion of the True Deity. First, in their supposing that to be the First and Highest Principle of the Universe, which is the Last and lowest of all Lives, a thing as Essentially Derivative from, and Dependent upon a Higher Intellectual Principle, as the Eccho on the Original Voice. 27. Secondly, in their making Sense and Reason in Animals to Emerge out of a Senseless Life of Nature, by the mere Modification and Organization of Matter. That no Duplication of Corporeal Organs, can ever make One Single Inconscious Life, to advance into Redoubled Consciousness and Self-enjoyment. 28. Thirdly, in attributing Perfect Knowledge and Understanding to this Life of Nature, which yet themselves suppose to be devoid of all Animal Sense and Consciousness. 29. Lastly, in making the Plastick Life of Nature to be merely Corporeal; the Hylozoists contending that it is but an Inadequate Conception of Body, as the only Substance, and fondly dreaming, that the Vulgar Notion of God, is nothing but such an Inadequate Conception of the Matter of the Whole Universe, mistaken for a Complete and Entire Substance by it self, the Cause of all things.



CHAP. IV.

The Idea of God declared, in way of Answer to the First Atheistick Argument. The Grand Prejudice against the Naturality of this Idea, as Essentially including Unity or Oneliness in it, from the Pagan Polytheism, removed. Proved that the Intelligent Pagans generally acknowledged One Supreme Deity. What their Polytheism and Idolatry was: with some Account of Christianity. 1. The either Stupid Insensibility or Gross Impudence of Atheists, in denying the word GOD, to have any Signification, or that there is any other Idea answering to it, besides the mere Phantasm of the Sound. The Disease called by the Philosopher, ἀνοητικὸς τὸ νοῦν, the Petrification (or Dead Insensibility) of the Mind. 2. That the Atheists themselves must needs have an Idea of God in their minds, or otherwise when they deny his Existence, they should deny the Existence of Nothing. And that they have also the same Idea of him with Theists, they denying the very same thing which the others affirm. 3. A Lemma or Preparatory Proposition to the Idea of God, That though some things be Made or Generated, yet it is not possible that all things should be Made, but something must of Necessity Exist of it self from Eternity Unmade, and be the Cause of those other things that are Made. 4. The Two most Opposite Opinions, concerning that which was Self-existent from Eternity or Unmade, and the Cause of all other things Made: One, That it was nothing but Senseless Matter, the most Imperfect of all things; The Other, That it was something Most Perfect, and therefore Consciously Intellectual. The Asserters of this latter Opinion, Theists in a strict and proper sense; of the former, Atheists. So that the Idea of God in general, is a Perfect Consciously Understanding Being (or Mind) Self-existent from Eternity, and the Cause of all other things. 5. Observed, That the Atheists who deny a God, according to the true Idea of him, do often Abuse the word, calling Senseless Matter by that Name, and meaning nothing else thereby, but a First Principle or Self-existent Unmade thing. That according to this Notion of the word God, there can be no such thing as an Atheist, no man being able to persuade himself, that all things sprung from Nothing. 6. In order to the more punctual Declaration of the Divine Idea, the Opinion of those taken notice of, who suppose Two Self-existent Unmade Principles, God and Matter, and so God not to be the Sole but only the

Chief Principle. 7. That these are but Imperfect and Mistaken Theists. Their Idea of God declared, with its Defectiveness. A Latitude in Theism. None to be condemned for Absolute Atheists, but such as deny an Eternal Unmade Mind, ruling over the matter. 8. The most Compendious Idea of God, An Absolutely Perfect Being. That this includes not only Conscious Intellectuality and Necessary Existence, but also, Omni-causality, Omnipotence and Infinite Power: and therefore God, the sole Principle of all, and Cause of Matter. The true Notion of Infinite Power. Pagans acknowledged the Divine Omnipotence. And that the Atheists supposed Infinite Power to be included in the Idea of God, proved from Lucretius. 9. That absolute Perfection implies something more than Power and Knowledge. A Vaticination in mens minds of a Higher Good than either. That God is Better than Knowledge, according to Aristotle: and that there is Morality in the Nature of God, wherein his chief Happiness consisteth. This borrowed from Plato, who makes the Highest Perfection, and Supreme Deity, to be Goodness it self, above Knowledge and Intellect. God, and the Supreme Good, according to the Scripture, Love. God no soft or fond Love, but an Impartial Law, and the Measure of all things. That the Atheists supposed Goodness also to be included in the Idea of God. The Idea of God more Explicate and Unfolded, A Being absolutely Perfect, Infinitely Good, Wise and Powerful, Necessarily Existent, and not only the Framers of the World, but also the Cause of all things. 10. That this Idea of God Essentially includes Unity or Oneliness in it; since there can be but One Supreme, One Cause of all things, One Omnipotent, and One Infinitely Perfect. This Unity or Oneliness of the Deity, supposed also by Epicurus and Lucretius, who professedly denied a God according to this Idea. 11. The Grand Prejudice against the Naturality of this Idea of God, as it Essentially includes Unity and Solitariness, from the Polytheism of all Nations formerly, besides the Jews, and of all the wisest men and Philosophers; from whence it is inferred, that this Idea of God is but Artificial, and owes its Original to Laws and Institution. An Enquiry to be made concerning the true sense of the Pagan Polytheism. That the Objectors take it for granted, that the Pagan Polytheists universally asserted, Many Self-existent Intellectual Beings, and Independent Deities, as so many Partial Causes of the World. 12. First, the Irrationality of this Opinion, and its manifest Repugnancy to the Phænomena, which render it less probable, to have been the Belief of all the Pagan Polytheists. 13. Secondly, That no such thing at all appears, as that ever any Intelligent Pagans asserted a Multitude of Eternal, Unmade, Independent Deities. The Hesiodian Gods. The Valentinian Æons. The nearest Approach made thereunto by the Manichean Good and Evil Gods. This Doctrine not generally asserted by the Greek Philosophers, as Plutarch affirmeth. Questioned whether the Persian Evil Damon or Arimanius, were a Self-existent Principle, Essentially Evil. Aristotle's Confutation and Exploison of Many Principles, or Independent Deities. Faustus the Manichean his Conceit, that the Jews and Christians Paganized, in the Opinion of Monarchy, with St. Austin's Judgment, concerning the Pagans, thereupon. 14. Concluded that the

Pagan

Pagan Polytheism must be understood according to another Equivocation in the word Gods, as used for Created Intellectual Beings, superior to Men, that ought to be Religiously Worshipped. That the Pagans held both Many Gods and One God, (as Onatus the Pythagorean declares himself) in different Sences: Many Inferiour Deities Subordinate to One Supreme. 15. Further Evidence of this, that the Intelligent Pagan Polytheists, held only a Plurality of Inferiour Deities, Subordinate to one Supreme: First because after the Emerision of Christianity, and its contest with Paganism, when occasion was offered, not only no Pagan asserted a Multiplicity of Independent Deities, but also all Universally disclaim'd it, and professed to acknowledge One Supreme God. 16. That this was no Refinement or Interpolation of Paganism, as might possibly be suspected, but that the Doctrine of the most Ancient Pagan Theologers, and greatest Promoters of Polytheism was agreeable hereunto; which will be proved, not from suspected Writings (as of Trismegist and the Sibyls) but such as are Indubitate. First, That Zoroaster the chief Promoter of Polytheism in the Eastern Parts, acknowledged one Supreme Deity, the Maker of the World, proved from Eubulus in Porphyry, besides his own words cited by Eusebius. 17. That Orpheus, commonly called by the Greeks, The Theologer, and the Father of the Greecanick Polytheism, clearly asserted one Supreme Deity, proved by his own words, out of Pagan Records. 18. That the Egyptians themselves, the most Polytheistical of all Nations, had an acknowledgement amongst them of one Supreme Deity. 19. That the Poets, who were the greatest Deprovers of the Pagan Theology, and by their Fables of the Gods, made it look more Aristocratically, did themselves notwithstanding acknowledge a Monarchy, one Prince and Father of Gods. That famous Passage of Sophocles not to be suspected, though not found in any of these Tragedies now extant. 20. That all the Pagan Philosophers, who were Theists, universally asserted a Mundane Monarchy. Pythagoras as much a Polytheist as any, and yet his First Principle of Things, as well as Numbers, a Monad or Unity. Anaxagoras his One Mind ordering all things for Good. Xenophanes his One and All, and his One God the Greatest among the Gods. 21. Parmenides his Supreme God, One Immoveable. Empedocles his both Many Gods Junior to Friendship and Contention, and his One God called τὸ ἐν Senior to them. Zeno Eleates his Demonstration of One God, in Aristotle. 22. Philolaus, his Prince and Governour of all, God always One. Euclides Megarensis his God called ἐν τὸ ἀγαθόν, One the Very Good. Timæus Locrus his Mind and Good, above the Soul of the World. Antisthenes his One Natural God. Onatus his Corypheus. 23. Generally believed and true, that Socrates acknowledged One Supreme God; but that he disclaimed all the Inferiour Gods of the Pagans, a Vulgar Error. Plato also a Polytheist, and that Passage which some lay so great stress upon (That he was serious, when he began his Epistles with God, but when with Gods jocular) Spurious and Counterfeit; and yet he was notwithstanding an undoubted Monotheist also in another sence; an Asserter, of One God over all, of a Maker of the World, of a First God, of a Greatest of the Gods. The First Hypothesis of the Platonick Trinity, properly

ly the King of all things, for whose sake are all things ; The Father of the Cause and Prince of the World, that is, of the Eternal Intellect, or λόγος. 24. Aristotle an Acknowledger of Many Gods (he accounting the Stars such) and yet an express Asserter of ἑνός θεοῦ, One Prince, One Immoveable Mover. 25. Cleanthes and Chrysippus Stoicks, though they filled the whole Heaven, Earth, Air and Sea with Gods ; yet notwithstanding they acknowledged, only One God Immortal, Jupiter ; all the rest being consumed into him, in the successive Conflagrations, and afterwards made anew by him. Cleanthes his excellent and devout Hymn to the Supreme God. 26. Eisdles to cite all the Passages of the later Pagan Writers and Polytheists, in which one Supreme God is asserted. Excellent Discourses in some of them concerning the Deity, particularly Plotinus. Who though he derived all things, even Matter it self, from one Supreme Deity, yet was a Contender for Many Gods. 27. This not only the Opinion of Philosophers and Learned men, but also the General Belief of the Pagan Vulgar ; that there was One Supreme God, proved from Maximus Tyrius. The Romans Deus Optimus Maximus. The Pagans when most serious spake of God singularly. Kyrie Eleeson part of the Pagans Litany to the Supreme God. The more civilized Pagans at this very day acknowledge one Supreme Deity, the Maker of the World. 28. Plutarch's Testimony, that notwithstanding the variety of Paganick Religions, and the different Names of Gods used in them ; yet One Reason, Mind or Providence ordering all things, and its Inferiour Ministers, were alike every where Worshipped. 29. Plain that the Pagan Theists must needs acknowledge One Supreme Deity, because they generally believed, the whole World to be One Animal, governed by One Soul. Some Pagans made this Soul of the World their Supreme God, others an Abstract Mind Superiour to it. 30. The Hebrew Doctors generally of this Perswasion, that the Pagans worshipped one Supreme God, and that all their other Gods were but Mediatours betwixt him and men. 31. Lastly, this confirmed from Scripture. The Pagans Knew God. Aratus his Jupiter, and the Athenians Unknown God, the True God. 32. In order to a fuller Explication of the Pagan Theology, and shewing the Occasion of its being misunderstood, Three Heads requisite to be insisted on. First, that the Pagans worshipped One Supreme God under Many Names : Secondly, that besides this One God, they worshipped also Many Gods, which were indeed Inferiour Deities Subordinate to him : Thirdly, that they worshipped both the Supreme and inferiour Gods in Images, Statues and Symbols, sometimes abusively called also Gods. First, that the Supreme God amongst the Pagans was Polyonymous, and worshipped under several Personal Names, according to his several Attributes and the Manifestations of them, his Gifts and Effects in the World. 33. That upon the same accompt, Things not Substantial were Personated and Deified by the Pagans, and worshipped as so many several Names or Notions of One God. 34. That as the whole Corporeal World Animated, was supposed by some of the Pagans to be the Supreme God, so he was worshipped in the several Parts and Members of it (having Personal Names bestowed upon them) as it were by Parcels and Piece-meal, or by so many Inadequate Conceptions. That some of

of the Pagans made the Corporeal World the Temple of God only, but others the Body of God. 35. The Second Head proposed, that besides the One Supreme God, under several Names, the Pagans acknowledged and Worshipped also Many Gods; θεοὶ πολλοί, Made Gods, Created intellectual Beings Superiour to Men. 36. The Pythagorick or Platonick Trinity of Divine Hypostases. And the Higher of the Inferiour Deities, according to this Hypothesis; Nous, Psyche, and the whole Corporeal World; with particular Noes and Henades. 37. The other Inferiour Deities acknowledged as well by the Vulgar as Philosophers, of Three Sorts. First the Sun, Moon and Stars, and other greater Parts of the Universe, Animated; called Sensible Gods. 38. Secondly, their Inferiour Deities Invisibile, Ethereal and Aereal Animals, called Dæmons. These appointed by the Supreme Deity, to preside over Kingdoms, Cities, Places, Persons and Things. 39. The Last sort of the Pagan Inferiour Deities, Heroes and ἡρώεσσες, or Men-gods. Euemerus taxed by Plutarch, for making all the Pagan Gods nothing but Dead Men. 40. The Third general Head proposed, That the Pagans worshipped both the Supreme and Inferiour Gods, in Images, Statues and Symbols. That first of all, before Images and Temples, Rude Stones and Pillars without Sculpture, were erected for Religious Monuments, and called βεθούλα or Bethels. 41. That afterwards Images, Statues and Symbols were used, and housed in Temples. These placed in the West-end of the Temples to face the East; so that the Pagans entering, worshipped towards the West: One probable Occasion of the Ancient Christians Praying towards the East. The Golden Calf made for a Symbolick Presence of the God of Israel. 42. All the parts of the entire Pagan Religion represented together at once in Plato. 43. That some late Writers, not well understanding the Sence of Pagans, have confounded all their Theology, by supposing them to Worship the Inanimate parts of the World as such, for Gods; therefore distinguishing betwixt their Animal and their Natural Gods. That no Corporeal thing was worshipped by the Pagans otherwise, than either as being it self Animated with a Particular Soul of its own, or as being part of the whole Animated World, or as having Dæmons presiding over it, to whom the Worship was properly directed; or Lastly, as being Images or Symbols of Divine Things. 44. That though the Egyptians be said to have Worshipped Brute Animals, and were generally therefore condemned by the other Pagans; yet the wiser of them used them only as Hieroglyphicks and Symbols. 45. That the Pagans worshipped not only the Supreme God, but also the Inferiour Deities, by Material Sacrifices. Sacrifices or Fire-offerings, in their First and General Notion, nothing else but Gifts and Signs of Gratitude, and Appendices of Prayer. But that Animal Sacrifices had afterwards a Particular Notion also of Expiation fastned on them, whether by Divine Direction, or Humane Agreement, left undetermined. 46. The Pagans Apology for the Three forementioned Things. First, for Worshipping one Supreme God under many Personal Names, and that not only according to his several Attributes, but also his several Manifestations, Gifts and Effects, in the Visible World. With an Excuse for those Corporeal Theists, who worshipped the whole Animated World as the Supreme God, and the several


ral Parts of it under Personal Names, as Living Members of him. 47. Their Apology for Worshipping, besides the One Supreme God, Many Inferiour Deities. That they Worshipping them only as Inferiour, could not therefore be guilty of giving them that Honour, which was proper to the Supreme. That they Honour'd the Supreme God incomparably above all. That they put a Difference in their Sacrifices, and that Material Sacrifices were not the proper Worship of the Supreme God, but rather below him. 48. Several Reasons of the Pagans, for giving Religious Worship to Inferiour Created Beings. First that this Honour which is bestowed upon them, does ultimately redound to the Supreme God, and aggrandize his State and Majesty, they being all his Ministers and Attendants. 49. That as Dæmons are Mediatours betwixt the Celestial Gods and Men, so those Celestial Gods and all the other Inferiour Deities, are themselves also Mediatours betwixt Men and the Supreme God, and as it were Convenient steps, by which we ought with Reverence to approach him. 50. That there is an Honour in Justice due, to all those excellent Beings that are above us, and that the Pagans do but honour every thing as they ought, in that due rank and place, in which the Supreme God hath set it. 51. That Dæmons or Angels being appointed to preside over Kingdoms, Cities and Persons, and the several parts of the Corporeal Universe, and being many ways Benefactors to us, Thanks ought to be returned to them by Sacrifice. 52. That the Inferiour Gods, Demons and Heroes, being all of them able to do us either Good or Hurt, and being also Irascible, and therefore Provokable by our neglect of them, it is as well our Interest as our Duty, to Pacifie and Appease them by Worship. 53. Lastly, that it cannot be thought, that the Supreme God will envy those Inferiour Gods, that Worship or Honour which is bestowed upon them; nor suspected, that any of those Inferiour Deities will Factiously go about to set up themselves against the Supreme God. 54. That many of the Pagans worshipped none but Good Dæmons, and that those of them who worshipped Evil ones did it only in order to their Appeasment and Mitigation, that so they might do them no hurt. None but Magicians to be accounted properly Devil-Worshippers, who honour Evil Dæmons, in order to the gratification of their Revenge, Lust and Ambition. 55. The Pagans plead that those Dæmons, who delivered Oracles, and did Miracles amongst them, must needs be Good, since there cannot be a greater reproach to the Supreme God, than to suppose him to appoint Evil Dæmons as Presidents and Governours over the World, or to suffer them to have so great a sway and share of Power in it. The Faith of Plato in Divine Providence, that the Good every where prevails over the Bad, and that the Delphick Apollo was therefore a Good Dæmon. 56. The Pagans Apology for Worshipping the Supreme God in Images, Statues and Symbols. That these are only Schetically Worshipped by them, the Honour passing from them to the Prototype. And that since we living in Bodies, cannot easily have a Conception of any thing without some Corporeal Image or Phantasm, thus much must be indulged to the Infirmary of Humane Nature (at least in the Vulgar) to Worship God Corporeally in Images, to prevent their running to Atheism. 57. That though it should appear by

by this Apology of the Pagans, that their Case were not altogether so Bad, as is commonly supposed, yet they cannot be Justified thereby, in the Three Particulars above mentioned, but the Scripture Condemnation of them is Irrefragable, That knowing God, they did not Glorifie him as God, or Sanctifie his Name; that is, Worship him according to his Uncommon and Incommunicable, his Peerless and Infociable, Transcendent and Singular, Incomparable and Unresembleable Nature; but mingled some way or other Creature-worship with the Worship of the Creatour. First, that the Worshipping of One God in his Various Gifts and Effects, under several personal Names, a thing in it self absurd, may also prove a great occasion of Atheism, when the things themselves come to be called by those Names, as Wine Bacchus, Corn Ceres. The Conclusion easily following from thence, that the Good things of Nature are the only Deities. But to Worship the Corporeal World it self Animated, as the Supreme God, and the Parts of it, as the Members of God, plainly to Confound God with the Creature, and not to Glorifie him as Creatour, nor according to his Separate and Spiritual Nature. 58. To give Religious Worship to Dæmons or Angels, Heroes or Saints, or any other Intellectual Creatures, though not honouring them equally with the Supreme God, is to deny God the Honour of his Holiness, his Singular, Infociable and Incommunicable Nature, as he is the only Self-originated Being, and the Creator of all: Of whom, Through Whom, and To Whom are all things. As God is such a Being, that there is nothing Like him, so ought the Worship which is given him, to be such as hath nothing Like to it, A Singular, Separate and Incommunicate Worship. They not to be Religiously Worshipped that Worship. 59. That the Religious Worship of Created Spirits proceeded chiefly from a Fear that if they were not worshipped, they would be provoked and do hurt, which is both highly Injurious to Good Spirits, and a Distrust of the Sufficiency of God's Power to protect his Worshippers. That all Good Spirits Uninvok'd, are of themselves officiously ready to assist those who sincerely Worship and Propitiate the Supreme Deity, and therefore no need of the Religious Worship of them, which would be also Offensive to them. 60. That Mens praying to Images and Statues is much more Ridiculous than Childrens talking to Babies made of Clouts, but not so Innocent, they thereby Debasing both themselves and God, not Glorifying him according to his Spiritual and Unresembleable Nature, but changing the Glory of the Incorruptible God, into the Likeness of Corruptible Man or Beast. 61. The Mistake of those who think none can be guilty of Idolatry, that believe One God the Maker of the World. 62. That from the same ground of Reason, That nothing ought to be Religiously Worshipped besides the Supreme God, or whom he appoints to represent himself (because he ought to be Sanctified, and dealt withal according to his Singular Nature as unlike to every thing) it follows, contrary to the Opinion of some Opposers of Idolatry, that there ought also to be a Discrimination made, between things Sacred and Prophane, and Reverence used in Divine Worship. Idolatry and Sacrilege allied. 63. Another Scripture-Charge upon the Pagans, that they were Devil-worshippers; not as though they intended all their Worship to Evil Dæmons or Devils

Devils as such, but because their Polytheism and Idolatry (unacceptable to God and Good Spirits) was promoted by Evil Spirits delivering Oracles and doing Miracles for the Confirmation of it, they also insinuating themselves into the Temples and Statues, therefore the Worship was look'd upon, as done to them. The same thing said of others besides Pagans, that they Worshipped Devils. 64. Proved that they were Evil Dæmons who delivered Oracles and did Miracles amongst the Pagans, for the carrying on of that Religion, from the many Obscene Rites and Mysteries, not only not prohibited, but also enjoined by them. 65. The same thing further proved, from other cruel and bloody Rites, but especially that of Man Sacrifices. Plutarch's Clear Acknowledgement, that both the Obscene Rites and Man-Sacrifices, amongst the Pagans, owed their Original to Wicked Dæmons. 66. That the God of Israel, neither required, nor accepted of Man-Sacrifices, against a modern Diatribist. 67. That what Faith soever Plato might have in the Delphick Apollo, he was no other than an Evil Dæmon or Devil. An Answer to the Pagans Argument from Divine Providence. 68. That the Pagans Religion, unsound in its Foundation, was Infinitely more Corrupted and Depraved by means of these Four Things; First, the Superstition of the Ignorant Vulgar. 69. Secondly, the Licentious Fictions of Poets and Fable-Mongers, frequently condemned by Plato and other Wiser Pagans. 70. Thirdly, the Craft of Priests and Politicians. 71. Lastly, the Imposture of evil Dæmons or Devils. That by means of these Four Things, the Pagan Religion became a most foul and unclean thing. And as some were captivated by it under a most grievous Yoke of Superstition, so others strongly inclined to Atheism. 72. Plato not insensible that the Pagan Religion stood in need of Reformation; nevertheless, supposing many of those Religious Rites, to have been introduced by Visions, Dreams, and Oracles, he concluded that no wise Legislator would of his own head venture to make an Alteration. Implying, that this was a thing not to be effected otherwise than by Divine Revelation and Miracles. The generally received Opinion of the Pagans, that no man ought to trouble himself about Religion, but content himself to worship God, *ὁμῶς πόλει*, according to the Law of that Country which he lived in. 73. Wherefore God Almighty in great compassion to Mankind, designed himself to reform the Religion of the Pagan World, by introducing another Religion of his own framing in stead of it; after he had first made a Præludium thereunto, in one Nation of the Israelites, where he expressly prohibited by a Voice out of the Fire, in his First Commandment, the Pagan Polytheism, or the worshipping of other Inferior Deities besides himself, and in the Second, their Idolatry, or the Worshipping of the Supreme God in Images, Statues or Symbols. Besides which he restrain'd the use of Sacrifices. As also successively gave Predictions, of a Messiah to come, such as together with Miracles might reasonably conciliate Faith to him when he came. 74. That afterwards in due time, God sent the promised Messiah, who was the Eternal Word Hypostatically united with a Pure Humane Soul and Body, and so a true *θεὸς ἐν σαρκί*, or God-man: Designing him for a Living Temple and Visible Statue or Image, in which the Deity should be represented
and

and Worshipped; as also after his Death and Resurrection, when he was to be invested with all Power and Authority, for a Prince and King, a Mediatour and Intercessour, betwixt God and Men. 75. That this Θεωάνθρωπος or God-man was so far from intending to require Men-sacrifices of his Worshippers, as the Pagan Demons did, that he devoted himself to be a Catharma & Expiatory Sacrifice for the Sins of the whole World, and thereby also abolished all Sacrifices or Oblations by Fire whatsoever, according to the Divine Prediction. 76. That the Christian Trinity, though a Mystery, is more agreeable to Reason than the Platonick, and that there is no absurdity at all, in supposing the Pure Soul and Body of the Messiah, to be made a Living Temple or Shechinah, Image or Statue of the Deity. That this Religion of One God and One Mediatour, or Θεωάνθρωπος God-man, preached to the Pagan World and confirm'd by Miracles, did effectually destroy all the Pagan Inferiour Deities, Middle Gods and Mediatours, Demons and Heroes, together with their Statues and Images. 77. That it is no way incongruous to suppose that the Divine Majesty, in prescribing a Form of Religion to the World, should graciously condescend to comply with Humane Infirmary, in order to the removing of Two such Grand Evils, as Polytheism and Idolatry, and the bringing of men to Worship God in Spirit and in Truth. 78. That Demons and Angels, Heroes and Saints are but different Names for the same things, which are made Gods by being worshipped. And that the introducing of Angel and Saint-worship, together with Image-Worship, into Christianity, seems to be a defeating of one grand design of God Almighty in it, and the Paganizing of that, which was intended for the Unpaganizing of the World. 79. Another Key for Christianity in the Scripture, not disagreeing with the former, That since the way of Wisdom and Knowledge, proved Ineffectual as to the Generality of Mankind, men might by the contrivance of the Gospel be brought to God and a holy Life (without profound Knowledge) in the way of Believing. 80. That according to the Scripture, there is a Higher, more Precious and Diviner Light, than that of Theory and Speculation. 81. That in Christianity, all the Great, Goodly and most Glorious things of this World, are surried and disgraced, comparatively with the Life of Christ. 82. And that there are all possible Engines in it to bring men up to God, and engage them in a holy Life. 83. Two Errors here to be taken notice of; The First of those who make Christianity, nothing but an Antinomian Plot against Real Righteousness, and as it were a secret Confederacy with the Devil. The Second, of those who turn that into Matter of mere Notion and Opinion, Dispute and Controversie, which was designed by God only as a Contrivance, Machin, or Engine to bring men Effectually to a Holy and Godly Life. 84. That Christianity may be yet further illustrated, from the consideration of the Adversary or Satanical Power, which is in the World. This no Minichean Substantial Evil Principle, but a Polity of Lapsed Angels, with which the Souls of Wicked men are also Incorporated, and may therefore be called The Kingdom of Darkness. 85. The History of the Fallen Angels in Scripture briefly explained. 86. The concurrent Agreement of the Pagans concerning Evil Demons or Devils, and their Activity in the World. 87. That there is a perpet-

tual War betwixt Two Polities or Kingdoms in the World, the one of Light, the other of Darkneſs; and that our Saviour Chriſt or the Meſſiah, is appointed the Head or Chieftain over the Heavenly Militia, or the Forces of the Kingdom of Light. 88. That there will be at length a Palpable and Signal Overthrow, of the Satanical Power, and whole Kingdom of Darkneſs, by $\text{Ἰησοῦς καὶ πνεῦμας}$, God appearing in an extraordinary and miraculous manner; and that this great affair is to be managed by our Saviour Chriſt, as God's Vicegerent, and a Viſible Judge both of Quick and Dead. 89. That our Saviour Chriſt deſigned not, to ſet up himſelf Factionuſly againſt God Almighty, nor to be accounted $\omega\epsilon\iota\sigma\tau\epsilon\rho\alpha$ Ἰησοῦς , ſuperiour to God, but that when he hath done his Work, and put down all Adverſary Power, himſelf will then be ſubject to God, even the Father, that ſo God may be all in all. 90. Laſtly, having ſpoken of Three Forms of Religions, the Jewiſh, Chriſtian and the Pagan, and there remaining only a Fourth the Mahometan, in which the Divine Monarchy is zealouſly aſſerted, we may now Conclude, that the Idea of God (as eſſentially including Unity in it) hath been entertained in all Forms of Religion. An Accompt of that ſeemingly-ſtrange Phenomenon of Providence; the Riſe, Growth and Continuance of the Mahometan Religion, not to be attempted by us, at leaſt in this place.

I. AVING in the Former Chapter prepared the way, we ſhall now procede (with the Divine Aſſiſtance) to Answer and Conſute all thoſe Atheiſtick Arguments before propoſed. The Firſt whereof was this, That there is no Idea of God, and therefore, either no ſuch Thing exiſting in Nature, or at leaſt no Poſſible Evidence of it.

To affirm that there is no *Idea of God*, is all one as to affirm, that there is no *Conception of the Mind* answering to that Word or Name; And this the Modern Atheiſts ſtick not to maintain, That the Word God hath no *Signification*, and that there is no other *Idea* or *Conception* in Mens Minds, answering thereunto, beſides the mere *Phan-taſm of the Sound*. Now for any one to go about ſoberly to conſute this, and to Prove that God is not the Only Word without a *Signification*, and that men do not every where pay all their Religious Devotions, to the mere *Phantaſm* of a *Transient Sound*, expecting all Good from it, might very well ſeem to all Intelligent perſons, a moſt Abſurd and Ridiculous Undertaking; both becauſe the thing is ſo evident in it ſelf, and becauſe the plaineſt things of all can leaſt be Proved; for $\delta\ \mu\acute{o}\lambda\iota\sigma\tau\alpha\ \alpha\pi\acute{o}\delta\ \delta\iota\omega\tau\alpha\ \nu\epsilon\phi\alpha\iota\sigma\mu\acute{\alpha}\tau\omega\varsigma,\ \omega\iota\sigma\tau\eta\nu\ \alpha\pi\acute{o}\delta\ \delta\epsilon\iota\nu\ \alpha\nu\alpha\gamma\epsilon\iota$ He that thinks all things to be Demonſtrable, takes away Demonſtration it ſelf. Wherefore we ſhall here only ſuggeſt thus much, that ſince there are different words for God in ſeveral Languages, and men have the ſame *Notion* or *Conception* in their Minds answering to them all, it muſt needs be granted, that they have ſome other *Idea* or *Conception* belonging to thoſe Words, beſides the *Phantaſms* of their ſeveral Sounds. And indeed it can be nothing elſe, but either

Monſtrous

Monstrous Sottishness and Stupidity of Mind, or else Prodigious Impudence, in these Atheists to deny, that there is any Idea of God at all, in the Minds of men, or that the Word hath any Signification.

It was hereofore observed by *Epiſtetus*, ἂν τις ἐνίστηται πρὸς τὰ ἄλλα ἀφ' ὧν, πρὸς τὸν ἑαυτοῦ λόγον, δι' ἧς μεταπέσει τις αὐτὸν τὸτο ὅτι ἔτι τὴν ἐκείνου γνέσθαι δύναμιν, ὅτι ἔτι τὴν τῆς διδασκαλίας ἀδύναμιν. *That if any man will oppose or contradict the most evident Truths, it will not be easie, to find arguments wherewith to convince him. And yet this notwithstanding, ought neither to be Imputed, to any Inability in the Teacher, nor to any strength of Wit in the Denier, but only to a certain dead Insensibility in him.* Whereupon he further adds, that there is a double ἀπονεκρωσις or ἀπολίθωσις, *Mortification or Petrification of the Soul*; the one, when it is *Stupified and Besotted in its Intellectuals*; the other, when it is *Bedecked in its Morals*, as to that *Pudor* that naturally should belong to a Man. And he concludes, that either of these States (though it be not commonly so apprehended) is a Condition little less deplorable, than that of Bodily Death; as also that such a person is not at all to be Disputed with. For ποῖον ὡτὰρ πῦρ ἢ ποῖον σίδηρον προσέλω, ἵν' αἰσθῆται ὅτι νεκρῶται; αἰσθάνομεν ὅτι προσποιεῖται; ἐπὶ χεῖρων ἔστι τῆς νεκρῆς, ἐκτέτμηται γὰρ τὸ αἰσθητικὸν αὐτῆς καὶ τὸ ἐντέλλον. *What Sword can one bring or what Fire, by burning or slashing, to make such a one perceive that he is dead? but if he be sensible, and will not acknowledge it, then he is worse than dead, being castrated as to that Pudor that belongs to a man.* Moreover, that Philosopher took notice that in those times, when this Denial of most Evident Truths, proceeded rather from *Impudence* than *Stupidity* or *Sottishness*, the Vulgar would be apt to admire it, for *strength of Wit* and *great Learning*; ἂν δὲ τινος τὸ αἰσθητικὸν ἀπονεκρωθῇ, τὸτο ἔτι καὶ δύναμιν καλεῖσθαι. *But if any mans Pudor be deaded or mortified in him, we call this Power and Strength.*

Now as this was sometimes the Case of the Academicks, so is it also commonly of the Atheists, that their Minds are Partly *Petrified* and *Benumbed* into a kind of *Sottish and Stupid Insensibility*, so that they are not able to discern things that are most Evident; and Partly *Depudorated* or become so void of Shame, as that though they do perceive, yet they will *Obstinately* and *Impudently* deny the plainest things that are, as this, that there is *any Idea* answering to the word *God*, besides the *Phantasm* of the sound. And we do the rather insist upon this *Prodigious Monstrosity* of *Atheists* in this place, because we shall have occasion afterwards more than once to take notice of it again, in other Instances, as when they affirm, that *Local Motion* and *Cogitation*, are really one and the *self same thing*, and the like. And we conceive it to be unquestionably True, that it is many times nothing else, but either this *Shameless Impudence* or *Sottish Insensibility* in *Atheists*, that is admired by the Ignorant, for *Profoundness of Wit* and *Learning*, ἀλλὰ ταῦτ' οὐ δύναμιν εἶπε; ἀλλ' ἡ γνῶσις· εἰ μὴ καὶ τὴν τῆς κινῆσεως, καὶ ἢν πᾶν τὸ ἐπελθὼν ἐν μέσῳ καὶ ποιῇ καὶ λέγῃ. *But shall I call this Power or Wit, and commend it upon*

that account? No more than I will commend the Impudence of the Cinædi, who stick not publickly to Do and Say any thing.

II. But whatever these *Atheists* deny in words, it is notwithstanding evident, that even themselves have an *Idea* or *Conception* in their Minds answering to the *Word, God*, when they deny his Existence, because otherwise they should deny the existence of *Nothing*. Nor can it be at all doubted, but that they have also the same *Idea of God* with *Theists*, they denying the Existence of no other thing than what these assert. And as in all other Controversies, when men dispute together, the one Affirming the other Denying, both Parties must needs have the same *Idea* in their Minds of what they dispute about, or otherwise their whole Disputation would be but a kind of *Babel-Language* and Confusion; so must it be likewise in this present Controversie, betwixt *Theists* and *Atheists*, Neither indeed would there be any Controversie at all between them, did they not both by *God*, mean one and the same thing; nor would the *Atheists* be any longer *Atheists*, did they not deny the Existence of that very same Thing, which the *Theists* affirm, but of something else.

III. Wherefore we shall in the next place declare what this *Idea of God* is, or what is that thing whose Existence they that affirm are called *Theists*, and they who deny *Atheists*. In order whereunto, we must first lay down this *Lemma* or *Preparatory Proposition*, That as it is generally acknowledged, that all things did not exist from Eternity, such as they are, *Unmade*, but that somethings were *Made and Generated* or produced; so it is not possible that *All* things should be *Made* neither, but there must of necessity be something *Self-existent* from Eternity, and *Unmade*; because if there had been once *Nothing*, there could never have been any thing. The Reason of which is so evident and irresistible, that even the *Atheists* confess themselves conquered by it, and readily acknowledge it for an indubitable Truth, That there must be something ἀρχήν, something which was never *Made* or *Produced*, and which therefore is the Cause of those other things that are *Made*, something αὐτόφωες and αὐθυπόστατον, that was *Self-originated* and *Self-existing*, and which is as well ἀνάλεθρον and ἀφθαρτον, as ἀρχήν, *Incorruptible* and *Undestroyable*, as *Ingenerable*; whose Existence therefore must needs be *Necessary*, because if it were supposed to have happened by Chance to exist from Eternity, then it might as well happen again to Cease to Be. Wherefore all the Question now is, what is this ἀρχήν and ἀνάλεθρον, αὐτόφωες and αὐθυπόστατον, this *Ingenerable* and *Incorruptible*, *Self-originated* and *Self-existent* Thing, which is the Cause of all other things that are *Made*.

IV. Now there are Two Grand Opinions Opposite to one another concerning it: For first, some contend that the only *Self-existent, Unmade and Incorruptible Thing*, and *First Principle* of all things, is *Senseless Matter*, that is, Matter either perfectly *Dead and Stupid*, or at least devoid of all *Animalish and Conscious Life*. But because this is really the *Lowest and most Imperfect* of all Beings, Others

Others on the contrary judge it reasonable, that the *First Principle* and Original of all things, should be that which is *Most Perfect* (as *Aristotle* observes of *Pherocydes* and his Followers, τὸ γυνήσαν πρῶτον ἀριστον τι ἔσται, That they made the *First Cause and Principle of Generation to be the Best*) and then apprehending that to be endowed with *Conscious Life and Understanding*, is much a *Greater Perfection* than to be devoid of both, (as *Balbus* in *Cicero* declares upon this very occasion, *Nec dubium quin quod Animans sit, habeatque Mentem & Rationem & Sensum, id sit melius quàm id quod his careat*) they therefore conclude, That the only *Unmade* thing, which was the *Principle, Cause and Original* of all other things, was not *Senseless Matter*, but a *Perfect Conscious Understanding Nature, or Mind*. And these are they who are strictly and properly called *Theists*, who affirm that a *Perfectly Conscious Understanding Being, or Mind*, existing of it self from Eternity, was the Cause of all other things; and they on the contrary who derive all things from *Senseless Matter*, as the *First Original*, and deny that there is any *Conscious Understanding Being self-existent or Unmade*, are those that are properly called *Atheists*. Wherefore the true and genuine *Idea of God* in general, is this, *A Perfect Conscious Understanding Being (or Mind) Existing of it self from Eternity, and the Cause of all other things.*

De Nat. Deo
L. 2.

V. But it is here observable, that those *Atheists* who deny a *God*, according to this True and Genuine *Notion* of him, which we have declared, do often *Abuse* the *Word*, calling *Senseless Matter* by that Name. Partly perhaps as endeavouring thereby, to decline that odious and ignominious name of *Atheists*, and partly as conceiving, that whatsoever is the *First Principle* of things, *Ingenerable and Incorruptible*, and the Cause of all other things besides it self, must therefore needs be the *Divinest Thing* of all. Wherefore by the word *God*, these mean nothing else, but that which is ἀρχήντων, *Unmade or self-existent*, and the ἀρχή or *First Principle* of things. Thus it was before observed, that *Anaximander* called *Infinite Matter*, devoid of all manner of Life, the τὸ θεῖον or *God*; and *Pliny*, the *Corporeal World*, endowed with nothing but a *Plastick Unknowing Nature, Numen*; as also others in *Aristotle*, upon the same account called the *Inanimate Elements Gods*, as *Supposed First Principles* of things, θεοὶ ὃ ἐ τῶντα, for these are also *Gods*. And indeed *Aristotle* himself seems to be guilty of this miscarriage of *Abusing* the word *God* after this manner, when speaking of *Love and Chaos*, as the two first Principles of things, he must, according to the *Laws of Grammar*, be understood to call them both *Gods*: τῶν μὲν ἑνὶ πῶς καὶ διανέμει, ὡς τὸ τίς πρῶτον, ἔξῃ καὶ ὡς ὕστερον. Concerning these two (*Gods*) how they ought to be ranked, and which of them is to be placed first, whether *Love or Chaos*, is afterwards to be resolved. Which Passage of *Aristotle's* seems to agree with that of *Epicharmus*, Ἀλλὰ λέγεται μὲν χάος πρῶτον γενέσθαι θεῶν, But *Chaos* is said to have been made the first of the *Gods*; unless we should rather understand him thus, That *Chaos* was said, to have been made before the *Gods*. And this *Abuse* of the *Word God*, is a thing which the learned *Origen* took notice of in his Book against *Celsus*, where he speaks of that Religious Care, which ought to be had a-

Metaph. lib. i.
cap. 4.

L. I. p. 19. Cant. about the use of Words: ὁ τοίνυν μεγαλοφρέσεων καὶ ὀλίγων τῶτων δεινότη-
 αν εἰληφώς, δὺλας ἐκιδέσθαι, ἀλλὰ ἄλλοις ἐφαρμόζειν ὀνόματα πρᾶγμασι, μήπο-
 τε ὁμοίον πάθῃ τοῖς τὸ θεὸς ὄνομα ἐσφαλμένως φέρον, ὅτι ὕλῃ ἀνυχοῖ.
He therefore that hath but the least consideration of these things, will take a Religious care, that he give not improper names to things, lest he should fall into a like miscarriage with those, who attribute the name of God to Inanimate and Senseless matter. Now according to this false and spurious Notion of the word God, when it is taken for any supposed First Principle, or Self-existent Unmade Thing, whatsoever that be, there neither is nor can be any such thing as an Atheist; since whosoever hath but the least dram of Reason, must needs acknowledge, that Something or other Existed from Eternity Unmade, and was the Cause of those other things that are Made. But that Notion or Idea of God, according to which some are Atheists, and some Theists, is in the strictest sence of it, what we have already declared, A Perfect Mind, or Consciously Understanding Nature, Self-existent from Eternity, and the Cause of all other things. The genuine Theists being those who make the First Original of all things Universally, to be a Consciously Understanding Nature (or Perfect Mind) but the Atheists properly such, as derive all things from Matter, either perfectly Dead and Stupid, or else devoid of all Conscious and Animalish Life.

VI. But that we may more fully and punctually declare the true *Idea of God*, we must here take notice of a certain Opinion of some Philosophers, who went as it were in a middle betwixt both the Former, and neither made *Matter* alone, nor *God*, the Sole Principle of all things; but joyned them both together and held *Two First Principles* or *Self-existent Unmade Beings*, independent upon one another, *God*, and the *Matter*. Amongst whom the *Stoicks* are to be reckoned, who notwithstanding because they held, that there was no other Substance besides Body, strangely confounded themselves, being by that means necessitated, to make their *Two First Principles*, the *Active* and the *Passive*, to be both of them really but *One and the self-same Substance*: their Doctrine to this purpose being thus declared by *Cicero*; *Naturam dividebant in Res Duras, ut Altera esset Efficiens, Altera autem quasi huic se præbens, ex qua Efficeretur aliquid. In eo quod Efficeret, Vim esse censebant; in eo quod Efficeretur, Materiam quandam; in Utroque tamen Utrumque. Neque enim Materiam ipsam ohærere potuisse si nullâ Vi contineretur, neque Vim sine aliqua Materia; Nihil est enim quod non Alicubi esse cogatur.* The *Stoicks* divided Nature into *Two Things* as the *First Principles*, *One* whereof is the *Efficient*, or *Artificer*, the *Other* that which offers it self to him for things to be made out of it. In the *Efficient* Principle they took notice of *Active Force*, in the *Patient* of *Matter*; but so as that in each of these were both together: forasmuch as neither the *Matter* could cohere together unless it were contained by some *Active Force*, nor the *Active Force* subsist of it self without *Matter*, because that is *Nothing* which is not *somewhere*. But besides these *Stoicks*, there were other Philosophers, who admitting of *Incorporeal Substance*, did suppose *Two First Principles*, as Substances really distinct from one another that were *Coexistent from Eternity*, an *Incorporeal Deity* and *Matter*;

as for Example *Anaxagoras*, *Archelaus*, *Atticus*, and many more; in-
 so much that *Pythagoras* himself was reckoned amongst those by *Nu-*
menius, and *Plato* by *Plutarch* and *Laertius*. See Euseb.
 Prep. Ev. Li. 7.
 c. 7.

And we find it commonly taken for granted, that *Aristotle* also was
 of this Perswasion, though it cannot be certainly concluded from
 thence (as some seem to suppose) because he asserted the Eternity of
 the World: *Plotinus*, *Porphyrus*, *Jamblichus*, *Proclus* and *Simplicius*,
 doing the like, and yet notwithstanding maintaining, that God was
 the Sole Principle of all things, and that Matter also was de-
 rived from him. Neither will that Passage of *Aristotle*'s in his Me-
 taphysicks, necessarily evince the Contrary, *ὅθεν δοκεῖ τὸ αὐτίον πᾶσιν εἶναι*
καὶ ἀρχὴ τις, *God seems to be a Cause to all things and a certain Principle*,
 because this might be understood only of the Forms of things. L. I. c. i.

But it is plain that *Plutarch* was a Maintainer of this Doctrine, from
 his Discourse upon the Platonick *Psychogonia*, (besides other Places)
 βέλτιον ἢν Πλάτωνι πειθομένης, ἢ μὴ κόσμον ὑπὸ θεῶν γιγνέναι λέγειν καὶ
 ἀρᾶν ὁ μὲν γὰρ κάλλιστος τῶν γεγονότων, ὁ δὲ ἄριστος τῶν αἰτιῶν· τίω δὲ ἑστῶσαν
 καὶ ὕλιν ἐξ ἧς γίγνεται, καὶ γνομένην, ἀλλὰ ὑποκείμενην αἰετᾷ δημιουργῷ, εἰς δι-
 ᾶσθαι καὶ τάξιαν αὐτῆς, καὶ πρὸς αὐτὴν ἐξομοίωσιν, ὡς δυνατόν ἦν ἀσχεθεῖν· καὶ
 γὰρ ἐκ τῆς μὴ οὐσίας ἢ γένεσις, ἀλλ' ἐκ τῆς μὴ καλῆς, μὴδ' ἱκανῶς ἐχούσης, ὡς
 οἰκίας, καὶ ἱματίου, καὶ ἀνδραλώτου. *It is therefore better for us to follow Pla-*
to (than Heraclitus) and loudly to declare, that the World was made
by God. For as the world is the Best of all Works, so is God the Best of
all Causes. Nevertheless the Substance or Matter out of which the World
was made, was not it self made; but always ready at hand, and sub-
ject to the Artificer, to be ordered and disposed by him. For the making
of the World, was not the Production of it out of Nothing, but out of an
antecedent Bad and Disorderly State, like the Making of an House, Gar-
ment or Statue.

It is also well known, that *Hermogenes* and other ancient Preten-
 ders to Christianity, did in like manner assert the *Self-existence* and
Improduction of the Matter, for which Cause they were commonly
 called *Materiarii*, or the *Materiarian Hereticks*; they pretending by
 this means to give an account (as the *Stoicks* had done before them)
 of the Original of *Evils*, and to free God from the Imputation of them.
 Their Ratiocination to which purpose, is thus set down by *Tertullian*.
God made all things, either out of Himself, or out of Nothing, or out of Mat-
ter. He could not make all things out of Himself, because himself being
always Unmade, he should then really have been the Maker of No-
thing. And he did not make all out of Nothing, because being Essenti-
ally good, he would have made Nihil non optimum, every thing in the
Best manner, and so there could have been no Evil in the World. But
since there are Evils, and these could not procede from the Will of God,
they must needs arise from the Fault of something, and therefore of the
Matter, out of which things were made. Lastly, it is sufficiently known
likewise, that some Modern Sects of the Christian Profession, at
this day, do also assert the Uncreatedness of the Matter. But
these

*Adver. Hermog.
 p. 282. Reg.*

these suppose, in like manner as the Stoicks did, Body to be the Only Substance.

VII. Now of all these whosoever they were who thus maintained *Two Self-existent Principles*, *God* and the *Matter*, we may pronounce Universally, that they were neither Better nor Worse, than a kind of *Imperfect Theists*.

They had a certain *Notion* or *Idea* of *God*, such as it was, which seems to be the very same, with that expressed in *Aristotle*, ζῷον ἄριστον αἰδίου, *An Animal the Best Eternal*, and represented also by *Epicurus* in this manner, ζῷον πᾶσαν ἔχον μακαριότητα μετ' ἀφθαρσίας, *An Animal that hath all Happiness with Incorruptibility*.

Nat. Qu. Prof.
L. 1.

Wherein it was acknowledged by them, that besides *Senseless Matter*, there was also an *Animalish* and *Conscious* or *Perceptive Nature*, *Self-existent* from *Eternity*; in opposition to *Atheists*, who made *Matter*, either devoid of all manner of *Life*, or at least of such as is *Animalish* and *Conscious*, to be the *Sole Principle* of *All things*. For it hath been often observed, that some *Atheists* attributed, a kind of *Plastick Life* or *Nature*, to that *Matter*, which they made to be the *Only Principle* of the *Universe*. And these *Two* sorts of *Atheisms* were long since taken notice of by *Seneca* in these words; *Univerſum in quo nos quoque ſumus, expers eſſe Conſilii, & aut ferri Temeritate quadam aut Naturâ Neſciente quid faciat. The Atheiſts make the Uniuerſe, whereof our ſelves are part, to be devoid of Counſel, and therefore either to be carried on Temerariouſly and Fortuitouſly; or elſe by ſuch a Nature, as which (though it be Orderly, Regular and Methodical) yet is notwithstanding Neſcient of what it doth. But no Atheiſt ever acknowledged Conſcious Animality, to be a Firſt Principle in the Uniuerſe; nor that the Whole was governed by any Animaliſh, Sentient, and Underſtanding Nature, preſiding over it as the Head of it; but as it was before declared, they Concluded all Animals and Animality, all Conſcious, Sentient and Self-perceptive Life, to be Generated and Corrupted, or Educ'd out of Nothing, and Reduced to Nothing again. Wherefore they who on the Contrary aſſerted Animality and Conſcious Life, to be a Firſt Principle or Unmade thing in the Uniuerſe are to be accounted Theiſts. Thus Balbus in Cicero declares, that to be a Theiſt, is to aſſert, Ab Animantibus Principiis Mundum, eſſe Generatum, That the World was Generated or Produced at firſt from Animant Principles, and that it is alſo ſtill governed by ſuch a Nature, Res omnes ſubjectas eſſe Naturæ Sentienti, That all things are ſubject to a Sentient and Conſcious Nature, ſteering and guiding of them.*

Cicero de Nat.
D. I. 2.

But to diſtinguiſh this *Divine Animal*, from all others, theſe Deſiners added, that it was ἄριſτον and μακαριότατον, the *Beſt* and *moſt Happy Animal*; and accordingly, this Difference is added to that *Generical Nature* of *Animality*, by *Balbus* the Stoick, to make up the *Idea* or *Definition* of *God* complete: *Talem eſſe Deum certâ Notione animi præſentimus; Primum, ut ſit Animans; Deinde, ut in omni Natura nihil*

nihil Illo sit Præstantius: We presage concerning God, by a certain Notion of our Mind; First, that he is an Animans, or Consciously Living Being; and then Secondly, that he is such an Animans, as that there is nothing in the Whole Universe, or Nature of things, more Excellent than Him.

Wherefore these *Materiarian Theists* acknowledged God to be a *Perfectly-understanding Being*, and Such as had also Power over the Whole Matter of the Universe; which was utterly unable to move it self, or to produce any thing without him. And all of them except the *Anaxagoreans* concluded, that He was the *Creator* of all the *Forms* of Inanimate Bodies, and of the Souls of Animals. However, it was Universally agreed upon amongst them, that he was at least The *Orderer* and *Disposer* of all, and that therefore he might upon that account well be called, the *Διουσεγες*, *The Maker or Framer of the World.*

Notwithstanding which, so long as they Maintained *Matter* to exist Independently upon *God*, and sometimes also to be *Refractory* and *Contumacious* to him, and by that means to be the Cause of *Evil*, contrary to the *Divine Will*; it is plain that they could not acknowledge the *Divine Omnipotence*, according to the Full and Proper sence of it. Which may also further appear from these *Queries of Seneca* concerning God. *Quantum Deus possit? Materiam ipse sibi Formet, an Datâ utatur? Deus quicquid Vult efficiat? An in multis rebus illum Tractanda destituant, & à Magno Artifice Præformetur multa, non quia cessat Ars, sed quia id in quo exercetur, sæpe Inobsequens Artieft? How far Gods Power does extend? Whether he make his own Matter, or only use that which is offered him? Whether he can do whatsoever he will? Or the Materials in many things Frustrate and Disappoint him, and by that means things come to be Ill-framed by this great Artificer, not because his Art fails him, but because that which it is exercised upon, proves Stubborn and Contumacious? Wherefore, I think, we may well conclude, that those *Materiarian Theists*, had not a Right and Genuine Idea of God.*

Nevertheless, it does not therefore follow, that they must needs be concluded *Absolute Atheists*; for there may be a *Latitude* allowed in *Theism*; and though in a strict and proper sence, they be only *Theists*, who acknowledge *One God* perfectly *Omnipotent*, the Sole Original of of all things, and as well the Cause of *Matter*, as of any thing else; yet it seems reasonable, that such Consideration should be had of the Infirmary of Humane Understandings, as to extend the Word further, that it may comprehend within it, those also who assert *One Intellectual Principle* Self-existent from Eternity, the *Framer* and *Governor* of the whole World, though not the *Creator* of the *Matter*; and that none should be condemned for *Absolute Atheists*, merely because they hold *Eternal Uncreated Matter*, unless they also deny, an *Eternal Unmade Mind*, ruling over the *Matter*, and so make *Senseless Matter* the Sole Original of all things. And this is certainly most agreeable to common apprehensions; for *Democritus* and *Epicurus*, would never

never have been condemned for Atheists, merely for asserting Eternal *Self-existent* Atoms, no more than *Anaxagoras* and *Archelaus* were, (who maintained the same thing) had they not also denied, that other Principle of theirs, a *Perfect Mind*, and concluded that the World was made, *μὴδενὸς διατάκτου ἢ διαταξάμενός τῷ πᾶσι ἐχούτος μακροβύτια μετ' ἀφθαρσίας*, *Without the ordering and disposal of any Understanding Being, that had all Happiness with Incorruptibility.*

VIII. The True and Proper *Idea* of God, in its Most Contracted Form is this, *A Being Absolutely Perfect*. For this is that alone, to which *Necessary Existence* is Essential, and of which it is Demonstrable. Now as *Absolute Perfection* includes in it all that belongs to the Deity, so does it not only comprehend (besides *Necessary Existence*) *Perfect Knowledge* or Understanding, but also *Omni-causality* and *Omnipotence* (in the full extent of it) otherwise called *Infinite Power*. God is not only *ζῶον ἄρῃον*, and *Animans quo nihil in omni Natura praestantius*, as the *Materiarian Theists* describ'd him, *The Best Living Being*; nor as *Zeno Eleates* called him, *κρείττισον πάντων*, the *Most Powerful of all things*; but he is also *παντοκράτης*, and *παντοκράτωρ*, and *παντοεξέστης*, *Absolutely Omnipotent*, and *Ininitely Powerful*: and therefore neither *Matter*, nor any thing else can exist of it self Independently upon God; but he is the *Sole Principle* and Source, from which all things are derived.

But because this *Infinite Power*, is a thing, which the Atheists quarrel much withal, as if it were altogether *Unintelligible* and therefore *Impossible*, we shall here briefly declare the Sence of it, and render it (as we think) easily Intelligible or Conceivable, in these Two following steps. First, that by *Infinite Power* is meant nothing else, but *Perfect Power*, or else as *Simplicius* calls it, *ἑλὴ δύναμις*, a *Whole* and *Entire Power*, such as hath no Allay and Mixture of Impotency, nor any Defect of Power mingled with it. And then again, that this *Perfect Power* (which is also the same with *Infinite*) is really nothing else, but a *Power of Producing* and *Doing*, all whatsoever is *Conceivable*, and which does not imply a *Contradiction*; for *Conception* is the *Only Measure of Power* and its *Extent*; as shall be shewed more fully in due place.

Now here we think fit to observe, that the Pagan Theists did themselves also, vulgarly acknowledge *Omnipotence* as an *Attribute* of the Deity; which might be proved from sundry Passages of their Writings.

Homer. Od. δ'.

θεὸς ἄλλοτ' ἐπ' ἄλλω
 Ζεὺς ἀγαθόν τε κακόν τε δίδει, δύναται γὰρ ἅπαντα.

Deus aliud post aliud
 Jupiter, Bonumque Malumque dat, Poteſt enim Omnia.

And

And again, *Od.* ξ'.

———Θεὸς τὸ μὲν δάσῃ τὸ δ' εἰάσῃ,
"ὅττι κεν ᾧ δύμῳ ἐθέλῃ, δύναται γ' ἀπαντα·

———*Deus autem hoc dabit, illud omittet,
Quodcunque ei libitum fuerit, Poteſt enim Omnia.*

To this Purpose also before *Homer, Linus,*

ῥάδι' ἀπαντα θεῷ τελέσαι, καὶ ἀνέννυτον εἶδεν·

And after him, *Callimachus,*

Δαίμονι εἴηαι πᾶν δυνατὸν·

All things are possible for God to do, and nothing transcends his Power:

Thus also amongst the Latin Poets, *Virgil Æn.* the First,

sed Pater Omnipotens, speluncis abdidit Atris.

Again *Æn.* the Second,

At Pater Anchises, oculos ad sydera lætus
Extulit, & Cælo palmas cum Voce tetendit;
Jupiter Omnipotens, precibus si flecteris ullis:

And *Æn.* the Fourth,

Talibus orantem dictis, arâsque tenentem
Audiit Omnipotens.

Ovid in like manner, *Metamorph.* i.

Tum Pater Omnipotens, misso perfregit Olympum
Fulmine, & excussit subjectum Pelion Offe.

And to cite no more, *Agatho* an ancient Greek Poet, is commended by *Aristotle*, for affirming, nothing to be exempted from the Power of God, but only this, that he cannot make That not to have been, which hath been; that is, do what implies a Contradiction.

μόνος γ' αὐτῷ, καὶ θεὸς εἰσέκεται,
ἄλλωτα ποιεῖν, ἅσ' ἂν ᾖ πεπερασμένη·

*Eth. Nic. L. 4.
c. 2.*

*Hoc namque duntaxat, negatum etiam Deo est,
Quæ facta sunt, Insecta posse reddere.*

Lastly, that the *Atheists* themselves under Paganism look'd upon *Omni-*
potence,

tence, and *Infinite Power*, as an *Essential Attribute* of the Deity, appears plainly from *Lucretius*, when he tells us, that *Epicurus*, in order to the Taking away of *Religion*, set himself to Confute *Infinite Power*.

Lib. ii.

— Omne Immenſum peragravit Mente Animoque,
Unde refert nobis Viſtor, quid poſſit Oriri,
Quid nequeat: Finita Potestas denique quoique
Quanam ſit ratione, atque altè Terminus hærens.
Quare Relligio pedibus ſubjecta viciffim
Obteritur, nos exæquat Viſtoria Cælo.

As if he ſhould have ſaid, *Epicurus* by ſhewing that all *Power* was *Finite*, effectually deſtroyed *Religion*; he thereby taking away the Object of it, which is an *Omnipotent* and *Infinite* Powerful Deity. And this is a thing which the ſame Poet often harps upon again, that there is No *Infinite Power*, and Conſequently no *Deity*, according to the true *Idea* of it. But laſt of all, in his Sixth Book, he condemns *Religionists*, as guilty of great folly, in aſſerting *Omnipotence* or *Infinite Power* (that is, a Deity) after this manner.

Rurſus in antiquas referuntur Relligiones,
Et Dominos acres aſciſcunt, Omnia Poſſe,
Quos miſeri credunt, ignari quid queat eſſe,
Quid nequeat, Finita Potestas denique quoique,
Quanam ſit ratione, atque altè Terminus hærens:
Quo magis errantes totâ regione feruntur.

Where though the Poet, ſpeaking careleſſly, after the manner of thoſe times, ſeem to attribute *Omnipotence* and *Infinite Power* to *Gods Plurally*, yet as it is evident in the thing it ſelf, that this can only be the Attribute of *One Supreme Deity*; ſo it may be obſerved, that in thoſe Paſſages of the Poets before cited, it is accordingly always aſcribed to *God Singularly*. Nevertheleſs all the Inferiour Pagan Deities, were ſuppoſed by them to have their certain ſhares of this *Divine Omnipotence*, ſeverally diſpenſed and imparted to them.

I X. But we have not yet diſpatched all that belongs to the Entire *Idea* of God. For *Knowledge* and *Power* alone, will not make a *God*. For *God* is generally conceived by all to be a *Moſt Venerable* and *Moſt Deſirable Being*: whereas an *Omniscient* and *Omnipotent Arbitrary Deity*, that hath nothing either of *Benignity* or *Morality* in its Nature to *Measure* and *Regulate* its *Will*, as it could not be truly *Auguſt* and *Venerable*, according to that *Maxime, ſine Bonitate nulla Majeſtas*; ſo neither could it be *Deſirable*, it being that which could only be *Feared* and *Dreaded*, but not have any *Firm Faith* or *Confidence* placed in it. *Plutarch* in the Life of *Ariſtides*, τὸ θεῶν τοιοῦτον δοκεῖ διαφέρειν, ἀφθαρτοῦ, καὶ δυνάμει, καὶ ἀρετῇ· ἐν ſειμνότατον ἢ ἀρετῇ καὶ θρόνῳ τῶν θεῶν ἀφιδέσθαι μὴ γὰρ εἶναι καὶ τὰς κενὰς, καὶ τοῖς ſοιχείοις ſυμβέβηκε· δυνάμει ὁ σφοδρὸς καὶ κέραυνοι, καὶ πνευμάτων ὁρμαὶ καὶ ἐδμάτων ὑπὸ φορὰ μετὰ λωγῆς, &c. *God ſeems to excel in theſe Three things, Incorruptibility, Power and*

and *Virtue*, of all which the Most Divine and Venerable is *Virtue*, for Vacuum and the Senseless Elements have *Incorruptibility*, Earthquakes, and Thunders, Blustering Winds and Overflowing Torrents, Much of Power and Force. Wherefore the Vulgar being affected three manner of ways towards the Deity, so as to admire its Happiness, to Fear it, and to Honour it; they esteem the Deity Happy for its *Incorruptibility*, they Fear it and stand in awe of it for its Power, but they Worship it, that is Love and Honour it, for its *Justice*. And indeed an Omnipotent Arbitrary Deity, may seem to be in some sence, a Worse and more Undesireable Thing, than the Manichean Evil God; forasmuch as the Latter could be but *Finitely Evil*, whereas the Former might be so *Infinitely*. However (I think) it can be little doubted, but that the whole *Manichean Hypothesis*, taken all together, is to be preferred, before this of *One Omnipotent Arbitrary Deity* (devoid of Goodness and Morality) ruling all things; because there the *Evil Principle* is Yoaked with another Principle *Essentially Good*, checking and controlling it. And it also seems less Dishonourable to God, to impute *Defect of Power* than of *Goodness and Justice* to him.

Neither can *Power and Knowledge* alone, make a Being in it self completely Happy; for we have all of us by Nature $\mu\alpha\iota\delta\mu\alpha\iota\ \pi$ (as both Plato and Aristotle call it) a certain *Divination, Presage, and Parturient Vaticination* in our minds, of some Higher Good and Perfection, than either *Power or Knowledge*. Knowledge is plainly to be preferred before *Power*, as being that which guides and directs its blind Force and Impetus; but Aristotle himself declares, that there is λόγος τι κρείττον, which is λόγος ἀρχή, Something better than Reason and Knowledge, which is the Principle and Original of it. For (saith he) λόγος ἀρχή ἢ λόγος, ἀλλὰ τι κρείττον. The Principle of Reason is not Reason, but Something Better. Where he also intimates this to be the Proper and Essential Character of the Deity; τι ἐν ἅν κρείττον καὶ ἐπιστήμης, πλὴν ὁ θεός; For what is there, that can be better than Knowledge, but God? Likewise the same Philosopher elsewhere plainly determines, that there is *Morality* in the Nature of God, and that his Happiness consisteth principally therein, and not in External things, and the Exercise of his Power, ὅτι μὲν ἐν ἑκάστῳ τῷ ἀδαιμονίας ἐπιβάλλει ποσὸν, ὅσοις ἀρετῆς καὶ φρονήσεως, καὶ τῷ πρὸς τὴν κατὰ ταύτας, ἑαυτοῦ συνωμολογημένον ἡμῖν, μαρτυρεῖ τὰς θεῶν χαρμολοίς, ὅς ἀδαιμόνων μὲν ὅτι καὶ μακάρεος, δι' ὃδὲν δὲ τῷ ἐξατεχνῶν ἀγαθῶν, ἀλλὰ δι' αὐτῶν αὐτός, καὶ τὰ πόδος τις εἶναι τὴν φύσιν. That every man hath so much of Happiness, as he hath of *Virtue and Wisdom*, and of Acting according to these, ought to be confessed and acknowledged by us, it being a thing that may be proved from the Nature of God, who is Happy, but not from any external Goods, but because he is himself (or that which he is) and in such a manner affected according to his Nature, that is, because he is *Essentially Moral and Vertuous*.

Eth Eudem.
1.7.c.14.

De Rep. 1.7.c.14.

Which Doctrine of Aristotle's, seems to have been borrowed from Plato. who in his Dialogues *De Republica*, discoursing about Moral Virtue, occasionally falls upon this Dispute concerning the Sum-

Lib. 6.

bonum Bonum or Chiefest Good; wherein he concludes, that it neither consisted in *Pleasure* as such, according to the Opinion of the Vulgar, nor yet in Mere Knowledge and Understanding, according to the Conceit of others, who were more Polite and Ingenious.

οἶδα ὅτι τοῖς μὲν πολλοῖς ἡδονὴ δοκεῖ εἶναι τὸ ἀγαθόν, τοῖς δὲ κομψότεροις φρονήσις· καὶ ὅτι οἱ τὸ τοῦ ἡγέμευ ἐκ ἔχουσι δεῖξαι ἥτις φρονήσις, ἀλλ' ἀναγκάζονται τελειώματα τὴν τῷ ἀγαθῷ φάναι, μάλα γελοῖως, οὐκ ἐκζητοῦντες ὅδ' ὅτι ἐκ τοῦ μὲν τὸ ἀγαθόν, λέγει· πάλιν ἄς εἰδῇσι. *You know that to the Vulgar, Pleasure seems to be the Highest Good, but to those who are more Elegant and Ingenious, Knowledge: But they who entertain this Latter Opinion, can none of them declare what kind of Knowledge it is, which is that Highest and Chiefest Good, but are necessitated at last to say, that it is The Knowledge of Good, very ridiculously: Forasmuch as herein they do but run round in a Circle, and upbraiding us for being ignorant of this Highest Good, they talk to us at the same time, as knowing what it is.* And thereupon he adds καλῶν ἀμφοτέρων ὄντων, γνώσεως τε καὶ ἀληθείας, ἄλλο καὶ κάλλιον ἐστὶ τὸ τοῦ ἡγέμευ αὐτῷ, ὁρθῶς ἡγήσθαι. Ἐπιστήμῳ δὲ καὶ Ἀληθείᾳ, ὡς περὶ φῶς τε καὶ ὄψαν ἡλιοφάνη μὲν νομίζαν ὁρθόν, ἥλιον δὲ ἡγεῖσθαι ἐκ ὁρθῶς, ἔτω καὶ εἰ ταῦτα ἀγαθοφάνη μὲν νομίζαν ἀμφοτέρω ὁρθόν, ἀγαθόν δὲ ἡγεῖσθαι ὁπότερον αὐτῶν ἐκ ὁρθόν, ἀλλ' ἐστὶ μάζδωνος τὴν τῷ ἀγαθῷ εἶναι τιμητέον. *That though Knowledge and Truth be both of them Excellent things, yet he that shall conclude the Chief Good to be something which transcends them both, will not be mistaken. For as Light, and Sight or the Seeing Faculty, may both of them rightly be said to be Soliform things, or of Kin to the Sun, but neither of them to be the Sun it self; so Knowledge and Truth, may likewise both of them be said to be Boniform things, and of Kin to the Chief Good, but neither of them to be that Chief Good it self; but this is still to be look'd upon as a thing more August and Honourable.* In all which of Plato's, there seems to be little more, than what may be experimentally found within our selves; namely, that there is a certain Life, or Vital and Moral Disposition of Soul, which is much more Inwardly and thoroughly Satisfactory, not only than Sensual Pleasure, but also than all Knowledge and Speculation whatsoever.

Now whatever this Chiefest Good be, which is a Perfection Superiour to Knowledge and Understanding; that Philosopher resolves that it must needs be First and Principally in God, who is therefore called by him, ἰδέα τ' ἀγαθῆς, *The very Idea or Essence of Good.* Wherein he trode in the Footsteps of the Pythagoreans, and particularly of *Timæus Locrus*, who making Two Principles of the Universe, *Mind* and *Necessity*, adds concerning the Former, τῶν τῶν μὲν τῶν τ' ἀγαθῆς φύσις αἰμὲν, δεῖν τε ὀνομαίνεισθαι ἀρχαί τε καὶ ἀεὶ ὄντων. *The First of these Two, is of the Nature of Good, and it is called God, the Principle of the Best things.* Agreeably with which Doctrine of theirs, the Hebrew Cabalists also make a *Sephirah* in the Deity, Superiour both to *Binah* and *Chochmah* (*Understanding* and *Wisdom*) which they call *Chether* or the *Crown*. And some would suspect this Cabalistical Learning to have been very ancient among the Jews, and that *Parmenides* was imbued with it, he calling God in like manner στεφάνῳ or the *Crown*. For which *Velleius* in *Cicero*, (representing

senting the several Opinions of Philosophers concerning God) perstrings him amongst the rest, *Parmenides Commentitum quiddam, Coronæ similitudine efficit, Stephanem appellat, continentem ardore lucis orbem, qui cingit Cælum, quem appellat Deum.*

But all this while we seem to be to seek, What the Chief and Highest Good Superiour to Knowledge is, in which the Essence of the Deity principally consists, and it cannot be denied, but that *Plato* sometimes talks too Metaphysically and Clowdily about it; for which cause, as he lay open to the Lash of *Aristotle*, so was he also Vulgarly perstringed for it, as appears by that of *Amphys* the Poet in *Laertius*.

Τὸ δ' ἀγαθὸν ὃ, τι ποτ' ἔστιν, ἔσθ' οὐ τοι γινώσκων
 μέλλεις διὰ ταύτῃ, ἥντων οἷσα τέστ' ἐγὼ,
 ἢ τὸ τῶ Πλάτωνος Ἀγαθόν.

What Good that is, which you expect from hence, I confess, I less understand; than I do Plato's Good. Nevertheless he plainly intimates these two Things concerning it. First, that this Nature of Good which is also the Nature of God, includes *Benignity* in it, when he gives this account of Gods both Making the World and after such a Manner; *Because he was Good, and that which is Good hath no Envy in it, and therefore he both made the World, and also made it as well, and as like to himself as was possible.* And Secondly, that it comprehends Eminently all *Vertue and Justice*, the *Divine Nature* being the *First Pattern* hereof; for which cause *Vertue* is defined to be, An *Assimilation to the Deity*. *Justice and Honesty* are no *Facitious* things, Made by the Will and Command of the more Powerful to the Weaker, but they are *Nature and Perfection*, and descend downward to us from the Deity.

But the Holy Scripture without any Metaphysical Pomp and Obscurity, tells us plainly, Both what is that Highest Perfection of Intellectual Beings, which is *κρείττον λόγος καὶ ἔπιστης*, *Better than Reason and Knowledge*, and which is also the Source, Life and Soul of all Morality, namely that it is *Love or Charity*. *Though I speak with the Tongue of Men and Angels, and have not Love, I am but χρυσοῦς ἢ χαλκός, ἢ κύμβαλον ἀλαλάζον, as Sounding Brass or a Tinkling Cymbal*, which only makes a Noise without any Inward Life. *And though I have Prophecy, and understand all Mysteries and all Knowledge, and though I have all Faith, so that I could remove Mountains, and have not Love, I am Nothing*; that is, I have no Inward Satisfaction, Peace or True Happiness. *And though I bestow all my Goods to feed the Poor, and give my body to be burned, and have not love, it profiteth me nothing*; I am for all that utterly destitute of all True Morality, Vertue and Grace. And accordingly it tells us also in the next place, what the Nature of God is, that he is properly, neither *Power* nor *Knowledge* (though having the Perfection of both in him) but *Love*. And certainly whatever *Dark Thoughts* concerning the Deity, some Men in their Cells may sit brooding on, it can never reasonably be conceived, that that which is *ἰκανώτατον ἀπάντων καὶ αὐταρκέστατον*, the

Most Self-sufficient and Self-happy Being, should have any *Narrow and Selfish* Designs abroad, without it self, much less harbour any *Malignant and Despightful* ones, towards its Creatures. Nevertheless because so many are apt to abuse the Notion of the Divine *Love and Goodness*, and to frame such Conceptions of it, as destroy that *Awful and Reverential Fear* that ought to be had of the Deity, and make Men *Presumptuous and Regardless* of their Lives, therefore we think fit here to superadd also, that God is no *Soft nor Fond and Partial Love*, but that *Justice* is an Essential Branch of this *Divine Goodness*; God being, as the Writer *De Mundo* well Expresses it, νόμος ἰσχυρῆς, *An Impartial Law*, and as *Plato*, μέτερον πάντων, *the Measure of all things*. In Imitation whereof, *Aristotle* concludes also, that a Good Man (in a Lower and more Imperfect sense) is μέτερον too, *an Impartial Measure of Things and Actions*.

It is evident that the Atheists themselves in those former times of Paganism, took it for Granted, that *Goodness* was an Essential Attribute of the Deity whose Existence they opposed (so that it was then generally acknowledged for such, by the Pagan Theists) from those Argumentations of theirs before mentioned, the 12th. and 13th. taken from the *Topick of Evils*, the Pretended *Ill Frame* of things, and *Want of Providence* over Humane Affairs. Which if they were true, would not at all disprove such an Arbitrary Deity (as is now phancied by some) made up of Nothing but *Will and Power*, without any Essential *Goodness and Justice*. But those Arguments of the Atheists are directly Level'd against the Deity, according to the True Notion or *Idea* of it; and could they be made Good, would do execution upon the same. For it cannot be denied, but that the Natural Consequence of this Doctrine, That there is a *God Essentially Good*, is this, that therefore the World is *Well Made and Governed*. But we shall afterwards declare, that though there be Evil in the *Parts* of the World, yet there is none in the *Whole*; and that *Moral Evils* are not Imputable to the Deity.

And now we have propos'd the *Three Principal Attributes* of the Deity. The First whereof is *Infinite goodness with Fecundity*, the Second *Infinite Knowledge and Wisdom*, and the Last *Infinite Active and Perceptive Power*. From which Three Divine Attributes, the Pythagoreans and Platonists, seem to have framed their *Trinity* of *Archical Hypostases*, such as have the Nature of Principles in the Universe, and which though they apprehended as several Distinct Substances, gradually subordinate to one another, yet they many times extend the τὸ θεῖον so far, as to comprehend them all within it. Which *Pythagorick Trinity* seems to be intimated by *Aristotle* in those words,

De Cael. l. 1. c. 1. καὶ ὅτι τὰς φασί καὶ οἱ πυθαγόρειοι τὸ πᾶν καὶ τὰ πάντα τὰς τρεῖς διαίρεσαι.
As the Pythagoreans also say, the Universe and all things, are determin'd and contain'd by three Principles. Of which Pythagorick Trinity more afterward. But now we may enlarge and fill up, that Compendious Idea of God premis'd, of A Being Absolutely Perfect, by adding thereunto (to make it more Particular) such as is Infinitely Good, Wise, and Powerful, necessarily Existing, and not only
the

the Framer of the World, but also the Cause of all things. Which Idea of the Deity, is sufficient, in order to our present Undertaking.

Nevertheless, if we would not only attend to what is barely necessary for a Dispute with *Atheists*, but also consider the Satisfaction of other Free and Devout Minds, that are hearty and sincere Lovers of this Most Admirable and Most Glorious Being, we might venture for their Gratification, to propose yet a more Full, Free and Copious Description of the Deity, after this manner. *God is a Being Absolutely Perfect, Unmade or Self-originated, and Necessarily Existing, that hath an Infinite Fecundity in him; and Virtually Contains all things; as also an Infinite Benignity or Overflowing Love, Uninvidiously displaying and communicating it self; together with an Impartial Rectitude, or Nature of Justice: Who fully comprehends himself, and the Extent of his own Fecundity; and therefore all the Possibilities of things, their several Natures and Respects, and the Best Frame or System of the Whole: Who hath also Infinite Active and Perceptive Power: The Fountain of all things, who made all that Could be Made, and was Fit to be made, producing them according to his Own Nature (his Essential Goodness and Wisdom) and therefore according to the Best Pattern, and in the Best manner Possible, for the Good of the Whole; and reconciling all the Variety and Contrariety of things in the Universe, into One most Admirable and Lovely Harmony. Lastly, who Contains and Upholds all things, and governs them after the Best Manner also, and that without any Force or Violence; they being all Naturally subject to his Authority, and readily obeying his Laws.* And Now we see that God is such a Being, as that if he could be supposed Not to Be, there is Nothing, whose Existence, a Good Man could Possibly more Wish or Desire.

X. From the *Idea of God* thus declared, it evidently appears, that there can be but *One* such Being, and that *Μόνως*, *Unity*, *Oneliness* or *Singularity* is Essential to it: forasmuch as there cannot possibly be more than *One Supreme*, more than *One Omnipotent* or *Infinite-ly Powerful Being*, and more than *One Cause of all things* besides it self. And however *Epicurus*, endeavouring to pervert and Adulterate the *Notion of God*, pretended to satisfy that *Natural Prolepsis* or *Anticipation* in the Minds of Men, by a Feigned and Counterfeit asserting of a Multiplicity of Coordinate Deities, Independent upon *One Supreme*, and such as were also altogether unconcerned either in the Frame or Government of the World, yet himself notwithstanding plainly took notice of this *Idea of God* which we have proposed, including *Unity* or *Oneliness* in it (he professedly opposing the Existence of such a Deity) as may sufficiently appear from that Argumentation of his, in the Words before cited.

*Quis regere Immensi summam, Quis habere Profundi
Indu manu validas potis est moderanter habenas?
Quis pariter cælos omnes convertere, & omnes
Ignibus ætheriis terras suffire feraces?*

S 3

Omnibus

*Lib. 2. p. 1. 8.
Lamb.*

Omnibus inq; locis esse omni tempore præsto ?

De Nat. D. l. 1.

Where he would conclude it to be a thing Utterly impossible, for the Deity to *Animadvert*, *Order* and *Dispose* all things, and be *Present* every where in all the distant places of the World at once ; which could not be Pretended of a Multitude of Coordinate Gods, sharing the Government of the World amongst them, and therefore it must needs be levell'd against a Divine Monarchy, or One Single, Solitary Supreme Deity, ruling over all. As in like manner, when he pursues the same Argument further in *Cicero*, to this purpose, that though such a thing were supposed to be Possible, yet it would be notwithstanding absolutely Inconsistent with the Happiness of any Being, he still proceeds upon the same Hypothesis of one Sole and Single Deity : *Sive ipse Mundus Deus est, quid potest esse minus quietum, quam nullo puncto temporis intermisso, versari circum axem Cæli admirabili celeritate ? Sive in ipso Mundo Deus inest aliquis qui regat, qui gubernet, qui cursus astrorum, mutationes temporum, hominum commoda vitæque tueatur ; næ Ille est implicatus molestis negotiis & operosis. Whether you will suppose the World it self to be a God, what can be more unquiet, than without intermission perpetually to whirl round upon the Axis of the Heaven, with such admirable celerity ? Or whether you will imagine a God in the World distinct from it, who does govern and dispose all things, keep up the Courses of the Stars, the successive Changes of the Seasons, and Orderly Vicissitudes of things, and contemplating Lands and Seas, conserve the Utilities and Lives of men ; certainly He must needs be involved in much solicitous trouble and Employment. For as *Epicurus* here speaks Singularly, so the Trouble of this Theocracy could not be thought so very great, to a Multitude of Coordinate Deities, when parcel'd out among them, but would rather seem to be but a sportful and delightful Diversifement to each of them. Wherefore it is manifest that such an Idea of God, as we have declared, including *Unity*, *Oneliness* and *Singularity* in it, is a thing, which the ancient *Atheists*, under the times of Paganism, were not unacquainted with, but principally directed their Force against. But this may seem to be *Anticipated* in this place, because it will fall in afterwards more opportunely to be discoursed of again.*

XI. For this is that which lies as the *Grand Prejudice* and *Objection* against that *Idea of God*, which we have proposed, Essentially including *Unity*, *Singularity* or *Oneliness* in it, or the Real Existence of such a Deity, as is the *Sole Monarch* of the Universe ; Because all the Nations of the World heretofore (except a small and inconsiderable handful of the *Jews*) together with their wisest men and greatest Philosophers, were generally look'd upon as *Polytheists*, that is, such as Acknowledged and Worshipped a *Multiplicity of Gods*. Now *One God* and *Many Gods*, being directly Contradictious to one another, it is therefore concluded from hence, that this *Opinion of Monarchy* or of *One Supreme God*, the *Maker* and *Governour* of all, hath no Foundation in *Nature*, nor in the genuine *Idea's* and *Prolepses* of mens minds, but is a mere *Artificial* thing, owing its Original wholly

wholly to *Private Phancies and Conceits*, or to *Positive Laws and Institutions*, amongst *Jews, Christians and Mahometans*.

For the affoiling of which Difficulty (seeming so formidable at first sight) it is necessary, that we should make a Diligent Enquiry into the True and Genuine sence of this *Pagan Polytheism*. For since it is impossible that any man in his Wits, should believe a *Multiplicity of Gods*, according to that *Idea of God* before declared, that is, a *Multiplicity of Supreme, Omnipotent, or Infinitely Powerful Beings*; it is certain that the *Pagan Polytheism*, and *Multiplicity of Gods*, must be understood according to some other *Notion* of the Word *Gods*, or some *Equivocation* in the use of it. It hath been already observed, that there were sometime amongst the Pagans, such, who meaning nothing else by *Gods*, but *Understanding Beings Superiour to men*, did suppose a Multitude of such Deities, which yet they conceived to be all (as well as Men) *Native and Mortal*, Generated successively out of Matter and Corrupted again into it, as *Democritus* his *Idols* were. But these *Theogonists*, who thus Generated all things whatsoever, and therefore the *Gods* themselves universally, out of *Night and Chaos*, the *Ocean* or *Fluid Matter*, (notwithstanding their Using the Name *Gods*) are plainly condemned both by *Aristotle* and *Plato*, for down-right *Atheists*, they making *Senseless Matter*, the *Only Self-existent thing*, and the Original of all things.

Wherefore there may be another *Notion* of the Word *Gods*, as taken for *Understanding Beings Superiour to Men*, that are not only *Immortal*, but also *Self-existent* and *Unmade*; and indeed the Assertors of a *Multiplicity* of such *Gods* as these, though they cannot be accounted *Theists* in a strict and proper sence (according to that *Idea of God* before declared) yet they are not vulgarly reputed *Atheists* neither, but look'd upon as a kind of Middle thing betwixt Both, and commonly called *Polytheists*. The reason whereof seems to be this, because it is generally apprehended to be Essential to *Atheism*, to make *Senseless Matter* the Sole Original of all things, and consequently to suppose all *Conscious Intellectual Beings* to be *Made* or *Generated*; wherefore they who on the contrary assert (not One but) Many *Understanding Beings Unmade and Self-existent*, must needs be look'd upon as those, who of the Two, approach nearer to *Theism* than to *Atheism*, and so deserve rather to be called *Polytheists*, than *Atheists*.

And there is no Question to be made, but that the Urgers of the forementioned Objection against that *Idea of God*, which includes *Onelineß* and *Singularity* in it, from the *Pagan Polytheism*, or *Multiplicity of Gods*, take it for granted, that this is to be understood of *Many Unmade Self-existent Deities*, Independent upon one Supreme, that are so many *First Principles* in the Universe, and *Partial Causes* of the World. And certainly, if it could be made to appear, that the *Pagan Polytheists* did universally acknowledge such a *Multiplicity of Unmade Self-existent Deities*, then the Argument fetch'd from thence, against the *Naturality* of that *Idea of God* proposed

posed (Essentially including *Singularity* in it) might seem to have no small Force or Validity in it.

XII. But First this Opinion of Many *Self-existent Deities*, Independent upon One *Supreme*, is both Very *Irrational* in it self, and also plainly *Repugnant* to the *Phænomena*. We say First, it is *Irrational* in it self, because *Self-existence*, and *Necessary Existence* being Essential to a Perfect Being and to nothing else, it must needs be very *Irrational* and *Absurd*, to suppose a *Multitude* of *Imperfect* Understanding Beings *Self-existent*, and no *Perfect One*. Moreover, if *Imperfect* Understanding Beings were imagined to Exist of themselves from Eternity, there could not possibly be any reason given, why just so many of them should exist, and neither More nor Less, there being indeed no reason why any at all should. But if it be supposed, that these Many *Self-existent Deities* happened only to Exist thus from Eternity, and their Existence notwithstanding, was not *Necessary* but *Contingent*, the Consequence hereof will be, that they might as well happen again to cease to be, and so could not be *Incorruptible*. Again, if any *One Imperfect* Being whatsoever, could exist of it self from Eternity, then all might as well do so, not only *Matter*, but also the *Souls* of Men and other Animals, and consequently there could be No *Creation* by any Deity, nor those supposed Deities therefore deserve that Name. Lastly, we might also add, that there could not be a *Multitude* of Intellectual Beings *Self-existent*, because it is a thing which may be proved by Reason, that all *Imperfect* Understanding Beings or Minds, do partake of *One Perfect Mind*, and suppose also *Omnipotence* or *Infinite Power*; were it not, that this is a Consideration too remote from *Vulgar Apprehension*, and therefore not so fit to be urged in this place.

Again, as this Opinion of *Many Self-existent Deities*, is *Irrational* in it self, so is it likewise plainly *Repugnant* to the *Phænomena* of the World. In which, as *Macrobius* writes, *Omnia sunt connexa*, all things conspire together into *One Harmony*, and are carried on Peaceably and Quietly, Constantly and Eavenly, without any Tumult or Hurly-burly, Confusion or Disorder, or the least appearance of *Schism* and *Faction*; which could not possibly be supposed, were the World Made and Governed, by a Rabble of *Self-existent Deities*, Coordinate, and Independent upon One *Supreme*. Wherefore this kind of Polytheism was obiter thus confuted by *Origen*; πῶς ἐν βέλτιον τὸ εἶναι τῶν θεῶν ὁμομένων πρὸς ἀλλήλους τοῖς καὶ τῷ δευτέρῳ τῷ κόσμῳ στέλλειν ἢ διμερῶς αὐτῷ ἐνὸς οὐκ ἑνός, καὶ συμπνεῖν αὐτῷ ὅλον ἑαυτῷ, καὶ διὰ τὸ τοιοῦτον μὴ δυναμένης ὑπὸ πολλῶν διμερῶν γεγονέναι, ἀλλ' ὑπὸ πολλῶν ψυχῶν συνέχεσθαι ὅλον ἢ δευτέρῳ κινεῖσθαι; How much better is it, agreeably to what we see in the harmonious System of the World, to worship one only Maker of the World, which is one, and conspiring throughout with its whole self, and therefore could not be made by many Artificers, as neither be contained by Many Souls, Moving the Whole Heaven? Now since this Opinion is both *Irrational* in it self and *Repugnant* to the *Phænomena*, there is the less Probability that it should have been received and entertained by all the more Intelligent Pagans.

XIII. Who,

XIII. Who, that they did not thus Universally, look upon all their Gods as so many *Unmade Self-existent Beings*, is unquestionably manifest from hence, because ever since *Hesiod's* and *Homer's* time at least, the Greekish Pagans generally acknowledged a *Theogonia*, a *Generation and Temporary Production of the Gods*; which yet is not to be understood Universally neither, forasmuch as he is no Theist, who does not acknowledge some *Self-existent Deity*. Concerning this *Theogonia*, *Herodotus* writeth after this manner: ὅθεν γὰρ ἐγγύστερον ἔχαστος τῶν θεῶν, εἴτε αἱ ἦσαν πάντες ὁμοῖοι τὲ τινες τὰ εἶδεα, οὐκ ἔπιστατο μέχρι δὲ πρῶτον τε καὶ χθές, ὡς εἰπὲν λόγῳ· Ἡσίοδον γὰρ καὶ Ὁμήρου μνηστῆρας ἡλικίαν τετρακοσίοισι ἔτεσι δευτέρω μὲν προσευτέρως γινώσκειν, καὶ δὲ πλεον. ἔτοι γὰρ εἰσι οἱ ποιήσασκες Θεογονίαν Ἑλλήσι, καὶ τοῖσι θεοῖσι τὰς ἐπωνυμίας δόσιντες. *Whence every one of the Gods was Generated, or whether they all of them ever were, and what are their forms, is a thing that was not known till very lately; for Hesiod and Homer, were (as I suppose) not above four hundred years my Seniors. And these were they who introduced the Theogonia among the Greeks, and gave the Gods their several Names: that is, settled the Pagan Theology.* Now if before *Hesiod's* and *Homer's* time, it were a thing not known or determined amongst the Greeks, whether their Gods were *Generated*, or all of them *Existed from Eternity*; then it was not Universally concluded by them, that they were all *Unmade and Self-existent*. And though perhaps some might in those ancient times believe one way, and some another, concerning the *Generation* and *Eternity* of their Gods, yet it does not follow, that they who thought them to be all *Eternal*, must therefore needs suppose them to be also *Unmade or Self-existent*. For *Aristotle*, who asserted the *Eternity* of the World, and consequently also, of those Gods of his, the Heavenly Bodies, did not for all that, suppose them to be *Self-existent*, or *First Principles*, but all to depend upon *One Principle or Original Deity*. And indeed the true meaning of that Question in *Herodotus*, Whether the Gods were *Generated* or *Existed* all of them from *Eternity*, is (as we suppose) really no other than that of *Plato's*, εἰ γέγονεν ὁ κόσμος ἢ ἀρχὴν ἔχει· *Whether the World were Made or Unmade*; and whether it had a *Temporary beginning*, or existed such as it is from *Eternity*; which will be more fully declared afterwards. But ever since *Hesiod's* and *Homer's* time, that the *Theogonia* or *Generation of the Gods*, was settled, and generally believed amongst the Greeks, it is certain that they could not possibly think, all their Gods *Eternal*, and therefore much less, *Unmade and Self-existent*.

But though we have thus clearly proved that all the Pagan Gods were not Universally accounted by them, so many *Unmade Self-existent Deities*, they acknowledging a *Theogonia* or a *Generation* of Gods, yet it may be suspected notwithstanding, that they might suppose a *Multitude* of them also (and not only *One*) to have been *Unmade* from *Eternity* and *Self-existent*. Wherefore we add in the next place, that no such thing does at all appear neither, as that the Pagans or any others, did ever publicly or professedly assert a *Multitude* of *Unmade Self-existent Deities*. For First, it is plain concerning the *Hesiodian Gods*, which were all the Gods of the Greekish

Pagans

Pagans, that either there was but *One* of them only *Self-existent*, or else *None* at all. Because *Hesiods Gods* were either all of them derived from *Chaos* (or the *Floting Water*) *Love* it self being Generated likewise out of it (according to that *Aristophanick Tradition* before mentioned) or else *Love* was supposed to be a distinct Principle from *Chaos*, namely the *Active Principle* of the Universe, from whence together with *Chaos*, all the *Theogonia* and *Cosmogonia* was derived. Now if the Former of these were true, that *Hesiod* supposed all his *Gods* Universally, to have been Generated and sprung Originally from *Chaos* or the *Ocean*, then it is plain that notwithstanding all that *Rabble* of *Gods* muster'd up by him, he could be no other than *One* of those *Atheistick Theogonists* beforementioned, and really acknowledged no *God* at all, according to the *True Idea* of him; he being not a *Theist*, who admits of no *Self-existent Deity*. But if the Latter be true, that *Hesiod* supposed *Love* to be a Principle distinct from *Chaos*, namely the *Active Principle* of the Universe, and derived all his other *Gods* from thence, he was then a right *Paganick Theist*, such as acknowledged indeed *Many Gods*, but only *One* of them *Unmade* and *Self-existent*, all the rest being Generated or Created by that *One*. Indeed it appears from those Passages of *Aristotle* before cited by us, that that *Philosopher* had been sometimes divided in his Judgment concerning *Hesiod*, where he should rank him, whether among the *Atheists* or the *Theists*. For in his *Book de Cælo*, he ranks him amongst those, who made all things to be Generated and Corrupted, besides the *Bare Substance of the Matter*, that is amongst the *Absolute Atheists*, and look'd upon him as a *Ringleader* of them: but in his *Metaphysicks*, upon further thoughts, suspects that many of those who made *Love* the Chiefest of the *Gods*, were *Theists*, they supposing it to be a *First Principle* in the Universe, or the *Active Cause* of things, and that not only *Parmenides*, but also *Hesiod* was such. Which Latter Opinion of his is by far the more probable, and therefore embraced by *Plutarch*, who somewhere determines *Hesiod* to have asserted *One* $\delta\epsilon\iota\nu\ \alpha\gamma\epsilon\iota\upsilon\sigma\iota\sigma\iota\nu$, or *Unmade Deity*, as also by the ancient *Scholias* upon him, writ thus, that *Hesiods Love* was $\delta\ \delta\epsilon\alpha\gamma\iota\upsilon\sigma\iota\varsigma$, $\delta\varsigma\ \eta\ \theta\epsilon\delta\varsigma\ \delta\ \gamma\delta\ \epsilon\varsigma\ \alpha\phi\epsilon\delta\iota\tau\eta\varsigma\ \nu\acute{\alpha}\tau\eta\epsilon\varsigma\ \epsilon\gamma\eta$. The Heavenly Love, which is also God, that other Love that was born of Venus, being Junior. But *Joannes Diaconus*; $\epsilon\gamma\omega\tau\alpha\ \eta\ \epsilon\pi\alpha\upsilon\delta\alpha\ \nu\omicron\upsilon\tau\iota\sigma\iota\nu$, $\epsilon\tau\ \epsilon\ \alpha\phi\epsilon\delta\iota\tau\eta\varsigma\ \pi\alpha\iota\delta\alpha$, $\pi\acute{\alpha}\varsigma\ \gamma\delta\ \epsilon\ \mu\eta\tau\epsilon\varsigma\ \mu\eta\tau\omega\ \gamma\epsilon\gamma\omicron\upsilon\alpha\varsigma$, $\epsilon\tau\ \alpha\ \alpha\phi\epsilon\gamma\epsilon\tau\alpha\iota$, $\alpha\lambda\lambda'\ \alpha\lambda\lambda\omicron\nu\ \pi\alpha\alpha\ \pi\epsilon\sigma\epsilon\upsilon\gamma\epsilon\nu\eta\ \epsilon\gamma\epsilon\tau\alpha$, $\omicron\mu\alpha\iota\ \eta\ \tau\omega\ \epsilon\kappa\alpha\sigma\epsilon\ \zeta\alpha\pi\alpha\rho\mu\epsilon\lambda\omega\ \phi\upsilon\sigma\iota\kappa\acute{\omega}\varsigma\ \kappa\epsilon\upsilon\tau\iota\kappa\eta\nu\ \alpha\iota\tau\iota\alpha\nu\ \epsilon\kappa\alpha\varsigma\omega\ \tau\eta\ \delta\iota\alpha\tau\epsilon\iota$. By Love here (saith he) we must not understand Venus her Son, whose Mother was as yet Unborn, but another more ancient Love, which I take to be the Active Cause or Principle of Motion, Naturally inserted into things. Where though he do not seem to suppose this Love to be God himself, yet he conceives it to be an Active Principle in the Universe derived from God, and not from Matter. But this Opinion will be further confirmed afterward.

The next considerable appearance of a Multitude of *Self-existent Deities*, seems to be in the *Valentinian Thirty Gods* and *Eons*, which have been taken by some for such; but it is certain that these were all of them save *One*, Generated; they being derived by that *Phantastick*

tastick Devizer of them, from One Self-originated Deity, called *Bythus*. For thus *Epiphanius* informs us, *τελειοντα γδ η̅ς στος θεος η̅ς* Har. 31.
Αἰῶνας η̅ς οὐρανὸς βέλεται παρεισέλγειν, ὡν ὁ πρῶτος ἐστὶν Bythus. This (*Valentinus*) would also introduce *Thirty Gods and Æons, and Heavens, the first of which is Bythus*; he meaning thereby an Unfathomable Depth and Profundity; and therefore this *Bythus*, was also called by him
ὁ ἀνώτατος η̅ς ἀκατονόμαστος πατήρ, The Highest and Ineffable Father.

We do indeed acknowledge that there have been some, who have really asserted a *Duplicity of Gods*, in the sense declared; that is of *Animalish* or *Perceptive Beings Self-existent*; One as the *Principle of Good*, and the other of *Evil*. And this *Ditheism* of theirs, seems to be the nearest approach, that was ever really made to *Polytheism*. Unless we should here give heed to *Plutarch*, who seems to make the ancient *Persians*, besides their *Two Gods*, the *Good* and the *Evil*, or *Oromasdes* and *Arimanius*; to have asserted also a *Third Middle Deity* called by them *Mithras*; or to some Ecclesiastick Writers, who impute a *Trinity of Gods* to *Marcion*; (though *Tertullian* be yet more Liberal, and encrease the Number to an *Ennead*.) For those that were commonly called *Tritheists*, being but mistaken Christians and Trinitarians, fall not under this Consideration. Now as for that forementioned *Ditheism*, or Opinion of *Two Gods*, a *Good* and an *Evil* one, it is evident that its Original sprung from nothing else, but First a Firm Perswasion of the *Essential Goodness* of the Deity, together with a Conceit that the *Evil* that is in the world, was altogether *Inconsistent* and *Unreconcilable* with the same, and that therefore for the salving of this *Phenomenon*, it was absolutely necessary, to suppose another *Animalish Principle Self-existent*, or an *Evil God*. Wherefore as these *Ditheists*, as to all that which is *Good* in the World, held a *Monarchy*, or one Sole Principle and Original, so it is plain, that had it not been for this business of *Evil* (which they conceived could not be salved any other way) they would never have asserted any more *Principles* or *Gods* than One.

The chiefest and most eminent Assertors of which *Ditheistick Doctrine* of *Two Self-existent Animalish Principles* in the Universe, a *Good God* and an *Evil Dæmon*, were the *Marcionites* and the *Manicheans*, both of which, though they made some slight Pretences to Christianity, yet were not by Christians owned for such. But it is certain that besides these and before them too, some of the Professed Pagans also, entertained the same Opinion, that famous Moralist *Plutarchus Chæronensis*, being an Undoubted Patron of it; which in his Book *De Iside & Osiride* he represents, with some little difference, after this manner; *μεμιγμένη γδ ἡ τῶδε τῷ κόσμῳ γενεὴς η̅ς σύστασις ἐξ ἐναντίων, ἡ μὲν ἰσοδυνάμων δυνάμεων, ἀλλὰ τῷ βελτίονος τὸ κρείττους ἔστιν ἀπολεῖσθαι ἢ τῷ φαύλῳ πάντ᾽ ἀπάσιν ἀδύνατον, πολλῷ μὲν ἐμπεφυκυῖαν τῷ σώματι, πολλῷ δὲ τῇ ψυχῇ τῷ παντὶς, αἰετὸς πρὸς τὴν βελτίονα δυσμαχεῖσθαι.* P. 371. Pat.
The Generation and Constitution of this World is mixt of contrary Powers or Principles (the one Good, the other Evil) yet so as that they are not both of equal force, but the Better of them more prevalent: notwithstanding

standing which, it is also absolutely impossible, for the Worse Power or Principle to be ever Utterly destroyed, much of it being always intermingled in the Soul, and much in the Body of the Universe, there perpetually tugging against the Better Principle.

P. 1003. Par.

Indeed learned men of later times, have for the most part look'd upon Plutarch here, but either as a bare Relater of the Opinion of other Philosophers; or else as a Follower only, and not a Leader in it. Notwithstanding which, it is evident, that Plutarch was himself heartily Engaged in this Opinion, he discovering no small fondness for it, in sundry of his other Writings: as for Example in his Platonick Questions, where he thus declares himself concerning it, ἢ τὸ πᾶσις ὑφ' ἡμῶν λεγόμενον ἀληθές ὅτιν, ἢ μὲν γὰρ ἄνθρωπος ψυχῇ, καὶ τὸ ἀμορφὸν σῶμα, συνυπῆρχον ἀλλήλοις ἀεί, καὶ τὸ ἑτέρον αὐτῷ γένεσιν ἔχεν ὁδὴ ἀρχὴν, Or else that which is often affirmed by us is true, that a Mad Irrational soul, and an unformed disorderly Body did coexist with one another from Eternity, neither of them having any Generation or Beginning. And in his Timean Psychogonia, he does at large industriously maintain the same, there and elsewhere endeavouring to establish this Doctrine, as much as possibly he could, upon Rational Foundations. As First, that Nothing can be Made or Produced without a Cause, and therefore there must of necessity, be some Cause of Evil also, and that a Positive one too; he representing the Opinion of those as very ridiculous, who would make the Nature of Evil, to be but ἐπεισώδιον an Accidental Appendix to the World, and all that Evil which is in it, to have come in only by the by, and by Consequence, without any Positive Cause. Secondly, that God being Essentially Good could not possibly be the Cause of Evil, where he highly applauds Plato for removing God to the greatest distance imaginable from being the Cause of Evil. Thirdly, that as God could not, so neither could ὕλη ἄποιος, Matter in it self devoid of all form and Quality, be the Cause of Evil, noting this to have been the Subterfuge of the Stoicks. Upon which account, he often condemns them, but uncertainly, sometimes as such, who assigned No Cause at all of Evils, and sometimes again as those who made God the Cause of them. For in his Psychogonia he concludes that unless we acknowledge a Substantial Evil Principle, αἱ στοιχαὶ καταλαμβάνουσιν ἡμᾶς ἀποελαί, τὸ κακὸν οὐ τῷ μὴ ὄντος ἀνευτίως καὶ ἀγεννίως ἐπεισάγοντες, ἐπεὶ τῷ ὄντι ὅτι τὸ ἀγαθόν, ὅτι τὸ ἀποιον, εἰς ὅτιν ὅσων κακῶν καὶ γένεσιν παρέχουσιν, The Stoical Difficulties will of necessity overtake and involve us, who introduce Evil into the World from Nothing, or Without a Cause, since neither that which is Essentially Good (as God) nor yet that which is devoid of all Quality (as Matter) could possibly give being or Generation to it. But in his Book against the Stoicks, he accuses them as those, who made God, Essentially Good, the Cause of Evil. αὐτοὶ τὴν κακὴν ἀρχὴν, ἀγαθὸν ὄντα τὸ θεὸν ποιεῖσι, ὃ γὰρ ἡ ὕλη τὰ κακὰ ἐξ αὐτῆς παρέχουσιν, ἀποιος γὰρ ὅτι καὶ πᾶσις ὅσας δέχεται διαφορὰς, ὑπὸ τῷ ποιεῖν αὐτὴν καὶ χημαλίζοντος ἔχουσιν. ὥστε ἀνάγκη τὸ κακὸν εἶ μὲν δι' ὅδου, οὐ τῷ μὴ ὄντος, εἰ δὲ διὰ τὴν κινῶσαν ἀρχὴν οὐ τῷ θεῷ γέγονος ὑπέσταν. Themselves make God being Good, the Principle and cause of Evil, since Matter which is devoid of Quality, and receives all its Differences from

from the Active Principle, that moves and forms it, could not possibly be the Cause thereof. Wherefore Evil must of necessity, either come from Nothing, or else it must come from the Active and Moving Principle, which is God. Now from all these Premises joyned together, Plutarch concludes, that the Phenomenon of Evil, could no otherwise possibly be salved, than by supposing a Substantial Principle for it, and a certain Irrational and Maleficent Soul or Dæmon, Unmade, and Coexisting with God and Matter from Eternity to have been the Cause thereof. And accordingly he resolves, that as whatsoever is Good in the Soul and Body of the Universe, and likewise in the Souls of Men and Dæmons, is to be ascribed to God as its only Original, so whatsoever is Evil, Irregular and Disorderly in them, ought to be imputed to this other Substantial Principle, a ψυχὴ ἄνευ κακοποιῶν, an Irrational and Maleficent Soul or Dæmon, which insinuating it self every where throughout the World, is all along intermingled with the Better Principle : καὶ μὴ πᾶν εἶναι ἔργον τοῦ θεοῦ τὴν ψυχὴν, So that neither the Soul of the Universe, nor that of Men and Dæmons, was wholly the Workmanship of God, but the Lower, Brutish and Disorderly part of them, the Effect of the Evil Principle:

But besides all this, it is evident that Plutarch was also strongly possessed with a Conceit, that nothing Substantial could be Created (no not by Divine Power) out of Nothing Preexisting; and therefore that all the Substance of whatsoever is in the World did Exist from Eternity Unmade: so that God was only the Orderer, or the Methodizer and Harmonizer thereof. Wherefore as he concluded that the Corporeal World was not Created by God out of Nothing, as to the Substance of it, but only the Preexisting Matter, which before moved Disorderly, was brought into this Regular Order and Harmony by him: In like manner he resolved that the Soul of the World (for such a thing is always supposed by him) was not made by God out of Nothing neither, nor out of any thing Inanimate and Soulless Preexisting, but out of a Preexisting Disorderly Soul, was brought into an Orderly and Regular Frame; ἀνομοία δ' ἦν τὰ πρὸ τῆς κόσμου γενέσεως, ἀνομοία ἢ ἐν σώματι, ἔδὲ ἀνίμῳ, ἔδὲ ἀψυχῳ, ἀλλὰ ἀμορφον μὲν καὶ ἀσώματον τὸ σωματικόν, ἐμπληκτικὸν ἢ καὶ ἄλογον τὸ κενητικόν ἔχοντα. τὸτο ἢ ἦν ἀναρμόστια ψυχῆς ἐν ἔχουσιν λόγον. ὃ δ' εἰς ἐπὶ σῶμα τὸ σώματιον, ἔπε ψυχὴν τὸ ἀψυχον ἐποίησεν, ἀλλ' ἄρα ἀρμόνικον ἀνδρα, &c. There was Unformed Matter, before this Orderly World was made, which Matter was not Incorporeal, nor Unmoved or Inanimate, but Body discomposed and acted by a Furious and Irrational Mover, the Deformity whereof was the Disharmony of a Soul in it, devoid of Reason. For God neither made Body out of that which was No-Body, nor Soul out of No-soul. But as the Musician who neither makes Voice nor Motion, does by ordering of them notwithstanding, produce Harmony; so God, though he neither made the Tangible and Resisting Substance of Body, nor the Phantastick and Self-moving Power of Soul, yet taking both those Principles preexisting (the one of which was Dark and Obscure, the other Turbulent and Irrational) and orderly disposing and Harmonizing of them, he did by that means produce this most beautiful and perfect Animal of the World. And further to the same purpose; ἐκὶ σώματος ἀπλῶς ἔδὲ ὅτις καὶ ὕλης, ἀλλὰ συμμετρίας καὶ σώμα καὶ χάμας καὶ ὁμοιότητος, ἦν ὁ θεὸς πατὴρ καὶ δημιουργός.

De Psych. p.
1014. Par.

γός· ταῦτα δ' εἰ διανοεῖσθαι ἐν αὐτῇ ψυχῇ, ὡς τῷ μὲν ἔτε ὑπὸ τῷ θεῷ
 γενομένῳ ἔτε κόσμος ψυχῷ ἔσαν, ἀλλὰ πᾶσα φανταστικῇ καὶ δοξαστικῇ ἀλόγῳ
 καὶ ἀτόκῃ φορῇ καὶ ὁρμῇ δύναμιν αὐτοκίνητον καὶ αἰκίνητον. τῷ δ' αὐτῷ ὁ
 θεὸς διαρρυθμίσας, περὶ ἑκάστην ἀεθλοῖς καὶ λόγοις, ἐκαστέσεν ἡγεμόνα τῷ
 κόσμῳ γεγνότες γινώσκοντες ἔσαν. *God was not the Cause or Maker of Bo-*
dy simply, that is, neither of Bulk nor Matter, but only of that Sym-
metry and Pulchritude which is in Body, and that likeness which it hath
to himself. Which same ought to be concluded also, concerning the Soul
of the World, that the Substance of it was not made by God neither;
nor yet that it was always the Soul of this World, but at first a certain
Self-moving Substance, endowed with a Phantastick Power, Irrational
and Disorderly, Existing such of it self from Eternity, which God by Harmo-
nizing, and introducing into it fitting Numbers and Proportions, Made
to be the Soul and Prince of this Generated World. According to which
Doctrine of Plutarch's, in the supposed Soul of the World, though it
had a Temporary beginning, yet was it never Created out of No-
thing, but only that which preexisted disorderly, being acted by the
Deity was brought into a Regular Frame. And therefore he concludes,
ἡ ψυχὴ καὶ μετὰ ἑαυτὴν καὶ λογισμὸς καὶ ἀρμονίας, οὐκ ἔργον ἔστι τῷ θεῷ μόνον,
ἀλλὰ καὶ μέρος, ὅσ' ὑπ' αὐτῷ, ἀλλ' ἀπ' αὐτῷ, καὶ ἐξ αὐτῷ γίνεται. Soul par-
taking of Mind, Reason and Harmony, is not only the Work of God,
but also a Part of him, nor is it a thing so much made by him, as from him
and existing out of him. And the same must he likewise affirm con-
cerning all other Souls, as those of Men and Demons, that they are
either all of them the Substance of God himself, together with that
of the Evil Demon, or else certain Delibations from both, (if any one
could understand it) blended and confounded together: He not al-
lowing any new Substance at all to be created by God out of nothing
preexistent. It was observed in the beginning of this Chapter, that
Plutarch was an Assertor of two αὐτῶν ἑαυτῶν or Self-existent Principles
in the Universe, God and Matter, but now we understand, that
he was an Earnest Propugnator of another Third Principle (as him-
self calls it) besides them both, viz. a ψυχὴ ἀνὴρ καὶ κακοποιός, a Mad
Irrational and Maleficent Soul or Demon: So that Plutarch was both
a Triarchist, and a Ditheist, an Assertor of Three Principles, but of
Two Gods; according to that forementioned Notion of a God, as it is
taken, for an Animalish or Perceptive Being Self-existent.

We are not ignorant, that Plutarch endeavours with all his might to perswade, this to have been the constant Belief of all the Pagan Nations, and of all the Wifest men and Philosophers that ever were amongst them. For this (saith he, in his Book *De Iside & Osiride*) is a most ancient Opinion, that hath been delivered down from Theologers and Law-makers, all along to Poets and Philosophers; and though the first Author thereof be Unknown, yet hath it been so firmly believed every where, that the Footsteps of it have been imprinted upon the Sacrifices and Mysteries or Religious Rites, both of Barbarians and Greeks, Namely, That the World is neither wholly Ungoverned by any Mind or Reason, as if all things floated in the streams of Chance and Fortune, nor yet that there is any one Principle steering and guiding all, without Resistance or Control: because there is a Confused Mixture of Good and Evil in every thing, and nothing is Produced by Nature sincere. Wherefore

it is not one only Dispenser of things, who as it were out of several Vessels distributeth those several Liquors of Good and Evil, mingling them together and dashing them as he pleaseth. But there are two Distinct and Contrary Powers or Principles in the World, One of them always leading as it were to the Right hand, but the other tugging a Contrary way. Insomuch that our whole Life and the whole World is a certain Mixture and Confusion of these Two: at least this Terrestrial World below the Moon is such, all being every where full of Irregularity and Disorder. For if nothing can be Made without a Cause, and that which is Good cannot be the Cause of Evil, there must needs be a distinct Principle in Nature for the Production of Evil as well as Good. And this hath been the Opinion of the Most and Wisest Men, some of them affirming θεὸς εἶναι δύο καὶ ἀντίθετον ἀντιλέχοντες, that there are Two Gods as it were of Contrary Crafts and Trades, one whereof is the Maker of all Good, and the other of all Evil; but others calling the Good Principle only a God, and the Evil Principle a Demon, as Zoroaster the Magician. Besides which Zoroaster and the Persian Magi, Plutarch pretends that the Footsteps of this Opinion were to be found also in the Astrology of the Chaldeans, and in the Mysteries and Religious Rites, not only of the Egyptians, but also of the Grecians themselves; and lastly he particularly imputes the same, to all the most famous of the Greek Philosophers, as Pythagoras, Empedocles, Heraclitus, Anaxagoras, Plato and Aristotle; though his chiefest endeavour of all beto prove, that Plato was an Undoubted Champion for it; ἀλλὰ ταῦτ' ἰλάτων ἐν ἐπαθε τοῖς ὑστερον, ὅδε παρ' ἑδὼν, ὡς ἐκείνοι; τὴν μεταξὺ τῆς ὕλης καὶ τοῦ θεοῦ τελίω ἀρχὴν καὶ δύναμιν, ὑπομεινέει τῇ λόγων καὶ ἀτομῶν ἐπιστάθμῳ ἐν οἷα ὅπως ποιεῖται, τῇ κακῶν φύσιν ἀπ' αὐτομάτης καὶ συμβεβηκυίας. Ἐπικύρω μὲν γὰρ ὅδε ἀκαρὲς ἐκκλίνει τὴν ἄτομον συλχεῖσθαι, ὡς ἀναπτύσσον ἐπιστάθμῳ κίνησιν ὡς τῇ μὴ ὄντος, αὐτοὶ δὲ κακίαν καὶ κακοδαμονίαν τοσαύτῃ, ἐπείρας τε καὶ σώμα μυρίας ἀτομίας καὶ δυσχερείας, αἰτίαν ἐν ταῖς ἀρχαῖς ἐν ἐχέστας, κατ' ἐπακολούθησιν γιγνέσθαι λέγουσιν. ὁ δὲ ἰλάτων ἐκ τῆς αἰτίας ἀπὸ τῆς διαφορῆς ἀπάσης ἀπαλλάττων, καὶ τῇ θεῷ τὴν κακῶν αἰτίαν ἀποτάτω πιδέμενος. But Plato was not guilty of that Miscarriage of Later Philosophers, in overlooking the Third Power which is between the Matter and God, and thereby falling into the Grosest of all Absurdities, That the Nature of Evils was but an Accidental Appendix to the World, and came into it merely by chance, no body knows how. So that those very Philosophers who will by no means allow to Epicurus, the Smallest Declension of his Atoms from the Perpendicular, alledging that this would be to introduce a Motion without a Cause, and to bring something out of Nothing; themselves do notwithstanding, suppose all that Vice and Misery which is in the World, besides innumerable other Absurdities and Inconveniences about Body, to have come into it, merely by Accidental Consequence, and without having any Cause in the First Principles. But Plato did not so, but divesting Matter of all Qualities and Differences, by means whereof, it could not possibly be made the Cause of Evils, and then placing God at the greatest distance from being the Cause thereof; he consequently resolved it into a Third Unmade Principle between God and the Matter, an Irrational Soul or Demon, moving the Matter disorderly.

Now because Plutarch's Authority passeth so uncontrolled, and
 T 2 his

De Pysicis
 P. 1015. Ed.

his Testimony in this particular seems to be of late generally received as an Oracle, and consequently the thing taken for an Unquestionable Truth, that the *Ditheistick Doctrine* of a *Good and Evil Principle*, was the Catholick or Universal Doctrine of the *Pagan Theists*, and particularly that *Plato*, above all the rest, was a Professed Champion for the same; we shall therefore make bold to examine *Plutarch's* Grounds for this so confident Assertion of his; and principally concerning *Plato*. And his Grounds for imputing this Opinion to *Plato*, are only these Three which follow. First, because that Philosopher in his *Politics*, speaks of a *Necessary and Innate Appetite, that may sometimes turn the Heavens a contrary way*, and by that means cause Disorder and Confusion; Secondly because in his Tenth *De Legibus*, he speaks of *Two kinds of Souls*, whereof *One is Beneficent, but the other Contrary*; And Lastly, because in his *Timæus* he supposeth, the *Matter* to have been *Moved disorderly* before the World was made, which implies that there was a Disorderly and Irrational Soul consisting with it as the Mover of it, Matter being unable to move it self. But as to the First of these Allegations out of *Plato's Politics*, we shall only observe, that that Philosopher, as if it had been purposely to prevent such an Interpretation of his meaning there as this of *Plutarch's*, inserts these very words; μήτ' αὖ δύο τι νε θεῶ, φρονεῖτε ἑαυτοῖς ἀντίτα, στέφειν αὐτὸν. *Neither must any such thing be supposed, as if there were two Gods, contrarily minded to one another, turning the Heavens sometimes one way and sometimes another.* Which plain declaration of *Plato's* Sense, being directly contrary to *Plutarch's* Interpretation, and this *Ditheistick Opinion*, might serve also for a sufficient Confutation of His Second Ground from the Tenth *De Legibus*, as if *Plato* had there affirmed, that there were *Two Souls* moving the Heavens, the *One Beneficent, but the other Contrary*; because this would be all one as to assert *Two Gods*, contrarily minded to one another. Notwithstanding which, for a fuller Answer thereunto, we shall further add, that this Philosopher, did there, First, only distribute Souls in General into Good and Evil, those *Moral Differences* Properly belonging to that rank of Beings called by him *Souls*, and first emerging in them, according to this Premised Doctrine, τῇ ἀρχῶν αἰτία ἡ ψυχὴ καὶ τῇ καλῶν, καὶ κακῶν καὶ αἰσχρῶν, δικαίων τε καὶ ἀδίκων. *Soul is the Cause of Good and Evil, Honest and Dishonest, Just and Unjust.* But then afterwards, making Enquiry concerning the Soul of the World or Heaven, what kind of Soul that was, he positively concludes, that it was no other than a Soul endued with all Vertue. ΑΘ. ἐπεὶ δὲ ψυχὴ μὲν ἔστιν ἡ ἀειάγουσα ἡμῖν πάντα, τὴν ὃ θεὸς ἀειφορεῖν ἐξ ἀνάγκης ἀγειν φατέον, ὑπὸ μελεμβόλῳ καὶ νομοῖσαν, ἥτοι τὴν ἀείσω ψυχὴν ἥτοι τὴν ἀντίαν. ΚΛ. Ω ξένη, ἀλλὰ ἐν γὰρ τῇ εἰρημνίᾳ ὅδ' ὅσον ἄλλας λέγειν, ἢ πᾶσαν ἀρετὴν ἔχουσαν ψυχὴν μίαν ἢ πλεῖας ἀειάγουσιν αὐτὰ. *Ath. Hosp. Since it is Soul that moves all things, we must of necessity affirm, that the Heaven or World is moved by some Soul or other, adorning and disposing of it, whether it be the Best Soul, or the Contrary.* Clin. O Hospes, it is certainly not Holy nor pious to conclude otherwise, than that a Soul endued with all Vertue, One or More, moves the World. And as for the last thing urged by *Plutarch*, that before the World was made,

the Matter is said by *Plato*, to have been *Moved disorderly*, we conceive that that *Philosopher* did therein only adhere to that *Vulgarly* received Tradition, which was Originally *Mosaical*, that the First beginning of the *Cosmopœia*, was from a *Chaos*, or *Matter confusedly moved*, afterward brought into Order. And now we think it plainly appears, that there is no strength at all in any of *Plutarch's* forementioned Allegations, nor any such Monster to be found any where in *Plato*, as this *Substantial Evil Principle* or *God*, a *Wicked Soul* or *Demon*, Unmade and Self-existent from Eternity, Opposite and Inimicous to the *Good God*, sharing the Empire and Dominion of the World with him. Which Opinion is really nothing else but the *Deifying of the Devil*, or *Prince of Evil Spirits*, making him a *Corrival* with *God*, and entitling him to a Right of receiving *Divine Honour* and *Worship*.

And it is observable, that *Plutarch* himself confesseth this Interpretation which he makes of *Plato*, to be *New* and *Paradoxical*, or an Invention of his own, *καὶ διὰ τὸ πλείστοις ἤμ' ἀπὸ Πλάτωνος ὑπεναγίσθαι*, *Psychog. p. 1012:* *διόμβρον παρεμυθίας*, *Such as because it was contrary to the Generally received Opinion of Platonists, himself thought to stand in need of some Apology and Defence.* To which purpose therefore he adds again, *πρῶτον ἔν ἢν ἔχω περὶ τούτων διανοίαν, ἐκδήσομαι πρῶτον τῷ εἰκότι, καὶ* *P. 1014.* *παρεμυθία* ὡς ἐνεσι, τὸ ἀληθὲς τῶ λόγῳ, καὶ παρεδῶξον. *I will (saith he) declare mine own Opinion first concerning these things, confirming it with Probabilities, and as much as possibly I can, aiding and assisting the Truth and Paradoxicalness thereof.* Moreover *Proclus* upon the *Timæus* takes notice of no other *Philosophers*, that ever imputed this Doctrine to *Plato*, or indeed maintained any such Opinion, of Two Substantial Principles of *Good* and *Evil*, but only *Plutarch* and *Atticus*; (though I confess *Chalcidius* cites *Numenius* also to the same purpose) *Proclus* his words are these: *οἱ μὲν περὶ Πλάτωνα καὶ Χερωνέα καὶ Ἀττικόν, προεῖναι φασι τὴν ἀκόσμητον ὕλην πρὸ τῆς γενέσεως, προεῖναι δὲ καὶ τὴν κακουργίαν ψυχὴν τὴν τῷ τοῦ κινήσεως, πᾶσιν γὰρ ἡ κίνησις ἦν, ἢ ἀπὸ ψυχῆς; εἰ δὲ ἀτακτὸς ἡ κίνησις, ἀπὸ ἀτάκτου ψυχῆς.* *P. 116.* *Plutarchus Cheroneusis and Atticus maintain, that before the Generation and Formation of the World, there was Unformed and disorderly Matter existing (from Eternity) together with a Maleficent Soul; for whence, say they, could that Motion of the Matter, in Plato's Timæus, procede, but from a Soul? and if it were a Disorderly Motion, it must then needs come from a Disorderly Soul.* And as *Proclus* tells us, that this Opinion of theirs had been before confuted by *Porphyrus* and *Jamblichus*, as that which was both Irrational and Impious, so doth he there likewise himself briefly refel it in these Two Propositions; First, that *πᾶσα ψυχὴ γένημα ἐστὶ τοῦ θεοῦ*, *Every Soul is the Offspring of God*, and there can be no Soul nor any thing else, besides *God* Self-existing; and Secondly, *τὸ κακὸν διαίδιον ποιεῖν ὥσπερ καὶ τὸ ἀγαθὸν ἀτοπον, εἰ γὰρ ὁμοτίμον τῷ θεῷ τὸ ἄθεον, ὅτι ἐπίσης ἀγνῆτον, ὅτε ὅλως ἀντιδιμετρύον.* *It is absurd to make Evil alike Eternal with Good, for that which is Godless cannot be of like honour with God, and equally Unmade, nor indeed can there be any thing at all, positively opposite to God.*

But because it may probably be here demanded, What Account it was then possible for *Plato* to give, of the Original of Evils, so as not to impute them to God himself, if he neither derived them from ὕλη ἀποιος, *Unqualified Matter* (which *Plutarch* has plainly proved to be absurd) nor yet from a ψυχὴ ἄναξ, *an Irrational and Maleficent Soul of the World or Demon*, Self-existent from Eternity; we shall therefore hereunto briefly reply: That though that Philosopher derived not the Original of Evils, from *Unqualified Matter*, nor from a *Wicked Soul or Demon Unmade*, yet did he not therefore impute them to God neither, but as it seemeth, to the *Necessity of Imperfect Beings*. For as *Timæus Locrus* had before *Plato* determined, that the World was made by God and *Necessity*, so does *Plato* himself accordingly declare in his *Timæus*, ὅτι μεμυγμένη τῷδε τῷ νόμῳ ψυχῆς, ἐξ ἀνάγκης καὶ καὶ συστάσεως, καὶ ἡ ἀνάγκη ἀρχαῖος. That the Generation of this World is mixt and made up of a certain composition of Mind and *Necessity* both together, yet so as that Mind, doth also (in some sence) rule over *Necessity*. Wherefore though according to *Plato*, God be properly and directly the Cause of nothing else but Good, yet the *Necessity* of these Lower Imperfect things, does unavoidably give Being and Birth to Evils. For First, as to *Moral Evils*, (which are the Chiefest) there is a *Necessity* that there should be Higher and Lower Inclinations in all Rational Beings Vitally United to Bodies, and that as *Autonomous* or Free-willed, they should have a Power of determining themselves more or less, either way; as there is also a *Necessity*, that the same Liberty of Will (essential to Rational Creatures) which makes them capable of Praise and Reward, should likewise put them in a Possibility of deserving Blame and Punishment. Again, as to the Evils of Pain and Inconvenience; there seems to be a *Necessity*, that Imperfect Terrestrial Animals, which are capable of the Sense of Pleasure, should in contrary Circumstances (which will also sometimes happen, by reason of the Inconsistency and Impossibility of things) be obnoxious to Displeasure and Pain. And Lastly, for the Evils of Corruptions and Dissolutions; there is a plain *Necessity*, that if there be Natural Generations in the World, there should be also Corruptions; according to that of *Lucretius* before cited,

*Quando alid ex alio reficit Natura, nec ullam
Rem gigni patitur, nisi Morte adjutam alienâ.*

To all which may be added, according to the Opinion of many, That there is a kind of *Necessity* of some Evils in the World, for a Condiment (as it were) to give a Relish and Haut-goust to Good; since the Nature of Imperfect Animals is such, that they are apt to have but a Dull and Sluggish Sense, a Flat and Insipid Taste of Good, unless it be quickned and stimulated, heightened and invigorated, by being compared with the Contrary Evil. As also, that there seems to be a *Necessary Use* in the World of the κακὰ ἀναγκαῖα, those Involuntary Evils of Pain and Suffering, both for the Exercise of Virtue, and

aud the Quickning and Exciting the *Activity* of the World, as also for the Repressing, Chastising and Punishing of those κακά ἐκείνα, those *Voluntary Evils of Vice and Action*. Upon which several accounts, probably, *Plato* concluded, that Evils could not be utterly destroyed, at least in this Lower World, which according to him, is the *Region of Lapsed Souls*: ἀλλ' ὅτ' ἀπολέσθαι τὰ κακά δυνατόν ἔσθ' οὐδ' αὖτε (ὅ-
 πεναντίον γὰρ π' τὰς ἀγαθὰς αἰεὶ εἶναι ἀνάγκη) ὅτ' ἐν θεοῖς αὐτὰ ἰδεῖσθαι, τῶ-
 δε θιντῶ φύσιν, καὶ τὸνδε τὸν τόπον ἀπολεῖν ἐξ ἀνάγκης· διδ' περιεῖσθαι καὶ
 ἐνδεῖνδε ἐκείσε, φύσιν ὅτιτάχεται· φυγὴν δ' ὁμοίωσις θεῶ καὶ τὸ δυνατόν, ὁ-
 μοίωσις δ', δίκαιον καὶ ὅσον μετὰ φρονήσεως γινέσθαι. But it is neither pos-
 sible (O Theodorus) That Evils should be quite destroyed (for there
 must be something always Contrary to Good) nor yet that they should be
 seated amongst the Gods, but they will of necessity infest this Lower Mor-
 tal Region and Nature. Wherefore we ought to endeavour to flee from
 hence, with all possible speed, and our flight from hence is this, to assimilate
 our selves to God as much as may be. Which Assimilation to God consist-
 eth in being Just and Holy with Wisdom. Thus, according to the Sence
 of *Plato*, though God be the Original of all things, yet he is not to
 be accounted properly the Cause of Evils, at least Moral ones, (they
 being only Defects) but they are to be imputed to the Necessity of
 Imperfect Beings, which is that ἀνάγκη πολλὰ τὰς θεῶν δυσμαχέσθαι καὶ ἀφ-
 νιάσθαι, That Necessity which doth often resist God, and as it were shake
 off his Bridle. Rational Creatures being by means thereof, in a
 Capability of acting contrary to God's Will and Law, as well as
 their own true Nature and Good; and other things hindred of that
 Perfection, which the Divine Goodness would else have imparted to
 them. Notwithstanding which, Mind, that is, God, is said also by
Plato, to Rule over Necessity, because those Evils, occasioned by the
 Necessity of Imperfect Beings, are Over-ruled by the Divine Art, Wis-
 dom and Providence, for Good; Typhon and Arimanius (if we may
 use that Language) being as it were Outwitted, by Osiris and Oro-
 masdes, and the worst of all Evils made, in spight of their own Nature,
 to contribute subserviently to the Good and Perfection of the Whole;
 καὶ τὸτο μέγιστος τέχνης ἀγαθοποιεῖν τὰ κακά, and this must needs be ac-
 knowledged to be the greatest Art of all, to be able to Bonifie Evils, or Tin-
 dure them with Good.

In Thiete f.
1, 6. Steph.

And now we have made it to appear (as we conceive) that *Plu-
 tarch* had no sufficient Grounds to impute this Opinion, of Two A-
 ctive Perceptive Principles in the World, (one the Cause of Good and
 the other of Evil) to *Plato*. And as for the other Greek Philosophers,
 his Pretences to make them Assertors of the same Doctrine, seem to
 be yet more slight and frivolous. For he concludes the *Pythagoreans
 to have held Two such Substantial Principles of Good and Evil, merely be-
 cause they sometimes talkt of the ἐναντιότητες and οὐσιότητες, The Contra-
 rieties and Conjugations of things, such as Finite and Infinite, Dextrous
 and Sinistrous, Even and Odd, and the like. As also that *Heracli-
 tus* entertain'd the same Opinion. because he spake of a παντὸς ἀρ-
 μονία κόσμος, A Versatil Harmony of the World, whereby things reci-
 procate forwards and backwards, as when a Bow is successively In-
 tended

* Οἱ Πυθαγόρειοι
 ἵδαν τὸ κακὸν
 ἐν ταῖς ἀρχαῖς
 παλαιῶν.
 The Pythagoreans
 no where admit-
 ted Evil amongst
 the Principles.
 Syriacus in Ari-
 stot. Metaphys.
 MS. p. 218.

tended and Remitted ; as likewise because he affirmed, *All things to flow, and War to be the Father and Lord of all.* Moreover he resolves that *Empedocles* his *Friendship* and *Contention* could be no other than a *Good and Evil God* ; though we have rendred it probable, that nothing else was understood thereby, but an *Active Spermatick Power* in this Corporeal World, causing *Vicissitudes of Generation and Corruption.* Again *Anaxagoras* is entitled by him to the same Philosophy, for no other reason, but only because he made *Mind* and *Infinite Matter*, *Two Principles* of the Universe. And Lastly, *Aristotle* himself cannot scape him from being made an Assertor of a *Good and Evil God* too, merely because he concluded *Form* and *Privation*, to be *Two Principles* of Natural Bodies. Neither does *Plutarch* acquit himself anything better, as to the Sense of Whole Nations, when this Doctrine is therefore imputed by him to the *Chaldeans*, because their *Astrologers* supposed *Two* of the *Planets* to be *Beneficent*, *Two Maleficent*, and *Three* of a *Middle Nature* : and to the ancient Greeks, because they sacrificed, not only to *Jupiter Olympius*, but also to *Hades* or *Pluto*, who was sometimes called by them the *Infernal Jupiter*. We confess that his Interpretation of the *Traditions* and *Mysteries* of the ancient Egyptians is ingenious, but yet there is no necessity for all that, that by their *Typhon* should be understood a *Substantial Evil Principle*, or *God Self-existent*, as he contends. For it being the manner of the ancient Pagans, (as shall be more fully declared afterwards) to *Physiologize* in their *Theology*, and to *Personate* all the several *Things* in Nature ; it seems more likely, that these Egyptians did after that manner, only *περὶ σωποποιεῖν*, *Personate* that *Evil* and *Confusion*, *Tumult* and *Hurliburly*, *Constant Alteration* and *Vicissitude of Generations and Corruptions*, which is in this Lower World, (though not without a Divine Providence) by *Typhon*.

Wherefore the only Probability now left, is that of the *Persian Magi*, that they might indeed assert *Two* such *Active Principles* of *Good* and *Evil*, as *Plutarch* and the *Manicheans* afterwards did ; and we must confess, that there is some Probability of this, because besides *Plutarch*, *Laertius* affirms the same of them, *δύο κατ' αὐτοὺς εἶναι ἀρετῆς, ἀγαθὸν δαίμονα καὶ κακόν*, *That there are Two Principles according to the Persian Magi, a Good Demon and an Evil one* ; he seeming to Vouch it also from the Authorities of *Hermippus*, *Endoxus* and *Theopompus*. Notwithstanding which, it may very well be Questioned, whether the meaning of those *Magi*, were not herein misunderstood, they perhaps intending nothing more by their *Evil Demon*, than such a *Satanical Power* as we acknowledge, that is, not a *Substantial Evil-Principle*, *unmade* and *Independent* upon *God*, but only a *Polity of Evil Demons* in the World, united together under *One Head* or *Prince*. And this not only because *Theodorus* in *Photius*, calls the Persian *Arimanius*, by that very name, *Satanas* ; but also because those very *Traditions* of theirs, recorded by *Plutarch* himself, seem very much to favour this Opinion, they running after this manner ; *ἐπὶ τοῖς χρόνοις ἀμαρμηδός, ἐν ᾧ τὸ Ἀρειμανιον λοιμὸν ἐπέχοντα καὶ λιμὸν, ὑπὸ τέτων ἀνάσσει φθαγεῖναι παντάπασι καὶ ἀφανισθῆναι, ἣ δὲ γῆς ὅλη πῦρ*

πέδ' ἢ ὁμαλῆς γῆς, ἓνα βίον ἢ μίαν πολιτείαν ἀνθρώπων μακαρίων ἢ ἐμογλώσων ἀπάντων ᾗσθαι. That there is a Fatal time at hand, in which Arimanius, the Introducer of Plagues and Famines, must of necessity be utterly destroyed, and when, the Earth being made plain and equal, there shall be but one Life, and one Polity of men, all happy and speaking the same Language. Or else as Theopompus himself represented their sence, τέλος ἀπολείπεσθαι τὸ "Αδ'ω, ἢ τὰς μὲν ἀνθρώπους διδ'αίμονας ἔσθαι, μήτε τροφῆς δευμύς, μήτε σκίαν ποίοντας. τὸ δὲ ταῦτα μηχανησόμενον θεὸν ἡρεμεῖν ἢ ἀναπαύεσθαι χεῖρον καλῶς μὲν ἔστι πολὺν χρόνον, ὡς παρ' ἀνθρώπων κοιμωμένων μέτερον, That in conclusion, Hades shall be utterly abolished, and then men shall be perfectly happy, their Bodies neither needing food, nor casting any shadow. That God, which contrived this whole Scene of things, resting only for the present a certain season, which is not long to him, but like the intermission of sleep to men. For since an Unmade and Self-existent Evil Demon, such as that of Plutarch's and the Manicheans, could never be utterly abolished or destroyed; it seems rather probable, that these Persian Magi did, in their Arimanius, either προσωποποιεῖν, personate Evil only, as we suppose the Egyptians to have done in Typhon; or else understand a Satanical Power by it: notwithstanding which, they might possibly sacrifice thereunto (as the Greeks did to Evil Demons) for its Appeasement and Mitigation; or else as worshipping the Deity it self, in the Ministers of its Wrath and Vengeance.

However, from what hath been declared, we conceive it does sufficiently appear, that this *Ditheistick Doctrine* of a Good and Evil God, (or a Good God and Evil Demon both Self-existent) asserted by Plutarch and the Manicheans, was never so universally received amongst the Pagans, as the same Plutarch pretendeth. Which thing may be yet further evidenced from hence, because the Manicheans professed themselves not to have derived this Opinion from the Pagans, nor to be a Subdivision under them, or Schism from them, but a quite different Sect by themselves. Thus *Faustus* in St. Augustine: *Pagani Bona & Mala, Tetra & Splendida, Perpetua & Caduca, Mutabilia & Certa, Corporalia & Divina, Unum habere Principium dogmatizant. His ego valde contraria censeo, qui Bonis omnibus Principium fateor Deum, Contrariis verò Hylem (sic enim Mali Principium & Naturam Theologus noster appellat.)* The Pagans dogmatize, that Good and Evil things, Foul and Splendid, Perishing and Perpetual, Corporal and Divine, do all alike procede from the same Principle. Whereas we think far otherwise, that God is the Principle of all Good, but Hyle (or the Evil Demon) of the contrary, which names our Theologer (Manes) confounds together. And afterwards *Faustus* there again determines, that there were indeed but Two Sects of Religion in the World, really distinct from one another, viz. Paganism and Manicheism. From whence it may be concluded, that this Doctrine, of Two Active Principles of Good and Evil, was not then look'd upon, as the Generally received Doctrine of the Pagans. Wherefore it seems reasonable to think, that Plutarch's imputing it so Universally to them, was either out of Design, thereby to gain the better countenance and authority, to a Conceit which himself was fond of; or else because he be-
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Contra Faust.
Lib. 20. c. 3.

ing deeply tinctured, as it were, with the Suffusions of it, every thing which he look'd upon, seem'd to him coloured with it. And indeed for ought we can yet learn, this *Plutarchus Charonensis*, *Nu-
menius* and *Atticus* were the only Greek Philosophers, who ever in Publick Writings positively asserted any such Opinion.

And probably *S. Athanasius*, is to be understood of These, when in his Oration *Contra Gentes*, he writes thus concerning this Opinion, *Ἕλλησιν ἐν πινὲς πλανηθέντες τὸ ὁδὸν, καὶ τὸ χρεῖσθαι ἐν ἔγνωτες, ἐν ὑποστάσει καὶ καθ' ἑαυτὴν εἶναι τὴν κακίαν ἀπεφθάνοντο· ἀμαρτάνοντες καὶ τὸ διὰ ταῦτα, ἢ τὴν διμμερῶν ἀποσερῶντες τὴν εἶναι ποιητὴν τῆς οὐσίας, καὶ τὸ ἂν εἴη τῆς οὐσίας κρείττον, εἶχε κατ' αὐτὰς ἡ κακία καθ' ἑαυτὴν ὑπάρχειν ἔχει καὶ εἶναι, ἢ πάλιν δέλοντες αὐτὸν ποιητὴν εἶναι τῆς οὐσίας, ἐξ ἀνάγκης καὶ τὴν κακὴν δάσκειν εἶναι, ἐν τῷ τοῖς εἶναι καὶ τὸ κακὸν κατ' αὐτὰς ἔστι. Some of the Greeks, wandring out of the right way, and ignorant of Christ, have determined Evil to be a Real Entity by it self, erring upon two accounts, because they must of necessity, either suppose God not to be the Maker of all Things, if Evil have a Nature and Essence by it self, and yet be not made by him; or else that he is the Maker and Cause of Evil, whereas it is impossible, that he who is Essentially Good, should produce the Contrary. After which that Father speaks also of some degenerate Christians, who fell into the same Error; οἱ δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς αἰρέσεως ἐκπεσόντες τὴν ἐκκλησιαστικὴν διδασκαλίαν, καὶ οὐκ ἐν τῇ πίστει ναυαγισάμενοι, καὶ εἰς τοὺς μὲν ὑπάρχειν τὴν κακὴν οὐκ ἀποφασίζουσιν εἶναι. Some Hereticks, forsaking the Ecclesiastical Doctrine, and making shipwreck of the Faith, have in like manner, falsely attributed a Real Nature and Essence to Evil. Of which Hereticks there were several Sects before the *Manicheans*, sometime taken notice of and censur'd by Pagan Philosophers themselves; as by *Celsus*, where he charges Christians with holding this Opinion, that there is ἐναντίον τοῦ μεγάλου θεοῦ θεὸς καὶ ἄκατος, An Execrable God contrary to the Great God, and by *Plotinus*, writing a whole Book against such Christians, the 9th of his Second Ennead, which by *Porphyrus* was inscribed *πρὸς τοὺς Γνωστικούς*, Against the Gnosticks.*

But if notwithstanding all that we have hitherto said to the contrary, that which *Plutarch* so much contends for, should be granted to be true, that the Pagan Theologers generally asserted *Two Self-existent Principles* (a Good God, and an Evil Soul or Demon) and no more, it would unavoidably follow from thence, that all those other Gods which they worshipped, were not look'd upon by them, as so Many *Unmade Self-existent Beings*, because then they should have acknowledged so many *First Principles*. However it is certain, that if *Plutarch* believed his own Writings, he must of necessity take it for granted, that none of the Pagan Gods (those *Two Principles* of Good and Evil only excepted) were by their Theologers accounted *Unmade* or *Self-existent* Beings. And as to *Plutarch* himself, it is unquestionably manifest, that though he were a Pagan, and a Worshipper of all those Many Gods of theirs, but especially amongst the rest, of the *Delian Apollo* (whose Priest he declares himself to have been) yet he supposed them all (except only one Good God,
and

and another Evil Soul of the World) to be no Self-existent Deities, but *Θεοὶ ῥηνοὶ*, *Generated or Created Gods* only. And the same is to be affirmed of all his Pagan Followers, as also of the Manicheans, forasmuch as they, besides their Good and Evil God (the only Unmade Self-existent Beings acknowledged by them) worshipped also Innumerable other Deities.

Hitherto we have not been able to find amongst the Pagans, any who asserted a *Multitude of Unmade Self-existent Deities*, but on the contrary we shall now find One, who took notice of this Opinion of *πολλὰ ἀρχαί*, *Many Principles*, so far forth as to confute it, and that is *Aristotle*, who was not occasioned to do that neither, because it was a Doctrine then Generally Received, but only because he had a mind, odiously to impute such a thing to the Pythagoreans and Platonists, they making *Idea's* (sometimes called also Numbers) in a certain sence, the Principles of things. Nevertheless the Opinion it self is well confuted by that Philosopher, from the *Phænomena* after this manner; *οἱ δὲ λέγοντες τὸ ἀρχὴν πρῶτον τὸ μαθηματικόν, καὶ ὅτις αἰετῶς ἄλλω ἐχρησίστω ἑστίαν καὶ ἀρχὴς ἑκάστης ἄλλης, ἐπιδιορώδην τὴν τῶ πάντες ἑστίαν ποιεῖν*. *They who say that Mathematical Number is the First, and suppose one Principle of one thing, and another of another, would make the whole World to be like an incoherent and disagreeing Poem, where things do not all mutually contribute to one another, nor conspire together to make up one Sence and Harmony; But the contrary (saith he) is most evident in the World; and therefore their cannot be Many Principles, but only One.* From whence it is manifest, that though *Aristotle* were a Worshipper of *Many Gods*, as well as the other Pagans, (he somewhere representing it as very absurd to Sacrifice to none but *Jupiter*) yet he was no *Polytheist*, in the sence before declared, of *many Unmade Self-existent Deities*, nor indeed any *Ditheist* neither, no assertor of *Two Understanding Principles*, a *Good and Evil God*, (as *Plutarch* pretended him to be) he not only here exploding that Opinion of *πολλὰ ἀρχαί*, *Many Principles*, but also expressly deriving all from *One*, and in that very Chapter affirming, that *Good* is a *Principle*, but not *Evil*. But as for the Platonists and Pythagoreans there perstringed by him, though it be true that they made *Idea's* in some sence Principles, as the Paradigms of things, yet according to *Aristotle's* own Confession, even in that same Chapter, they declared also, that there was *ἄλλη ἀρχὴ κατωτέρη*, *another Principle more excellent or Superiour*, which is indeed that that was called by them the *τὸ ἐν*, or *μονάς*, *Unity it self* or a *Monad*, that is, One most Simple Deity.

Though we did before demonstrate, that the *Pagan Gods* were not all supposed by them to be *Unmade Self-existent Beings*, because they acknowledged a *Theogonia*, a *Generation and Temporary Production of Gods*; yet forasmuch as it might be suspected, that they held notwithstanding a *Multitude of Unmade Deities*, we have now made the best Enquiry that we could concerning this, and the utmost that we have been able yet to discover is, that some few of the Professed Pagans, as well as of pretended Christians, have indeed asserted a

Duplicity

Duplicity of such Gods (viz. *Understanding Beings Unmade*) one Good and the other Evil, but no more. Whereas on the contrary we have found, that *Aristotle* did professedly oppose, this Opinion of *Many Principles*, or *Unmade Gods*, which certainly he durst never have done, had it then been the Generally received Opinion of the Pagans. And though it be true, that several of the Ancient Christians, in their Disputes with Pagans, do confute that Opinion of *Many Unmade Deities*, yet we do not find for all that, that any of them seriously charge the Pagans with it, they only doing it occasionally and *ex abundanti*. But we should be the better enabled, to make a clear Judgment concerning this Controversie, whether there were not amongst the *Pagan Deities*, a *Multitude* of Supposed *Unmade Beings*; if we did but take a short survey of their Religion, and consider all the several kinds of Gods worshipped by them; which may, as we conceive, be reduced to these following Heads. In the First place therefore it is certain, that Many of the Pagan Gods, were nothing else but *Dead Men* (or the Souls of Men Deceased) called by the Greeks *Heroes*, and the Latines *Manes*, such as *Hercules*, *Liber*, *Æsculapius*, *Castor*, *Pollux*, *Quirinus*, and the like. Neither was this only true of the Greeks and Romans, but also of the *Ægyptians*, *Syrians* and *Babylonians*. For which cause the Pagan Sacrifices, are by way of contempt in the Scripture called, the *Sacrifices of the Dead*, that is, not of *Dead or Lifeless Statues*, as some would put it off, but of *Dead Men*. which was the reason, why many of the Religious Rites and Solemnities, observed by the Pagan Priests, were *Mournful* and *Funeral*; accordingly as it is expressed in *Baruch* concerning the *Babylonians*, *The Priests sit in their Temples having their clothes rent, and their heads and beards shaven, and nothing upon their heads; They rore and cry before their Gods, as men do at the Feast, when one is dead.* (Some of which Rites, are therefore thought to have been Interdicted to the *Israelitish Priests*.) And the same thing is noted likewise by the Poet concerning the *Egyptians*,

Chap. 6. v. 31.

Et quem tu plangens, Hominem testaris, Osirin :

And intimated by *Xenophanes* the *Colophonian*, when he reprehensively admonished the *Egyptians* after this manner, *ἂν θεῶς νομίζουσι μὴ θένειν, εἰ ᾧ θένειν μὴ θεῶς νομίζουσι, That if they thought those to be Gods, they should not so lament them, but if they would lament them, they should no longer think them Gods.* Moreover it is well known, that this Humour of Deifying Men, was afterwards carried on further, and that Living Men (as Emperors) had also Temples and Altars, erected to them; Nay Humane *Polities* and *Cities*, were also sometimes Deified by the Pagans, *Rome* it self being made a *Goddeß*. Now no man can imagine that those *Men-gods* and *City-gods*, were look'd upon by them, as so many *Unmade Self-existent Deities*, they being not indeed so much as *φύσιν ἔχοντες θεοὶ, Gods Made or Generated by Nature*, but rather Artificially Made, by Humane Will and Pleasure. Again, Another sort of the *Pagan Deities*, were all the *Greater Parts* of the Visible Mundane System, or Corporeal World, as supposed to be *Animated*,
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The Sun, the Moon and the Stars, and even the Earth it self, under the Names of *Vesta*, and *Cybele*, the *Mother of the Gods*, and the like. Now it is certain also, that none of these could be taken for Unmade Self-existent Deities neither, by those who supposed the whole World it self to have been *Generated*, or had a *Beginning*, which as *Aristotle* tells us, was the Generally received Opinion before his time. There was also a *Third Sort* of Pagan Deities, *Ethereal* and *Aerial Animals* Invisible, called *Dæmons*, *Genii* and *Lares*, Superiour indeed to Men, but Inferiour to the *Celestial* or *Mundane Gods* before mentioned. Wherefore these must needs be look'd upon also by them but as *ῥονωτοὶ θεοὶ*, *Generated or Created Gods*, they being but certain Inferiour Parts of the whole Generated World.

Besides all these, the Pagans had yet another Sort of Gods, that were nothing but mere *Accidents* or *Affections* of *Substances*, which therefore could not be supposed by them to be *Self-existent Deities*, because they could not so much as *Subsist* by themselves. Such as were, *Vertue*, *Piety*, *Felicity*, *Truth*, *Faith*, *Hope*, *Justice*, *Clemency*, *Love*, *Desire*, *Health*, *Peace*, *Honour*, *Fame*, *Liberty*, *Memory*, *Sleep*, *Night*, and the like; all which had their Temples or Altars erected to them. Now this kind of Pagan Gods, cannot well be conceived to have been any thing else, but the *Several and Various Manifestations* of that One Divine Force, Power and Providence that runs through the Whole World (as respecting the Good and Evil of Men) *Fictitiously Personated*, and so represented as so Many Gods and Goddesses.

Lastly, There is still Another kind of Pagan Gods behind, having *Substantial* and *Personal Names*, which yet cannot be conceived neither to be so many *Understanding Beings*, *Unmade*, and *Independent* upon any *Supreme*, were it for no other reason but only this, because they have all of them their *Particular Places* and *Provinces*, *Offices* and *Functions* severally (as it were) assigned to them, and to which they are confined; so as not to interfere and clash with one another, but agreeably to make up one *Orderly* and *Harmonious System* of the Whole; One of those Gods ruling only in the *Heavens*, Another in the *Air*, Another in the *Sea*, and Another in the *Earth* and *Hell*; One being the God or Goddess of *Learning* and *Wisdom*, Another of *Speech* and *Eloquence*, Another of *Justice* and *Political Order*; One the God of *War*, Another the God of *Pleasure*, One the God of *Corn*, and Another the God of *Wine*, and the like. For how can it be conceived, that a Multitude of Understanding Beings Self-existent and Independent, could thus of themselves have fallen into such a Uniform Order and Harmony, and without any clashing, peaceably and quietly sharing the Government of the whole World amongst them, should carry it on with such a *Constant Regularity*? For which Cause we conclude also, that neither those *Dii Majorum Gentium*, whether the *Twenty Selecti*, or the *Twelve Consentes*, nor yet that *Triumvirate* of Gods, amongst whom *Homer* shares the Government of the whole World, according to that of *Maximus Tyrius*, τελεχθὰ Ὀμήρου διδάσκει τὰ *Diff. 16.*
 πεντήκοντα, Περσέων μὲν ἑλᾶχε, πολλὴν ἄλλα νομῆμιν αἰεὶ, Ἀθῆνῃ δ' ἑλᾶχε ζῳφον ἡγεμό-
 νειαν,

εἶτα, Ζῆς ὃ ἑρμῆν, *The Sea being assigned to Neptune, the Dark and Subterraneous Parts to Pluto, but the Heaven to Jupiter, which Three are sometimes called also the Celestial, Marine, and Terrestrial Jupiter; Nor lastly, that other Roman and Samothracian Trinity of Gods, worshipped all together in the Capitol, Jupiter, Minerva and Juno; I say, that none of all these could reasonably be thought by the Pagans themselves, to be so many really distinct, Unmade, and Self-existent Deities.*

Wherefore the Truth of this whole business seems to be this, that the ancient Pagans did *Physiologize* in their *Theology*, and whether looking upon the *Whole World Animated*, as the *Supreme God*, and consequently the *Several Parts* of it, as his *Living Members*, or else apprehending it at least to be a *Mirror*, or *Visible Image* of the *Invisible Deity*, and consequently all its *Several Parts*, and *Things of Nature*, but so many *Several Manifestations* of the *Divine Power* and *Providence*, they pretended, that all their *Devotion* towards the *Deity*, ought not to be *Huddled up* in one *General* and *Confused Acknowledgment*, of a *Supreme Invisible Being*, the *Creator* and *Governour* of all, but that all the *Several Manifestations* of the *Deity* in the *World*, considered singly and apart by themselves, should be made so many *Distinct Objects* of their *Devout Veneration*; and therefore in order hereunto did they *περὶ τὰ φύσιν*, *speak of the things in Nature, and the Parts of the World, as Persons*, and consequently as so many *Gods* and *Goddeesses*; yet so, as that the *Intelligent* might easily understand the *Meaning*, that these were all really nothing else, but so many *Several Names* and *Notions*, of that *One Numen*, *Divine Force* and *Power*, which runs through the whole *World*, multiformly displaying it self therein. To this purpose *Balbus* in *Cicero*, *Videtisne ut à Physicis rebus, tracta Ratio sit ad Commentitios & Fictos Deos?* See you not how from the *Things of Nature*, *Fictitious Gods* have been made? And *Origen* seems to insist upon this very thing, (where *Celsus* upbraids the *Jews* and *Christians* for worshipping *One only God*) shewing that all that seeming *Multiplicity* of *Pagan Gods*, could not be understood of so *Many Distinct Substantial Independent Deities*; δεινὸν τῶν πᾶς αὐτὸς δύναται ἀρξασθαι τὸ πλῆθος τῆς καὶ ἑλλήνων θεῶν, ἢ τῶν λοιπῶν βαρβάρων. δεινὸν τὸ ὑπὸ τῶν καὶ ἑλλήνων μυημένων θεολόγων εἶπε διὰ τὸς μύστας, ἢ οἰόμεθα τὸς ὄρεας, ἢ τὰς καὶ εἰς αἰὲν γυνῆς ἀρξασθαι δύνασθαι κατ' ἑσὴν ὑπερμέναι, ἀλλ' ὃ δυνήσεται τὰ ἑλλήνων ἀναπλάσματα (συνεπιποιεῖσθαι δοκῶντα ἀπὸ τῆς περὶ φύσιν) δεινὸν θεῶν. To this Sence; Let *Celsus* therefore himself shew, how he is able to make out a *Multiplicity* of *Gods* (*Substantial* and *Self-existent*) according to the *Greeks* and other *Barbarian Pagans*; let him declare the *Essence* and *Substantial Personality* of that *Memory* which by *Jupiter* generated the *Muses*, or of that *Themis* which brought forth the *Hours*; Or let him shew how the *Graces* always *Naked* do subsist by themselves. But he will never be able to do this, nor to make it appear that those *Figments* of the *Greeks* (which seem to be really nothing else but the *Things of Nature* turned into *Persons*) are so many *distinct* (*Self-existent*) *Deities*. Where the latter Words are thus rendred in a *Late Edition*; Sed nunquam poterit (Celsus) Græcorum Figmenta, quæ validiora fieri videntur, ex rebus ipsis

ipſis Deos eſſe arguere, which we confeſs we cannot underſtand ; but we conceive the word *ὁμοιοποιεῖσθαι*, there turned *Validiora fieri*, is here uſed by Origen in the ſame ſence with *περοσωποποιεῖσθαι*, ſo that his meaning is as we have declared, that thoſe *Figments* of the Greeks and other Barbarian Pagans, (which are the ſame with *Balbus* his *Commentitii* & *Ficti Dii*) are really nothing elſe but the *Things* of Nature, *Figuratively* and *Fictitiouſly Perſonated*, and conſequently not ſo many *Diſtinct Subſtantial Deities*, but only ſeveral *Notions* and *Conſiderations* of One God, or Supreme Numen, in the World.

Now this *Fictitious Perſonating*, and *Deifying* of Things, by the Pagan Theologers, was done *Two manner* of ways ; One, when thoſe *Things* in Nature, were themſelves without any more ado or Change of Names, ſpoken of as *Perſons*, and ſo made *Gods* and *Goddeſſes*, as in the many inſtances before propoſed. Another, when there were diſtinct *Proper and Perſonal Names* accommodated ſeverally to thoſe *Things*, as of *Minerva* to *Wiſdom*, of *Neptune* to the *Sea*, of *Ceres* to *Corn* and of *Bacchus* to *Wine*. In which Latter Caſe, thoſe *Perſonal Names* Properly ſignifie, the *Inviſible Divine Powers*, ſuppoſed to preſide over thoſe ſeveral Things in Nature, and theſe are therefore properly thoſe *Gods* and *Goddeſſes*, which are *δωτῆρες ἐάων*, the *Givers* and *Diſpenſers* of the *Good Things*, and the *Removers* of the *Contrary* ; but they are uſed Improperly alſo, for the *Things* of Nature themſelves, which therefore as *Manifestations* of the *Divine Power*, *Goodneſs* and *Providence*, *Perſonated*, are ſometimes alſo *Abuſively*, called *Gods* and *Goddeſſes*. This *Mystery* of the *Pagan Polytheiſm*, is thus fully declared by *Mofcopulus* ; ἰστέον ὅτι πάντα οἱ Ἕλληες ἀ δυνάμιν ἐχούτα ἐώρουν, ἐν ἀνδρὶ βῆτις αἰσῶς θεῶν τῶν δυνάμιν αὐτῶν ἀνεργεῖν ἐνόμαζον, ἐνὶ ᾧ ὀνόματι τό τε τῶν δυνάμιν ἔχον, καὶ τὸ βῆτις αἰσῶντα τῶν θεῶν ἀνόμαζον. ὅθεν ἠφαισεν ἐκάλεον τίτε διακονικοὶ τῶν πυρ, καὶ τὸ βῆτις αἰσῶντα ταῖς διὰ τῶν ἀνεργεῖν αἰσῶς τέχναις, καὶ ἀμύττων τὸ σίτον καὶ τὸς καρπὸς, καὶ τῶν δαρεμῶν τῶν θεῶν, καὶ βῆτις αἰσῶσαν αὐτοῖς, καὶ ἁθῶν τῶν φερίων, καὶ τὴν ἐφορεῖν τὴν φερίων θεῶν. καὶ τὸ διόνυσον τὸ οἶνον καὶ τὸ δίδοντα τῶν θεῶν. ὃν καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν δίδοναι τὸ οἶνον ὁ πλάτων παράγῃ, καὶ δίδονυσον τῶν ποιῶν εἶτα καὶ διόνυσον. καὶ εἰλεῖς τὸς τῶν, καὶ τὸς ἐφορέας τὸς τῶν θεῶν. καὶ ἀφεσῖτῶν τὴν συνῶσαν καὶ βῆτις αἰσῶσαν ταύτῃ θεῶν. καὶ τῶν καὶ μῶς αἰσῶν τῶν λογικῶν τέχναις, οἷον ἐπὶ οὐκὴν, ἀρενομίαν, κωμωδίαν, τραγῶδιαν, καὶ τὸς ἐφορεῖς καὶ παρῶν τῶν θεῶν. We muſt know, that whatſoever the Greeks (or Pagans) ſaw to have any Power, Vertue or Ability in it, they looked upon it as not aſſing according to ſuch Power, without the Providence, Preſidency, or Influence of the Gods ; and they called both the Thing it ſelf, which bath the Power, and the Deity preſiding over it, by one and the ſame Name ; whence the Miniſterial Fire uſed in Mechanick Arts, and the God preſiding over thoſe Arts that work by fire, were both alike called *Hephæſtus* or *Vulcan* ; ſo the name *Demetra* or *Ceres*, was given as well to *Corn* and *Fruits*, as to that *Goddeſs* which beſtows them ; *Athena* or *Minerva*, did alike ſignifie, *Wiſdom*, and the *Goddeſs* which is the *Diſpenſer* of it ; *Dionyſus* or *Bacchus*, *Wine*, and the *God* that giveth *Wine* (whence *Plato* etymologizes the Name from giving of *Wine*.) In like manner, they called both the *Childbearing* of *Women*, and the *Goddeſſes* that ſuperintend over the ſame *Eilithuia* or *Lucina* ; *Coitus* or *Copulation*, and

In Heſiod. p. 1.

the Deity presiding over it, Aphrodite or Venus. And lastly, in the same manner, by the Muses, they signified both those Rational Arts, Rhetorick, Astronomy, Poetry, and the Goddesses which assist therein or promote the same. Now as the several Things in Nature and Parts of the Corporeal World, are thus Metonymically and Catacrestically, called Gods and Goddesses, it is evident, that such Deities as these, could not be supposed to be Unmade or Self-existent, by those who acknowledged the whole World to have been Generated and had a Beginning. But as these Names were used more Properly, to signify Invisibile and Understanding Powers, Presiding over the Things in Nature, and Dispensing of them, however they have an appearance of so many several distinct Deities, yet they seem to have been all really nothing else, but as Balbus in Cicero expresses it, *Deus Pertinens per Naturam cujusque Rei*, God passing through, and acting in the Nature of every thing, and consequently, but several Names, or so many Different Notions and Considerations of that One Supreme Numen, that Divine Force, Power, and Providence, which runs through the whole World, as variously Manifesting it self therein.

Wherefore, since there were no other Kinds of Gods amongst the Pagans, besides these already enumerated, unless their Images, Statues and Symbols should be accounted such (because they were also sometimes Abusively called Gods) which could not be supposed by them to have been Unmade or without a Beginning, they being the Workmanship of mens own hands; We conclude universally, that all that Multiplicity of Pagan Gods, which makes so great a shew and noise, was really either nothing but Several Names and Notions of One Supreme Deity, according to its different Manifestations, Gifts and Effects in the World, Personated; or else Many Inferiour Understanding Beings, Generated or Created by One Supreme: so that One Unmade Self-existent Deity, and no more, was acknowledged by the more Intelligent of the ancient Pagans, (for of the Sottish Vulgar no man can pretend to give an account, in any Religion) and consequently, the Pagan Polytheism (or Idolatry) consisted not, in worshipping a Multiplicity of Unmade Minds, Deities and Creators Self-existent from Eternity and Independent upon One Supreme; but in Mingling and Blending, some way or other unduly, Creature-worship, with the Worship of the Creator.

And that the ancient Pagan Theists thus acknowledged One Supreme God, who was the only *Deus æternus*, Unmade or Unproduced Deity, (I say, Theists, because those amongst the Pagans, who admitted of Many Gods, but none at all Unmade, were absolute Atheists) this may be undeniably concluded from what was before proved, that they acknowledged Omnipotence or Infinite Power, to be a Divine Attribute. Because upon the Hypothesis of Many Unmade Self-existent Deities, it is plain that there could be none Omnipotent, and consequently no such thing as Omnipotence in rerum natura: and therefore Omnipotence was rightly and properly styled by Macrobius, *Summi Dei Omnipotentia*, it being an Attribute Essentially Peculiar, to One Supreme, and Sole Self-existent Deity. And

Simplicius

Simplicius likewise a Pagan, confuted the Manichean Hypothesis of Two Self-existent Deities from hence also, because it destroyed Omnipotence: ἀναλαμβάνονται δύο λόγοις τῆς ὅλων ἀρχῆς (τὸ τε ἀγαθὸν καὶ τὸ κακόν) καὶ τὸ ἀγαθὸν παρ' αὐτοῖς λεγόμενον θεόν, μὴνέτι πάντων αἴτιον λέγειν, μὴδὲ ὡς παντοκράτορα δικαίως ἀνυμνεῖν, μὴδὲ δύναμιν αὐτὰς τὴν ἀκροτάτην καὶ ὅλων ἀναλίσκειν, ἀλλὰ τὸ ἡμῶν ὅλης δυνάμεως, ἑκαστὸν ἑκάστη καὶ τὸ τοιοῦτον. For they who assert Two Principles of the Universe (One Good, the other Evil) are necessitated to grant, that the Good Principle called by them God, is not the Cause of all things, neither can they praise it as Omnipotent, nor ascribe a Perfect and Whole Entire Power to it, but only the Half of a Whole Power at most, if so much. Over and besides all which, it hath been also proved already, that the ancient Atheists under Paganism, directed themselves principally, against the Opinion of Monarchy, or of One Supreme Deity ruling over all; from whence it plainly appears, that it was then asserted by the Pagan Theists.

In Epiſt. C. 4.

And we think it here observable, that this was a thing so generally confessed and acknowledged, that *Faustus* the Manichean, took up this Conceit, that both the Christians and Jews Paganized in the Opinion of Monarchy, that is, derived this Doctrine of One Deity, the Sole Principle of all things, only by Tradition from the Pagans, and by consequence were no other than Schisms or Subdivided Sects of Paganism. Vos discipulantes à Gentibus (saith he) Monarchiæ Opinionem primò vobiscum divulgastis, id est, ut Omnia credatis ex Deo. Estis sanè Schisma, necnon & Priores vestri Judæi. De Opinione Monarchiæ, in nullo etiam ipsi dissentiunt à Paganis. Quare constat Vos atque Judeos, Schisma esse Gentilitatis. Sectas autem si queras, non plus erunt quàm Duæ, Gentium & Nostra. You revolting from the Gentiles, broke off their Opinion of Monarchy, and carried it along with you, so as to believe all things to come from God. Wherefore you are really nothing but a Schism of Paganism, or a Subdivided Branch of it, and so are your Predecessors the Jews; who differ nothing from Pagans neither, in this Opinion of Monarchy. Whence it is manifest, that both Christians and Jews are but Schisms of Gentilism. But as for Sects of Religion, really differing from another, there are but these Two, That of the Pagans, and That of ours, who altogether dissent from them. Now though this be false and foolish, as to the Christians and Jews, deriving that Opinion of Monarchy, only by way of Tradition, from the Pagans, which is a thing founded in the Principles of Nature; yet it sufficiently shews, this to have been the General Sense of the Pagans, that all their Gods were derived from One Sole Self-existent Deity; so that they neither acknowledged a Multitude of Unmade Deities, nor yet that Duplicity of them, which *Plutarch* contended for, (One Good and the Other Evil) who accordingly denied God to be the Cause of all Things, writing thus in his Defect of Oracles, οἱ μὲν εἰδένος ἀπλῶς τὸ θεόν, οἱ δὲ ὅμῃ τι πάντων αἴτιον ποιοῦντες, ἀσχετοὶ τὸ μὲν εἶναι καὶ πρῶτον, They are guilty of one Extreme, who make God the Cause of Nothing, and they of another, who make him the Cause of all things. But this Paradox, was both late started amongst the Greeks, and quickly cried down by the Succession of their Philosophers, and therefore prejudiceth not the Truth of *Faustus* his

S. Aug. contra
Faust. L. 20.

L. 20. cap. 10.

S. Aug. contra
Fausf. L. 20.
c. 19.

General Assertion, concerning the Pagans. Which is again fully confirmed, by St. Austin in his Reply; *Siquis ita dividat, ut dicat eorum que aliquā Religione detinentur, Aliis placere Unum Deum colendum, Aliis Multos; per hanc differentiam & Pagani à nobis Remoti sunt, & Manichæi cum Paganis deputantur, nos autem cum Judeis.* Hic fortè dicatis, quòd Multos Deos Vestros, ex Una Substantia perhibetis; Quasi Pagani Multos suos, non ex Una afferant, quamvis diversa illis Officia, & Opera, & Potestates illis attribuant; sicut etiam apud vos, Alius Deus expugnat Gentem Tenebrarum, Alius ex eà captā fabricat Mundum, &c. If one should make another Distribution of Religionists, into such as Worship either One God, or Many Gods; according to this Division the Pagans will be removed from us Christians, and joyned with You Manicheans. But perhaps you will here say, that all your Many Gods are derived from One Substance, as if the Pagans did not also derive all their Gods from One, though attributing several Offices, Works and Powers to them; in like manner as amongst you, One God expugns the Nation of Darknes, Another God makes a World out of it, &c. And again afterwards he writes further to the same purpose; *Disceat ergo Faustus Monarchiæ Opinionem, non ex Gentibus nos habere, sed Gentes non usque aded ad Falsos Deos esse dilapsas, ut Opinionem amitterent Unius Veri Dei, ex quo est Omnis qualiscunque Natura:* Let Faustus therefore know, that We Christians have not derived the Opinion of Monarchy from the Pagans, but that the Pagans have not so far degenerated, sinking down into the Worship of false Gods, as to have lost the Opinion of One True God, from whom is all Whatsoever Nature.

XIV. It follows from what we have declared, that the Pagan Polytheism or Multiplicity of Gods, is not to be understood in the sense before expressed, of *Many θεοὶ ἀγέννητοι καὶ ἀωδιπρότεστοι*, Many Unproduced and Self-existent Deities, but according to some other Notion or Equivocation of the word Gods. For God is, *τὸ πολλὰ ἕως λεγοµένον*, one of those words that hath been used in many different senses, the Atheists themselves acknowledging a God and Gods, according to some Private Senses of their own, (which yet they do not all agree in neither) and Theists not always having the same Notion of that Word: Forasmuch as Angels in Scripture are called Gods in one sense, that is, as Understanding Beings Superiour to men, Immortal, Holy and Happy; and the word is again sometimes carried down lower to Princes and Magistrates; and not only so, but also to Good men as such, when they are said to be Made Partakers of the Divine Nature. And thus that learned Philosopher and Christian Boethius, *Omnis Beatus Deus; sed Natura quidem Unus*, Participatione verò nihil prohibet esse quamplurimos, every Good and Happy man is a God, and though there be only One God, by Nature, yet nothing hinders but that there may be Many by Participation. But then again all Men and Angels are alike denied to be Gods in other Respects, and particularly, as to Religious Worship. Thou shalt Worship the Lord thy God, and him only shalt thou serve. Now this is that, which seems to be Essentially included in the Pagan Notion of the word God or Gods, when taken in general, namely, a Respect to Religious Worship. Wherefore a God in general according to the sense of the Pagan Theists, may be thus defined, An Understanding

derstanding Being superiour to Men, not originally derived from Senseless Matter, and look'd upon as an Object for mens Religious Worship. But this general Notion of the word God, is again restrained and limited, by Differences, in the Division of it. For such a God as this, may be either ἀγέννητος, Ingenerate or Unproduced, and consequently Self-existent; or else γεννητός, Generated or Produced, and Dependent on some Higher Being as its Cause. In the former sence, the Intelligent Pagans, as we have declared, acknowledged only *One God*, who was therefore called by them ὁ Θεός κατ' ἐξοχῶν, according to that of *Thales* in *Laertius*, πρεσβύτατον τῶν ὄντων, ὁ Θεός, ἀγέννητον γὰρ. *God is the oldest of all things, because he is Unmade or Unproduced, and the only thing that is so*: but in the latter, they admitted of *Many Gods*, *Many Understanding Beings*, which, though Generated or Produced, yet were Superiour to Men, and look'd upon as Objects for their Religious Worship. And thus the *Pagan Theists* were both *Polytheists* and *Monotheists* in different Sences, they acknowledged both *Many Gods* and *One God*; that is, *Many Inferiour Deities*, subordinate to *One Supreme*. Thus *Onatus* the *Pythagorean* in *Stobæus* declares himself, δοκεῖ δέ μοι, *Ed. phys. l. i.*
 ὅτι μὴ εἷς ἔσθ' ὁ Θεός, ἀλλ' εἷς μὲν ὁ μέγιστος, καὶ κατ' ὑπερέτερον, καὶ ὁ κρατίων P. 4.
 τῶ πάντος· οἱ δ' ἄλλοι πολλοὶ διαφέρουσιν καὶ δύνανται βασιλεύειν ἐπὶ πάντων αὐ-
 τῶν ὅτι κατὰ καὶ μέγιστος καὶ ἀρετὰ μέγιστος· ἔστι δ' ἡ καὶ εἷς ὁ θεὸς ὁ ἐν ὅλῳ κόσμῳ.
 τοὶ δ' ἄλλοι οἱ θεοὶ εἰσὶ κατ' ἑαυτὸν, οὐν τε τῶ πάντος θε-
 αίνοντες, καὶ λόγον ὑπαδέουσιν, τὰ πρῶτα καὶ νοῦν. *It seemeth to me that*
there is not only One God, but that there is One the Greatest and Highest
God, that governeth the whole World, and that there are Many other
Gods, besides him differing as to power, that One God reigning over them
all, who surmounts them all, in Power, Greatness and Vertue. This is that
God, who contains and comprehends the whole World; but the other Gods,
are those who together with the Revolution of the Universe, orderly follow
that First and Intelligible God. Where it is evident, that *Onatus* his
 πολλοὶ θεοὶ or *Many Gods*, were only the *Heavenly Bodies*, or *Animated*
Stars. And partly, from those words cited, but chiefly others which
 follow after in the same place, (that will be produced elsewhere) it
 plainly appears, that in *Onatus* his time, there were some who ac-
 knowledged *One Only God*, denying all those other *Gods*, then com-
 monly Worshipped. And indeed *Anaxagoras*, seems to have been
 such a one; forasmuch as asserting *One Perfect Mind* Ruling over all,
 (which is the *True Deity*) he effectually degraded all those other *Pagan*
Gods, the *Sun*, *Moon* and *Stars* from their *Godships*, by making the
Sun nothing but a *Globe of Fire*, and the *Moon* *Earth* and *Stones*, and
 the like of the other *Stars* and *Planets*. And some such there were
 also amongst the *Ancient Egyptians*, as shall be declared in due place.
 Moreover *Proclus* upon *Plato's Timæus* tells us, that there hath been P. 206.
 always less doubt and controversie in the World concerning the *One*
God, than concerning the *Many Gods*. Wherefore *Onatus* here de-
 clares his own sence, as to this particular, viz. that besides the *One*
Supreme God, there were also *Many other Inferiour Deities*, that
 is, *Understanding Beings*, that ought to be *Religiously Worshipped*.

But because it is not impossible, but that there might be imagin'd
One Supreme Deity, though there were many other *Dei ἀπὸ αὐτοῦ Un-*
made

Diff. 1. pag. 5.

made and Self-existent Gods besides, as Plutarch supposed before, One Supreme God, together with a ψυχὴ ἄνυσ, an Irrational Soul or Demon Unmade Inferiour in power to it; therefore we add in the next place, that the more Intelligent Pagans, did not only assert One God that was Supreme and κρείτιστος πάντων, the most Powerful of all the Gods, but also who being Omnipotent, was the Principle and Cause of all the rest, and therefore the only Θεὸς ἀγένητος καὶ αὐθιγέστατος, the only Unproduced and Self-existent Deity. Maximus Tyrius affirms this to have been the general sence of all the Pagans, that there was, Θεὸς ἑὶς πάντων βασιλεύς καὶ πατήρ, καὶ θεοὶ πολλοὶ, θεὸς παῖδες, συναρχόντες θεῶν, One God the King and Father of all, and many Gods, the Sons of God, reigning together with God. Neither did the Poets imply any thing less, when Ζεὺς was so often called by the Greeks and Jupiter by the Latins πατὴρ ἀνδρῶν τε θεῶν τε, and Hominum Pater atq; Deorum, or Hominum Satorque Deorum, and the like. And indeed the Theogonia of the ancient Pagans before mention'd, was commonly thus declared by them universally, ἧντις τὰς θεὸς ἐγένετο, that the Gods were Generated, or as Herodotus expresth it, ὅτι ἕκαστος τῶν θεῶν ἐγένετο, that every one of the Gods was Generated or Produced; which yet is not so to be understood, as if they had therefore supposed, no God at all Unmade or Self-existent, (which is Absolute Atheism) but that the οἱ θεοὶ the Gods, as distinguish'd from the ὁ θεός or τὸ θεόν, from God or the Supreme Deity, were all of them universally, Made or Generated.

Pag. 29.

But to the end that we may now render this business, yet something more easie to be believed, that the Intelligent Pagans did thus suppose all their Gods save One, to have been Made or Generated, and consequently acknowledged only One Θεὸν ἀγένητον καὶ αὐθιγέστατον, One Unproduced and Self-existent Deity, we shall in this place further observe, that the Theogonia of those Ancient Pagans, their Genesis and Generation of Gods, was really one and the same thing with the Cosmogonia, the Genesis and Generation of the World, and indeed both of them understood of a Temporary Production both of these Gods and the World. And this we shall first prove from Plato in his Timæus; where he being to treat of the Cosmogonia, premiseth this Distinction, concerning Two Heads of Being; That Some were Eternal and never Made, and Some again Made or Generated, the former whereof he calls εἶσα or Essence, the latter γένεσις or Generation: adding also this difference betwixt them, that the Eternal and Immutable things, were the proper Objects of Science and Demonstration, but the other Generated things of Faith and Opinion only; ὅ, τι γὰρ πρὸς γένεσιν εἶσα, τὸ το πρὸς πίστιν ἀληθές, For what Essence is to Generation, the same is certainty of Truth or Knowledge to Faith. And thereupon he declares that his Reader was not to expect the same Evidence and Certainty of Truth from him, where he was now to treat of things Generated (namely the Gods and the Visible World) as if he had been to discourse about things Immutable and Eternal, in these words, ἐάν σοι, ὦ Σώκρατες, πολλὰ πολλῶν εἰπόντων ἀξί δεῖν καὶ τὸ πᾶντις γινέσθαι, &c. If therefore, O Socrates, many things

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having been spoken by many men, concerning the Gods, and the Generation of the Universe, we be not able to discourse Demonstratively concerning the same, you ought not at all to wonder at it, or be displeased with us, but
on

on the contrary, to rest well satisfied with our performance, if upon this Argument we do but deliver Probabilities. Where the Gods are by Plato plainly referred to *ῥέσις* and not to *σοία*, to Generation and not to Eternal or Immutable Essence, as they are also joyned with the Generation of the World, as being but a Part thereof. Neither is this at all to be wondred at in Plato, since first the whole *Visible World*, was no less to him, than it was to the other Pagans, a God; he calling it *θεὸν διδόμενον*, a Happy God, and before it was yet Made, *θεὸν ἐσόμενον*, a God about to be Made. Not as if Plato accompted the Senseless Matter of this Corporeal World, whether as perfectly Dead and Stupid, or as endued with a Plastick Nature only, to be a God, (for no *Inanimate thing* was a God to Plato) but because he supposed the World to be an *Animal*, endued with an Intellectual Soul, and indeed the best of all Animals compounded of Soul and Body, *ἕκαστος ἐν δὲ καὶ λόγον* P. 30.
εἰκότα δ' αἰλέγειν, τὸ δὲ καὶ νόημα, *ζῶον ἐμψυχον ἔνθεν τε τῇ ἀληθείᾳ διὰ τὴν τῆς θεῆς ῥέσιδος πρέσβειαν*. Wherefore we are thus according to Probability to conclude, that this World was really made by the Providence of God, an Intellectual Animal; whence from an *Animal* forthwith it became a God. So that here we are to take notice, of Two Gods in Plato, very different from one another, One a Generated God, this whole World Animated, and another that God, by whose Providence this World was Generated, and thus made an *Animal* and a God; which latter must needs be an *Unmade, Self-existent Deity*, and not belong to *ῥέσις* but to *σοία*, not to Generation but to *Immutable Essence*. Again those greater Parts of the World, the Sun, the Moon and the Stars, (as supposed also to be Animated with Particular Souls of their own) were as well accompted by Plato, as by the other Pagans, Gods, he plainly calling them there *ορατοὶ καὶ ῥωντοὶ θεοὶ*, *Visible and Generated Gods*. Besides which *Celestial Gods*, the Earth it self also is supposed by him, to be either a God or Goddess, according to those Ancient Copies of the *Timæus*, used both by Cicero and Proclus: *γῆν δὲ, τεφρόν μὲρ ἡμετέραν, εἰς μέλι καὶ ὥδι καὶ διὰ παντὸς πόλον τεταμένην, φύλακα καὶ διμυρεμένην νυκτὸς τε καὶ ἡμέρας, ἐμμηχανήσατο, πρῶτῳ καὶ πρεσβυτάτῳ θεῶν ὅστις ἐν τῷ ὕδατι γένεσσι*. God Fabricated the Earth also, which is our Nurse, turning round upon the Axis of the World, and thereby causing and maintaining the Succession of Day and Night, the First and Oldest of all the Gods, Generated within the Heavens. Where since that Philosopher seems the rather to make the Earth an *Animal* and a God, because of its *Diurnal Circumgyration* upon its own Axis, we may conclude that afterwards when in his old age, (as Plutarch records from Theophrastus) he gave entertainment also to that other part of the *Pythagorick Hypothesis*, and attributed to the Earth a *Planetary Annual Motion* likewise about the Sun, (from whence it would follow, that as Plotinus expresseth it, the Earth was *ἐν τῇ ἁέρει*, one of the Stars) he was therefore still so much the more inclin'd, to think the Earth to be a God as well as the other Planets, or at least as the Moon; that having been formerly represented in the *Orpbick Tradition*, but as another *Habitable Earth*. For these Verses of Orpheus, are recorded by Proclus, to that purpose;

μήσετο δ' ἄλλω γαῖαν ἀπετέγειον, ἣν τε σελήνῳ
 Ἀθάνατοι κλήζουσιν, ἑπὶ χθονὶ δὲ τε μήνῳ,
 ἥ πόλιν ἔρε' ἔχει, πόλιν ἄστεα, πολλὰ μέλαθρα.

See Macrobius.
 Som. Scip. L. I.
 c. 11.

The sense whereof is this; That God in the Cosmogonia or Cosmogonia, besides this Earth of ours, fabricated also another Vast Earth, which the Immortal Gods call Selene, but mortal men Mene, or the Moon; that hath many Hills and Vallies, many Cities and Houses in it. From whence Proclus, though as it seems a Stranger to the Pythagorick System, yet being much addicted to these Orphick Traditions, concluded the Moon to be, γῆν αἰθερίαν, an Ethereal Earth.

After all this, Plato, that he might be thought to omit nothing in his *Timean Cosmogonia*, speaks also of the *Genesis*, *Ortus* or *Generation* of the *Poetick Gods*, under the name of *Demons*, such as *Tethys* and *Phorcys*, *Saturn* and *Rhea*, *Jupiter* and *Juno*, and the like; which seem to be really nothing else, but the other *Inanimate Parts* of the World and *Things of Nature* θεοποιήματα, that is, *Fictionally Personated and Deified* (as is elsewhere declared.) Which whole business was a Thing set off by those Poets with much *Fiction* and *Physiological Allegory*. And though Plato, out of a seeming compliance with the Laws of his City, pretends here to give credit to this *Poetick Theogonia*, as Tradition delivered down from the *Sons of the Gods*, who must not be supposed to have been ignorant of their Parents; yet as *Eusebius* well observeth, he doth but all the while silyly jeer it, plainly insinuating the *Fabulosity* thereof, when he affirmeth it to have been introduced not only ἀνδρ' ἀναγκαίων ἀποδείξεων without necessary Demonstrations, but also ἀνδρ' εὐνότων, without so much as Probabilities. Nevertheless Proclus suspecting no such matter, but taking Plato in all this, to have been in very good earnest, interprets these *Poetick Gods* or *Demons* mentioned by him, to be the *Gods below the Moon*, (notwithstanding that the Earth was mentioned before by Plato) calling them *θεοὶ γενεῶν* *δεῖς*, the Gods that cause Generation, and seeming to understand thereby the *Animated Elements*; Jupiter being here not taken, as he is often elsewhere, for the *Supreme God*, but only for the *Animated Ether*, as Juno for the *Animated Air*. And upon this occasion, he runs out into a long Dispute, to prove, that not only the Stars were Animated, but also all the other *Sublunary Bodies* or *Elements*: εἰ γὰρ ὅλος ὁ κόσμος θεὸς διδαιμὼν ἔστι ὅθεν ἔστι τῶν συμπληρούντων αὐτὸν μορίων, ἁθεὸν, καὶ ἀπειροῦτον, εἰ καὶ θεὸς πάντα μετέχει καὶ προνοίας, θεὸν ἔλαχε φύσιν, εἰ καὶ τὸ τοιοῦτον οἰκεῖται τάξεις θεῶν ἐφ' ἑσθίας αὐτοῖς, εἰ γὰρ καὶ ὁ ἑσθιὸς διὰ μέσων ψυχῶν καὶ νόων μετέχει τοῦ μᾶς ψυχῆς, καὶ τὸ ἐνός νῦν, τί χρὴ τοῦ τῶν οἰκεῖται τῶν στοιχείων· πᾶς δὲ πολλῶν μᾶλλον ταῦτα διὰ δυνάμεων μέσων θεῶν τάξεων μετέλαχε τοῦ μᾶς τὸν κόσμον δεσπότην. For if the whole World be a Happy God, then none of the Parts of it are Godless, or devoid of Providence; but if all things partake of God and Providence, then are they not unfurnished of the Divine Nature, and if so, there must be some peculiar Orders of Gods presiding over them. For if the Heavens by reason of particular Souls and Minds, partake of that one Soul and one Mind; why should we not conclude the same, concerning the Elements, that they also by certain

certain intermedious Orders of Gods, partake of that One Divinity of the whole World. Wherefore a little before, the same Proclus highly condemns, certain Ancient Physiologers, whom he supposeth Aristotle to have followed : πολλοῖς γὰρ φυσιολόγων ἄψυχὰ ἐκὼν φερόμενα, καὶ ἀπρονόητα P. 285: ταῦτα εἶναι τὰ στοιχεῖα νεόμυστο· τὰ μὲν γὰρ ἑρηνικά διὰ τὴν ἐν αὐτοῖς τάξιν, νέον καὶ θεῶν μετέχειν ὁμολόγησαν, τὴν δὲ γῆν, ὡς πολυμέτερον, καὶ ἀόριστον, καὶ ἀπρονόητον ἀπέλιπον, οἷα δὲ καὶ Ἀριστοτέλης ὕστερον ἐδόξεσθε, ταῖς ἑρηνικαῖς περιφοραῖς μόνως ὁρμήσας, ταῖς ἀκινήτοις αἰτίας· εἴτε οὕτω εἶεν, εἴτε πλείους· ἄψυχὰ δὲ τὰ στοιχεῖα ταῦτα καταλείπων· The Elements were thought by most of the Ancient Physiologers to be Inanimate, and to be moved Fortuitously without Providence. For though they acknowledged the Heavenly Bodies, by reason of that Order that appears in them, to partake of Mind and Gods; yet they left this Sublunary World (or Genesis) to Float up and down without Providence. And these Aristotle afterwards followed, appointing immoveable Intelligences to preside over the Celestial Spheres only, (whether Eight or more) but leaving all the lower Elements Dead and Inanimate

Lastly, besides all those other Mundane Gods before mentioned, as Generated together with the World, though Proclus seem to be of another Opinion, yet it is manifest that Plato doth not there in his *Timæus*, altogether forget those properly called Demons (elsewhere so much inslited upon by him) but in the very next following words, he plainly insinuates them, after this manner; ὅσοι φαίνονται καθ' ὅσον αὐτοὶ θέλωσι θεοὶ, the Gods which appear visibly to us as often as they please, or which can appear and disappear at pleasure, speaking also of their Genesis or Generation as part of the *Cosmogonia*; and then again afterwards calling them νεοὶ θεοὶ, Junior Gods, he describes them as those, whose particular Office it was, to superintend and preside over Humane Affairs, P. 41: καὶ κατὰ δύναμιν ὅτι κάλλιστα καὶ ἀρεστά τὸ θνητὸν διακυβερεῖν ζῶον, ὅτι μὴ κακῶν αὐτὸ ἑαυτῷ γίγνοιτο αἴτιον, and to govern this mortal Animal, Man, after the best manner possible, so that he should no otherwise fail of doing well or being happy, than as he became a cause of Evil and Misery to himself, by the abuse of his own Liberty.

And thus much out of Plato's *Timæus*; but the same thing might be proved also out of his other Writings, as particularly from that Passage in his Tenth Book of Laws, where he takes notice again of the *Theogonia* of the Ancients, and that as it had been depraved and corrupted by a great mixture of Impious and Immoral Fables. Ἔστιν ἡμῖν ἐν γραμμασι λόγοι κείμενοι. οἱ μὲν ἐν ποσὶ μέτροις, οἱ δὲ καὶ ἀνὰ μέτρον· λέγοντες θεῶν θεῶν, οἱ μὲν παλαιότατοι, ὡς γίγνονεν ἡ πρώτη φύσις ἑρηνικῶν καὶ ἀμων· περιόντες δὲ τῇ ἀρχῇ ἐπὶ πολὺ θεογονίαν διεξέρχονται, κλυδωνοὶ τε ὡς πρὸς ἀλλήλους ὁμιλῶσαν· There are, saith he, extant amongst us Athenians, certain stories and traditions, very ancient, concerning the Gods, written partly in Metre and partly in Prose, declaring how the Heaven, and the other Gods were at first made, or Generated, and then carrying on their fabulous *Theogonia* farther, how these Generated Gods, afterward conversed with one another, and ingendring after the manner of men, begat other Gods. Where that Philosopher taking off his vizard, plainly discovers his great dislike of that whole *Fabulous Theogonia* (however he acknowledges elsewhere

*In the Persian
Sacrificers,
מזבח אחד מא-
פסדס זרעל
Dorvilu, one
of the Magi
standing by
sung the Theo-
gonia (i.e. The
Cosmogonia)
Herod. in Glos.
#. 122.*

We are in the next place to observe, that both this *Theogonia* and *Cosmogonia* of the Ancient Pagans, their *Generation* of the *World* and *Gods*, is to be understood of a *Temporary Production* of them, whereby they were Made *ἐκ μὴ ὄντων*, or from an *Antecedent Non-existence* brought into Being. For this was the General Tradition amongst the Pagans, that the World was made out of an antecedent *Chaos*, as shall be afterwards further declared. And *Aristotle* affirmeth, that before his time, this *Genesis* and *Temporary Production* of the World had been Universally entertain'd by all, and particularly that *Plato* was an Assertor of the same. Nevertheless, the generality of the latter *Platonists*, endeavour with all their might, to force a contrary sense upon his *Timæus*. Which is a thing that *Plutarch*, long since observed, after this manner ; οἱ πλείους τῶν χρωμένων Πλάτωνι, φοβούμενοι, ἐκ τῆς λυπόμενης

X

Dr Prynne.
Plat. P. 1013.
P.

λυπέμενοι, πάντα μηχανῶνται, καὶ ἀνατρέχοντες καὶ σφραγίζοντες, ὥς τι δεινὸν καὶ
ἀρετῆτον οἰόμενοι εἶναι ἀποκαλύπτειν καὶ ἀνεῖναι, τὴν τε τῷ κόσμῳ τὴν τε τῷ
ψυχῇ αὐτῇ ὁρᾶν καὶ οὐρανεῖν, ἐν ἧς αἰδῶς συνεστῶτων, εἰδὲ τὴν ἀπείρου χρόνου
ἐκείνου. *The most of Plato's Followers, being infinitely troubled*
and perplexed in their minds, turn themselves every way, using all man-
ner of Arts, and offering all kind of violence to his Text, as conceiv-
ing, that they ought by all means possible, to hide and conceal that Opin-
ion (as infand and detestable) of the Generation of the World, and of
the Soul of it, so as not to have continued from Eternity, or through a
succession of Infinite Time. Notwithstanding which, we conceive it
to be undeniably evident, that Plato in his Timæus, doth assert the
Genesis of the World in this sence, to wit of a Temporary Production
of it, and as not having existed from Eternity or without Beginning.
First, because in the entrance of that Discourse, he opposeth these
Two things to one another, τὸ αἰεὶ ὄν, *that which always is*, and τὸ γιν-
ομενόν, *that which is Generated or Made*, and therefore in affirming
the World to have been Generated, he must needs deny the Eternity
thereof. Again, the Question is so punctually stated by him after-
wards, as that there is no possibility of any Subterfuge left,
πότεν οὐκ αἰεὶ ὄντος ἀρχὴν ἔχον ἐδεῖσθαι, ἢ γέγονεν, ἀπ' ἀρχῆς τινος ἀρχαίμωτος.
Whether the World always were, having no Beginning or Generation, or
whether it was Made or Generated, having commenced from a certain
Epocha? To which the Answer is, γέγονεν, *that it was Made or had*
a Beginning. Moreover this Philosopher, there plainly affirms also,
that Time itself was Made, or had a Beginning, χρόνον δ' ἐν μετ' ἐ-
ργῷ γέγονεν, ἵνα ἅμα γυνήνθῃ, ἅμα καὶ λυθῇ, ἃν ποτε λύσις τις αὐτῇ γυνήνθῃ.
Time was made together with the Heaven, that being both Generated to-
gether, they might be both dissolved together likewise, if at least there
should ever be any dissolution of them. Besides which, he plainly de-
clares that before this Orderly World was produced, the Matter of
it did move disorderly, πᾶν ὅσον ὡς ἀεὶ τὸν ἀτάκτων, ἐκ ἡσυχίαν ἄγον,
ἀλλὰ πνεύματιον πλημμελὲς καὶ ἀτάκτως, εἰς τάξιν αὐτὸ ἤγαγεν ἐκ τῆς ἀταξίας.
God taking all that Matter, which was, (not then resting, but moving
confusedly and disorderly) he brought it into Order, out of Confusion.
Which is no more than if he should have said, God made this
World, out of an antecedent Chaos; which, as we said before,
was the constant Tradition of the Ancient Pagans. Now as to
Authority, we may well conclude, that Aristotle was better
able to understand both Plato's Philosophy, and Greek, than
any of those Junieur Platonists, who lived hundreds of years
after. And yet we are not quite destitute of other Suffrages besides
Aristotle's neither, not only Philo the Jew, but also Plutarch and
Atticus, who were both of them Platonick Pagans, voting on this
side, besides Alexander Aphrodisius a judicious Peripatetick. The
only Objection considerable, is from what Plato himself writes in his
Third and Sixth Book of Laws. In the former whereof Clinias, and
the Athenian Hesper, discourse together after this manner, concern-
ing the Original or First Beginning of Common-wealths: Πολιτείας δὲ
ἀρχὴν τίνα ποτὲ φερέμεν γινόμεναι; καὶ λέγει ὁ πῶθεν; ΑΘ. Οἶμαι μὲν ἀπὸ
χρόνου μινος τοῦ ἀπείρου, καὶ τῇ μεταβολῇ αὐτῶν τὰς πόλεις. καὶ πᾶς λέ-
γει; ΑΘ. ἔρε, ἀπ' ὧν πόλεις τ' εἰσὶ καὶ ἄνθρωποι πολιτεύομενοι, δοκῶν αὐτῶν πο-
τε καὶ

P. 676. Supb.

καὶ α-

κατανοῦσαι χρόνους πλῆθος ὅσον γέγονεν ; ΚΑ. οὐκ ἐν ῥᾷον γε ὁδομαῶς. ΑΘ. τὸ δὲ γε ὡς ἀπειρὸν τι καὶ ἀμύχανον ἂν εἴη. ΚΑ. Πάνυ μὲν ἐν τούτῳ γε. ΑΘ. μὲν γε ἐν τῷ μυρία μὲν ἑπὶ μυρία ἡμῖν γεγόναι πόλεις ἐν τούτῳ τὰ χρόνῳ ; καὶ τὸ αὐτὸν ὃ τῷ πλῆθος λόγον, ἐν ἐλάττω ἐφαρμύμην ; πεπολιδευμένοι δ' αὖ πάσας πολιτείας πολλάκις ἐκασαχθῆναι ; καὶ τοῦ μὲν ἐξ ἐλαττόνων, μετὰ τὸ ἐκ μεγάλων, ἐλάττω. καὶ χρόνους ἐκ βελτιόνων γεγόναι, καὶ βελτίους ἐκ χειρόνων. Ath. *What beginning shall we say there was of Commonwealths ?* Cl. *Whence would your self derive them ?* Ath. *I suppose from a great length and Infinity of time, through successive Changes.* Cl. *I understand not well what you mean.* Ath. *Thus therefore, Do you think that you are able to determine, what Length or Quantity of Time there hath been since Cities and Polities of Men first began ?* Cl. *This is by no means easie to be done.* Ath. *Wherefore there is a kind of Infinity and Inestimability of this time.* Cl. *It is very true.* Ath. *Have there not then been Innumerable Cities constituted within this time, and as many again destroyed, of all several Forms ; they being changed from Greater to Lesser, and from Lesser to Greater, from Better to Worser and from Worser to Better ?* Now we say that if Plato intended here, to assert an Absolute Infinity of Time Past, then it must needs be granted, that in his old age, when he wrote his Book of Laws, he changed his Opinion from what it was before when he wrote his *Timæus* ; and if so, he ought in all reason to have retracted the same, which he does not here do. But in very truth, the meaning of this Philosopher, in those words cited, seems to be this ; not that there was an Absolute Infinity of Time past (as *Proclus* contends, taking advantage of that word ἀπείρα) but only that the World had lasted such a Length of Time, as was in a manner inestimable to us, or uncomputable by us, there having happened, as he addeth, in the mean time, several Successive Destructions and Consumptions of Mankind, by means of various Accidents, as particularly, One most remarkable Deluge and Inundation of Waters. The Latter place, in his Sixth Book of Laws, runs thus ; P. 781.
 ἢ ἂν ἀνθρώπων γένεσις ἢ τὸ παράπαν ἀρχὴν ὁδεμίαν εἴληχεν, ὅδ' ἔξει ποτὲ γε τελευτήν. ἀλλ' ἢν τε αἰεὶ καὶ ἔσται πάντως. ἢ μήποτε τι τῷ ἀρχὴς ἀφ' ὅθεν γέγονεν, ἀμύχανον ἂν χρόνον ὅσον γεγόνος ἂν εἴη. *Either the Generation of Men had no Beginning at all, and will have no End, but always was and always will be, or else, there has been an Inestimable Length of Time, from the Beginning of it.* Which place affordeth still more light to the former, for we may well conclude that by ἀπείρῳ τι καὶ ἀμύχανον there, was not meant an *Absolute Infinity* of Time, but only such as had a very remote or distant Beginning, because ἀμύχανον here, is plainly taken in that sense. We conceive therefore, that this was *Plato's* Opinion in his Old Age, when he wrote his Book of Laws, that though the World had a Beginning, yet it had continued a very long Time, not computable by us ; or at least, he thought fit to declare himself after that manner, perhaps by reason of the Clamours of *Aristotle*, or some others against his *Timæus*, that so he might thereby somewhat mollifie that Opinion of the *Novity of the World*, by removing the *Epoche* and Date thereof to so great a distance.

Now it is very true, what we have several times before suggested, that there have been amongst the Pagans, both *Theogonists* and *Cosmogonists*

nists too, that were *Atheists*. They abusing the word *Gods* several ways; Some of them, as *Anaximander*, understanding thereby *Inanimate Worlds* successively Generated out of Senseless Matter, and Corrupted again into it; others, as *Anaximenes* and *Democritus*, allowing that there were certain Animals and Understanding Beings Superior to Men, but such only as were *Native* and *Mortal*, in like manner as Men, and calling these by the Name of *Gods*. Of the former of which Two Philosophers, *St. Austin* gives us this account; *Anaximenes omnes rerum causas Infinito Aeri dedit, nec Deos negavit aut tacuit, non tamen ab ipsis Aerem factum, sed ipsos ex Aere ortos credidit*: *Anaximenes made Infinite Air, to be the first Original and Cause of all things, and yet was he not therefore silent concerning the Gods, much less did he deny them; nevertheless he did not believe the Air to have been Made by the Gods, but the Gods to have been all generated out of the Air*. These were therefore such *Theogonists*, as supposed all the *Gods* without exception, to be *Generable* and *Corruptible*, and acknowledged no *Σεὸν ἀσύνττον* at all, no Understanding Being *Unmade* and *Self-existent*, but concluded *Senseless Matter* to be the only *ἀσύνττον* and *Original* of all things, which is *Absolute Atheism*. Notwithstanding which, it is certain that all the *Pagan Theogonists* were not *Atheists*, (no more than all their *Cosmogonists Theists*) but that there was another sort of *Theogonists* amongst them, who supposed indeed all the *Inferiour Mundane Gods* to have been *Made* or *Generated* in one Sense or other, but asserted One *Σεὸν ἀσύνττον καὶ αὐτοπόσιον*, One *Supreme Unmade Self-existent Deity*, who was the Cause of them all, Which *Theogonists* for distinction sake, from those other *Atheistick ones*; may be called *Divine*.

And that *Plato* was such a *Divine Theogonist*, is a thing as we conceive out of question. But if there had been any doubt concerning it, it would have been sufficiently removed from those Passages before-cited out of his *Timæus*. To which nevertheless, for fuller satisfaction sake, may be added these Two which follow. The first, pag. 34. *ΣΤΟ Δὲ πᾶς ὄντι καὶ λογιστὸς θεός, ὅστις ἔστι ποτὶ ἑσθμύμων Σεὸν λογιστὸς*. For thus it ought to be read *ὄντι*, as it is also in *Aldus* his Edition, and not *ὄντως*, as in *Stevens*, following an error in that of *Ficinus*. And accordingly the words are thus rendred by *Cicero*, *Hæc Deus is qui semper erat, de Aliquando Futuro Deo cogitans, levem eum effecit, & undique æquabilem, &c.* This was the *Ratiocination* or *Resolution* of that God, which *Always Is*, concerning that God which was sometime about to be made; that he should be *Smooth* and *Spherical*, &c. Where again, it presently follows in *Cicero's* Version, *Sic Deus ille æternus, Hunc Perfectè Beatum Deum procreavit*, Thus that *Eternal God*, procreated this perfectly *Happy God*, the *World*. Where there is plainly mention made, of Two *Gods*, one a *Generated God*, the *Animated World*, called elsewhere in *Plato* *θεῖον ζῳόντιον*, and another *Eternal and Unmade God*, *ἰννᾶτος & ἰστέλλος Deus*, who was the Cause of the *Worlds* Generation or Production. Or to keep close to *Plato's* own Language, One God who belonged to *Genesis*, or that head of Being which he calls *Generation*, and therefore must needs have an Antecedent Cause of his Existence; since nothing can be *Made* without a Cause; and

and another God, that was truly and properly *ἄσῑα*, *Immutable Essence*, who was the Cause of that *Generated God*, the *Universe*, and therefore of All things. The other Passage of *Plato's* is pag. 41. of his *Timæus*, ἐπεὶ ἔν πάντες ὅσοι τε ἀσπολῶσι φανέρως καὶ ὅσοι φαίνονται καθ' ὅσον ἂν ἐθέλωσι θεοὶ, ἧέσιν ἔχον, λέγει πρὸς αὐτὸς ὁ πόδε τὸ πᾶν ἡγεήσας, τάδε, θεοὶ θεῶν ὧν ἐγὼ δημωγός, πότῃ τε ἔργων, ἀ δὲ ἐμὲ ἡγούμενα. When therefore all the Gods, both those which move visibly about the Heavens, and those which appear to us as often as they please (that is both the Stars & Demons) were Generated or Created; that God which made this whole Universe, bespake these Generated Gods, after this manner, Ye Gods of Gods (whom I my self am the Maker and Father of) attend. Where the words θεοὶ θεῶν, notwithstanding *Proclus* his other differing conjectures, seem to have been very well rendred by *Cicero*, *Dii qui Deorum Saturni orti estis*, Ye Gods which are the Progeny or Off-spring of the Gods. And the Gods whose Off-spring these Generated Gods (the Animated Stars and Demons) are said to be, must needs be those αἰδίοι θεοὶ, those *Eternal Gods*, elsewhere mentioned in the same *Timæus*, as where the Philosopher calls the World, καὶ αἰδίων θεῶν γεγονὸς ἀγαλμα, a Generated or Created Image of the Eternal Gods; as *Cicero* also is to be understood of these, when he speaks of the Worlds being Made by The Gods, and by the Counsel of The Gods. Now these *Eternal Gods* of *Plato*, called by his Followers θεοὶ ὑπερκόσμοι, the *Supramundane Gods*, though according to that stricter Notion of the word ἡέσις, as it is used both in *Plato* and *Aristotle*, for a Temporary Production of things ἐξ ἑκ ὄντων, they were indeed all ἀγέννητοι, because they never were not, and had no beginning of their Existence: yet notwithstanding were they not therefore supposed by that Philosopher, to be all αὐτέγονοι and αὐθυπόστατοι so many Self-originated and Self-subsistent Beings, or First Principles, but only One of them such; and the rest derived from that One: it being very true, as we conceive, what *Proclus* affirms, ὅτι ὁ πλάτων ἑπὶ μίαν ἀρχὴν ἀνάγει πάντα, That *Plato* reduces all things to One Principle, even Matter it self; but unquestionable, that he deriveth all his Gods from One. Wherefore all those *Eternal Gods* of *Plato* (One only excepted) though they were not ἡέστοι or Generated in one sence, that is κατὰ χρόνον, as to a Temporary beginning, yet were they notwithstanding as *Proclus* distinguisheth, ἡέστοι ἀπ' αἰτίας, Generated in another sence, as produced from a Superiour Cause, there being only One such ἀρχή One Ingenerate or Unproduced Deity. Thus according to *Plato*, there were Two sorts of Secondary or Inferiour and Derivative Gods, First the θεοὶ ἐκκόσμοι or Mundane Gods, such as had all of them a Temporary Generation with the World, and of whom *Plato's* Theogonia and ἡέσις θεῶν is properly to be understood; And Secondly the ὑπερκόσμοι and αἰδίοι θεοὶ, the *Supramundane* and *Eternal Gods*, which were all of them also, save only One, produced from that One, and dependent on it as their Cause. But of these Inferiour Eternal Gods, of the Platonists and Pythagoreans, we are to speak again afterwards. In the mean time it is evident, that in that Passage of *Plato's* before-cited, there is plain mention made, both of θεοὶ ἧέσιν ἔχοντες, of *Dii Orti*, Gods who were made or Generated with the World, and of ὁ πόδε τὸ πᾶν ἡγεήσας, of One God who was the maker of them, and of the Whole Universe, who therefore is himself every way ἀγέννητος Unmade or Unproduced.

In *Timæus*. p. 116

And accordingly he afterwards subjoyns, καὶ ὁ μὲν διὰ τῶντα πάντα διὰ τάς, ἔμμεν ἐν τῷ ἑαυτῷ καὶ τῶν ἡμεῶν. μὲντοις ὁ νομοτάτες οἱ ποῦδες τῶν τῶ πατέρες πόλιν, ἐπελδοῦτο αὐτῇ. which Cicero thus renders, *Atque is quidem (Deus) qui cuncta composuit, constanter in suo manebat statu, qui autem erant ab eo creati (Dii) cum Parentis ordinem cognovissent, hunc sequebantur, &c.* Then that God who framed all things, remained constantly in his former State; and his Sons, or the Gods that were Created by him, observed his Order and Appointment.

Neither was Plato singular in this, but the Generality of the other Pagan Theists who were more Intelligent, all along agreed with him herein, as to the Generation of the Mundane Gods, and so were both Theists and Theogonists, they indeed understanding nothing else by their Theogonia or Generation of Gods, than a Divine Cosmogonia or Creation of the World by God; forasmuch as they supposed the World it self as Animated, and its several Parts, to be Gods. So that they asserted these Three Things, First a Cosmogonia the Generation of the World, that it was not from Eternity, but had a Novity or Beginning. Secondly, that this Cosmogonia or Generation of the World, was also a Theogonia or Generation of Gods, the World it self and several of its Parts Animated being esteemed such. And Lastly, that both these Gods and the World, were Made and Produced by One θεὸς ἀγέννητος καὶ αὐτογενής, One Unproduced and Self-originated Deity. All which Particulars, we may here briefly exemplifie in P. Ovidius Naso, whose Paganity sufficiently appears, from his *Fastorum* and all his other Writings, and who also went off the Stage, before Christianity appeared on it, and may well be presumed, to represent the then generally received Doctrine of the Pagans. First therefore, as for the Generation and Novity of the World, and its First Production out of a Chaos, we have it fully acknowledged by him in these following Verses.

Metam. l. 1.

*Ante Mare & Terras, &c, quod tegit omnia, Cælum,
Unus erat toto Nature Vultus in orbe,
Quem dixere Chaos; rudis indigestaque moles,
Nec quicquam nisi pondus iners, congestaque eodem
Non bene junctarum discordia semina rerum.
Nullus adhuc mundo præbebat Luminæ Titan,
Nec nova crescendo reparabat cornua Phebe,
Nec circumfuso pendebat in ære Tellus,
Ponderibus librata suis; nec brachia longo
Margine terrarum porrexerat Amphitrite.
Quaque erat & Tellus, &c.*

Which in Mr. Sandys his English, with some little alteration, speaks thus:

*Before that Sea and Earth and Heaven was fram'd,
One face had Nature which they Chaos nam'd.
No Titan yet the World with Light adorns,
Nor waxing Phebe fills her wained Horns;*

*Nor hung the self-poiz'd Earth in thin Air plac'd,
Nor Amphitrite the vast shore embrac'd;
Earth, Air and Sea Confounded, &c.*

In the next place, when there was a *World* made out of this *Chaos*, that this *Cosmogonia* or *Generation* of the *World*, was also a *Theogonia* or *Generation* of *Gods*, is plainly intimated in these Verses.

*Nen Regio foret ulla suis Animalibus orba,
Astra tenent caeleste solum, Formæque Deorum.*

To this fence,

*That nought of Animals might unfurnish'd lie,
The Gods, in Form of Stars, possess the Skie.*

And that all this was effected, and this *Orderly Mundane System* produced out of a disorderly confused *Chaos*, not by a *Fortuitous Motion* of Matter, or the *Jumbling of Atoms*, but by the *Providence* and *Command* of *One Unmade Deity*, which was also that that furnish'd all the several Parts of the *World* with respective *Animals*; the *Sea* with *Fishes*, the *Earth* with *Men*, and the *Heaven* with *Gods*; is thus declared also by the *Poet*;

*Hanc Deus & Melior litem Natura diremit,
Nam Cælo Terras, & Terris abscidit Undas:
Et liquidum spisso secrevit ab Aere Cælum, &c.
Sic ubi dispositam, Quisquis fuit Ille Deorum,
Congeriem secuit, sectamque in membra redegit;
Principio terram, nè non equalis ab omni
Parte foret, magni speciem glomeravit in orbis:
Tum freta diffudit, rapidisque tumescere ventis
Jussit, &c.
Sic onus inclusum, numero distinxit eodem
Cura Dei, &c.*

*This Strife (with Better Nature) God decides,
He Earth from Heaven, the Sea from Earth divides:
He Ether pure extracts from Grosser Air.
All which unfolded by His Prudent Care,
From that blind Mass; the happily disjoyn'd
With strifeless peace, He to their seats confin'd, &c.
What God soever this Division wrought,
And every part to due proportion brought,
First lest the Earth unequal should appear,
He turn'd it round in figure of a Sphere.
Then Seas diffus'd, Commanding them to roar
With ruffling Winds, and give the Land a shore.
To those he added Springs, Ponds, Lakes immense,
And Rivers whom their winding borders fence.*

Where

Where though that learned Paraphrast, supposed (and not without some probability neither) that *Dens & Melior Natura*, *God and the Better Nature*, were one and the self same thing, yet we rather conceived them to be distinct, but one of them subordinate to the other as its Instrument, *God and the Plastick Nature*, accordingly as *Aristotle* writes in his *Physicks*, Νῆς καὶ φύσις ἄλλη τῇδε τῇ παύδῃ, *That Mind and Nature, were both together, the Cause of this Universe.*

Nevertheless we cannot but observe in this place, that though that Poet speak more than once of *God Singularly*, as also calls him *Mundi Fabricator*, and *Ille Opifex Rerum*, and *Mundi melioris Origo*, yet notwithstanding, where he writes of the making of Man, Pagan-like, he affirms him, though to have been made by God, yet according to the *Image or Likeness of The Gods, which govern all things.*

*Sanctius his Animal, mentisque capacius altæ
Deerat adhuc, & quod dominari in cætera posset :
Natus homo est : sive hunc divino semine fecit,
Ille Opifex rerum, mundi melioris Origo :
Sive recens tellus, seductaque nuper ab alto
Æthere, cognati retinebat semina cæli.
Quam satus Iapeto, mistam fluvialibus undis,
Finxit in effigiem Moderantùm cuncta Deorum.*

*The Nobler Being, with a Mind possess'd,
Was wanting yet, that should command the rest.
That Maker, the best Worlds Original,
Either him fram'd of seed Celestial ;
Or Earth which late he did from Heaven divide,
Some sacred seeds retain'd to Heaven allied :
Which with the living stream Prometheus mixt,
And in that Artificial Structure fixt,
The Form of all the All-ruling Deities.*

And because some may probably be puzzled with this seeming Contradiction, that *One God* should be said to be the Maker of the *whole World* and of *Man*, and yet the *Government of all* should be attributed to *Gods, Plurality* ; and *Man* said to be made in the *Image and Likeness of the Gods* ; we shall therefore add here, that according to the tenor of the *Pagan Theology*, the *Inferiour and Minor Gods* were supposed also, to have all of them, their several share in the Government of things below them : For which cause they are called not only by *Maximus Tyrius* συνάρχοντες θεῶν, *Co-rulers with God*, but also by *Plato* himself, τὰς πλείους δ' ἁπλοῦν συνάρχοντες, *the Co-governours and Co-reigners with the Supreme God.* So that the Government of this *Inferiour World*, was by the Pagans often attributed to them joyntly, the *Supreme and Inferiour Gods* both together, under that one general name of *Gods*. But the chief of those *Inferiour Deities*, in whose Image Man is also said to have been made, as well as in the Likeness of the *Supreme*, were either those *Celestial Gods and Animated Stars*, before mentioned by the Poet, or else the *Eternal Gods of Plato*, which were look'd upon likewise as *Co-makers* of the World subordinate.

Besides

Besides *Ovid*, we might instance here in many more of the Pagan Theogonists, clearly acknowledging in like manner *One Unmade Deity*, which Generated both the World, and all the other Gods in it; as for example, *Strabo*, who affirming that the World was $\kappa\alpha\iota\ \phi\upsilon\sigma\epsilon\omega\varsigma\ \alpha\mu\alpha\ \kappa\alpha\iota\ \kappa\alpha\iota\ \pi\alpha\theta\epsilon\upsilon\sigma\iota\alpha\varsigma\ \epsilon\gamma\epsilon\gamma\omicron\tau\omicron\iota$, *The joint work both of Nature and Providence*, as it was before ascribed by *Ovid*, to *Deus & Melior Natura*; L. 17. p. 809. adds concerning *Providence* or the *Deity* in this manner: $\pi\omicron\tau\omicron\ \kappa\alpha\iota\ \pi\epsilon\varsigma\upsilon\iota\alpha\varsigma$, $\delta\tau\iota\ \beta\epsilon\beta\epsilon\sigma\lambda\iota\alpha\iota\ \kappa\alpha\iota\ \alpha\upsilon\tau\eta\ \pi\omicron\iota\kappa\alpha\lambda\omicron\delta\epsilon\epsilon\gamma\ \tau\iota\varsigma\ \epsilon\sigma\tau\iota$; $\kappa\alpha\iota\ \mu\upsilon\epsilon\tau\epsilon\omega\iota\alpha\ \epsilon\gamma\epsilon\gamma\omicron\tau\omicron\iota\ \alpha\mu\upsilon\gamma\epsilon\gamma\omicron\tau\omicron\iota$, $\kappa\alpha\iota\ \tau\omicron\iota\varsigma\ \pi\rho\omega\tau\omicron\iota\varsigma\ \xi\omega\alpha\ \gamma\gamma\omicron\upsilon\alpha\iota\iota$, $\acute{\omega}\varsigma\ \mu\omicron\lambda\upsilon\ \delta\iota\alpha\phi\epsilon\rho\omicron\upsilon\iota\alpha\ \alpha\pi\epsilon\iota\ \acute{\alpha}\lambda\lambda\alpha\iota\iota$; $\kappa\alpha\iota\ \tau\epsilon\tau\omega\iota\omega\ \pi\alpha\ \kappa\epsilon\phi\alpha\lambda\eta\varsigma\ \theta\epsilon\omicron\varsigma\ \tau\epsilon\ \kappa\alpha\iota\ \text{'}\alpha\upsilon\theta\epsilon\acute{\rho}\omega\pi\omicron\varsigma$, $\acute{\epsilon}\omega\iota\ \acute{\epsilon}\nu\epsilon\kappa\epsilon\upsilon\ \kappa\alpha\iota\ \tau\alpha\ \acute{\alpha}\lambda\lambda\alpha\ \sigma\upsilon\gamma\epsilon\sigma\tau\eta\kappa\epsilon$. $\tau\omicron\iota\varsigma\ \mu\epsilon\upsilon\ \acute{\epsilon}\nu\ \theta\epsilon\omicron\iota\varsigma\ \alpha\pi\epsilon\sigma\theta\acute{\eta}\xi\epsilon\ \text{'}\text{'}\ \delta\epsilon\gamma\epsilon\gamma\omicron\tau\omicron\iota$, $\tau\omicron\iota\varsigma\ \delta\text{'}\ \text{'}\alpha\upsilon\theta\epsilon\acute{\rho}\omega\pi\omicron\iota\varsigma\ \tau\iota\omega\ \gamma\gamma\omicron\upsilon\iota$. *That having a multiform Fecundity in it, and delighting in variety of works, it designed principally to make Animals, as the most excellent things, and amongst them chiefly those Two Noblest kinds of Animals, Gods and Men; for whose sakes the other things were made; and then assigned Heaven to the Gods, and Earth to Men, the Two extreme parts of the World, for their respective Habitations.* Thus also *Seneca* in *Lactantius*, speaking concerning God, *Hic cum prima Fundamenta molis pulcherrimæ jaceret, & hoc ordiretur quo neque majus quicquam novit Natura nec melius; ut omnia sub Ducibus irent, quamvis ipse per totum se corpus intenderat, tamen Ministros regni sui Deos genuit.* God when he laid the Foundations of this most beautiful Fabrick, and began to erect that Structure, than which Nature knows nothing greater or more excellent; to the end that all things might be carried on under their respective Governours orderly, though he intended Himself through the whole, as to preside in chief over all, yet did he Generate Gods also; as subordinate Ministers of his Kingdom under him. We shall forbear to mention the Testimonies of others here, because they may be more opportunely inserted elsewhere, only we shall add, as to *Hesiod* and *Homer*, that though they seem to have been sometimes suspected, both by *Plato* and *Aristotle*, for *Atheistick Theogonists*, yet as *Aristotle* did upon maturer thoughts, afterwards change his Opinion concerning both of them, so is it most probable that they were no *Atheists* but *Divine Theogonists*, such as supposed indeed *Many Generated Gods*, but *One Supreme Unmade Deity*, the *Maker both of the World and Them*. And this not only for the Grounds before alledged concerning *Hesiod*, and because both of them do every where affirm, even their *Generated Gods* to be *Immortal*, (which no *Atheists* did) but also for sundry other Reasons, some of which may be more conveniently inserted elsewhere. Moreover it hath been already intimated, that the *Generated Gods* of *Hesiod* and *Homer*, extend farther than those of *Plato's*, they being not only the *Animated Parts of the World*, but also all the other *Things of Nature Fictitiously Personated*; and Improperly or Abusively called *Gods and Goddesses*, whereof a farther account will be afterwards given.

Neither ought it at all to be wondred at, if these *Divine Theogonists* amongst the Pagans, did many times as well as those other *Atheistick ones*, make *Chaos* and the *Ocean*, *Seniour to the Gods*, and *Night* the *Mother of them*. The former of these being not only done by *Hesiod* and *Homer*, but also by the Generality of the ancient Pagan Theists, in

Epichar-

Epicharmus : and the Latter by *Orpheus* an undoubted *Theist*, in his Hymn of the Night,

Νύκτα θεῶν γενέτρεγεν, αἰέτομαι, ἡδὲ καὶ ἀνδρῶν ·

Noctem concebro Genetricem Hominūque Deūmq̃ue.

They not understanding this Absolutely and Universally, of all the *Gods* without exception, as the other *Atheistick Theogonists* did, as if there had been no *Unmade Deity* at all, but *Chaos* and *Night*, (that is, *Senseless Matter*, blindly and fortuitously moved) had been the Sole Original of all things, but only of the οἱ θεοὶ, *The Gods*, so called by way of Distinction from *God* or the *Supreme Deity*, that is, the *Inferiour Mundane Gods Generated* together with the *World*. The Reason whereof was, because it was a most ancient and in a manner Universally received Tradition amongst the Pagans, as hath been often intimated, that the *Cosmogonia* or Generation of the *World* took its first Beginning from a *Chaos*, (the *Divine Cosmogonists* agreeing herein with the *Atheistick* ones;) this Tradition having been delivered down, from *Orpheus* and *Linus* (amongst the Greeks) by *Hesiod* and *Homer* and others; acknowledged by *Epicharmus*; and embraced by *Thales*, *Anaxagoras*, *Plato*, and other Philosophers, who were *Theists*: The Antiquity whereof was thus declared by *Euripides*;

οὐκ ἐμὲς ὁ μῦθος, ἀλλ' ἐμῆς μητρὸς πάρος,
'ὥς ἔργονός τε γούνα τ' ἦν μορφῇ μία,
'Επεὶ δ' ἐχωρίσθησαν ἀλλήλων δίχες,
τίκτεσι πάντα, κἀνέδωκαν εἰς φάος,
τὰ δινύχες, πηνῶ, θῆρες, ἔς δ' ἄλμυ τρέφει,
γένος τε θνητῶν ·

*Non hic Mens, sed Matris est sermo mea,
Figura ut Una fuerit & Cæli & Soli,
Secreta quæ mox ut receperunt Statum,
Cuncta ediderunt hæc in oras Luminis;
Feras, Volucres, Arbores, Ponti Gregem,
Homines quoque ipsos.*

Neither can it reasonably be doubted, but that it was Originally *Mosai- cal*, and indeed at first a *Divine Revelation*, since no man could otherwise pretend to know, what was done before Mankind had any Being. Wherefore those *Pagan Cosmogonists* who were *Theists*, being *Polytheists* and *Theogonists* also, and asserting besides the One *Supreme Unmade Deity*, other *Inferiour Mundane Gods, Generated* together with the *World* (the Chief whereof were the *Animated Stars*) they must needs according to the Tenor of that Tradition, suppose them as to their Corporeal Parts at least, to have been Juniors to *Night* and *Chaos*, and the Off-spring of them, because they were all made out of an Antecedent *Dark Chaos*. τῷ μυγαλῇ ἐκτεθειάσθαι λέγουσι (saith *Plutarch*) ὑπὸ Αἰγυπίων τυφλῶ ἔσαν, ὅτι τὸ σκότος τῷ φάτις ἠγένετο περὶ ἑβύτην ·
The Mus Araneus being blind, is said to have been deified by the Egyptian,

ans, because they thought, that Darkneſs was older than Light. And the Caſe was the ſame concerning their Demons likewise, they being conceived to have their Corporeal Vehicula alſo; for which Cauſe as Porphyrius from Numenius writeth, the ancient Egyptians pictured them in Ships or Boats floating upon the Water: τὰς δὲ αἰγυπιαῖς διὰ τὸ τοῦτος δαίμονας ἀπεικάζειν ἐν ἐσθλαῖς ἐπὶ τερεῖς, ἀλλὰ πλοῖας ἐπὶ πλοῖς. The Egyptians therefore represented all their Demons, as not ſtanding upon firm Land, but in Ships upon the Water. But as for the Incorporeal Part or Souls of thoſe Inferiour Gods, though theſe Divine Theogoniſts could not derive their Original from Chaos or Matter, but rather from that other Principle called Love, as being Divinely Created, and ſo having God for their Father, yet might they notwithstanding, in another ſence, phancy Night to have been their Mother too, inſomuch as they were all made ἐξ οὐ οὐτις, from an antecedent Non-exiſtence or Nothing, brought forth into Being. For which Cauſe there ſeems to have been in Orpheus, a Dialogue betwixt the Maker of the World and Night. For that this ancient Cabala, which derived the Coſmogonia from Chaos and Love, was at firſt Religious and not Atheiſtical, and Love underſtood in it not to be the Off-ſpring of Chaos; may be concluded from hence, becauſe this Love as well as Chaos, was of a Moſaical Extraction alſo, and plainly derived from that Spirit of God, which is ſaid in the Scripture, To have moved upon the waters, that is, upon the Chaos: whether by this Spirit be to be meant God Himſelf, as acting immediatly upon the Matter, or ſome other Active Principle derived from God and not from Matter (as a Mundane Soul or Plaſtick Nature.) From whence alſo it came, that as Porphyrius teſtifieth, the ancient Pagans thought the Water to be Divinely inſpired, ἦσαντο γὰρ προεζέειν τὰς ὕδατι τὰς ψυχὰς θεοπνεύσας οὕτως ὡς φησὶν ὁ Νεμῆνιος δια- τὰ το λέγειν καὶ τὸ προφητικῶς εἰρηπνεύει, ἐμφέρεσθαι ἐπὶ τὸν τὸ ὕδατος θεὸν πνεύμα. They thought that Souls attended upon the Water or reſorted thereunto, as being Divinely Inſpired, as Numenius writeth, adding the Prophet alſo, therefore to have ſaid, That the Spirit of God moved upon the Water.

De Aut.
Nymph. p. 296.

And that this Cabala was thus underſtood by ſome of the ancient Pagan Coſmogoniſts themſelves, appears plainly, not only from Simmi- as Rhodius and Parmenides, but alſo from theſe following Verſes of Orpheus, or whoever was the Writer of thoſe Argonauticks, undoubtedly ancient, where Chaos and Love are thus brought in together;

πρῶτα μὲν ἀρχαῖς χάος μελὶν φάτον ὕμνον,
ὅς ἐπέμενσε φύσιν, ὡς τ' ἑρμῆς εἰς πέγας ἦλθε,
γῆς τ' ἀευσέως γῆρεον, πύμνός τε θαλάσσης,
Προεβύτατόν τε καὶ αὐτοτελὴ πολύμνῳ τρωατο,
Ὅσα τ' ἐφύκεν ἀπάντια, δέκευεν δ' ἄλλον ἅπ' ἄλλης.

Paſ. Ed. Steph.

To this Sence; We will firſt ſing a pleaſant and delightful Song, concerning the ancient Chaos, how Heaven, Earth and Seas, were framed out of it, as alſo concerning that Much-wiſe and Sagacious Love, The Oldeſt of all, and ſelf-perfect, which actively produced all theſe things, ſeparating one thing from another. Where this Love is not only called πολύμνους of Much-counſel or Sagaciouſneſs, which implies it to have been

Lib. 1. c. 6. p.
849.

been a *Substantial* and *Intellectual Thing*, but also *πρεσβύτατος* the *Oldest* of all, and therefore *Senior* to *Chaos*, as likewise *αὐτοτελής*, *Self-perfect* or *Self-originated*. From whence it is manifest, that according to the *Orphick Tradition*, this *Love* which the *Cosmogonia* was derived from, was no other than the *Eternal Unmade Deity* (or an *Active Principle* depending on it) which produced this whole *Orderly World*, and all the *Generated Gods* in it, as to their *Material part*, out of *Chaos* and *Night*. Accordingly as *Aristotle* determines in his *Metaphysics*, not only in the place before-cited, but also afterward; *ἔπερι δὲ τινος, ὅθεν ἢ ἀρχὴ τῆς κινήσεως, ὅσοι ἢ Νύξ ἢ Ἐρωτα ποιεῖν ἀρχώ*. Others, besides the *Material Cause* of the *World*, assign an *Efficient*, or *Cause of Motion*, namely *whosoever make*, either *Mind* (and *Intellect*) or *Love* a *Principle*. Wherefore we conclude that that other *Atheistick Cabala*, or *Aristophanick Tradition* before-mentioned, which accordingly as *Aristotle* also, elsewhere declareth concerning it, did, *ἐκ νυκτὸς πάντα γυνᾶν*, *Generate all things whatsoever*, even the *Gods* themselves universally out of *Night* and *Chaos*, making *Love* it self likewise, to have been produced from an *Egg of the Night*. I say, that this was nothing else but a mere *Depravation* of the ancient *Mosaick Cabala*, as also an *Absolutely Impossible Hypothesis*, it deriving all things whatsoever in the *Universe*, besides the *Bare Substance of Senseless Matter*, in another *Sence* than that before-mentioned, out of *Non-entity* or *Nothing*; as shall be also farther manifested afterwards.

We have now represented the *Sence* and generally received *Doctrine* of the ancient *Pagan Theologers*, that there was indeed a *Multiplicity of Gods*, but yet so that *One* of them only was *ἀγέννητος*, *Ingenerate* or *Unmade*, by whom all the other *Gods* together with the *World* were *Made*, so as to have had a *Novity of Being* or a *Temporary Beginning* of their *Existence*. *Plato* and the *Pythagoreans* here only differing from the rest in this, that though they acknowledged the *World* and all the *Mandane Gods*, to have been *Generated* together in *Time*, yet they supposed certain other *Intelligible* and *Supramundane Gods* also, which however produced from one *Original Deity*, were nevertheless *Eternal* or without *Beginning*. But now we must acknowledge, that there were amongst the *Pagan Theists* some of a different persuasion from the rest, who therefore did not admit of any *Theogonia* in the *sence* before declared, that is, any *Temporary Generation* of *Gods*, because they acknowledged no *Cosmogonia*, no *Temporary Production* of the *World*, but concluded it to have been from *Eternity*.

That *Aristotle* was one of these, is sufficiently known, whose *Inferior Gods* therefore, the *Sun*, *Moon* and *Stars*, must needs be *ἀγγεῖνοι* or *Ingenerate*, in this *sence*, so as to have had no *Temporary Production*, because the *Whole World* to him was such. And if that *Philosopher* be to be believed, himself was the very *First*, at least, of all the *Greeks*, who asserted this *Ingenerateness* or *Eternity* of the *World*, he affirming that all before him, did *γυνᾶν τὴν κόσμον*, and *κοσμοποιεῖν*, *Generate* or *Make the World*, that is attribute a *Temporary Production* to it, and consequently to all those *Gods* also, which were a *Part* thereof. Notwithstanding

CHAP. IV. *neither Theogonists, nor Cosmogonists.* 251

standing which, the Writer *de Placitis Philosophorum*, and *Stobæus*, impute this Dogma of the *Worlds Eternity*, to certain others of the Greek Philosophers before *Aristotle*, (besides *Ocellus Lucanus*, who is also acknowledged by *Philo* to have been an assertor thereof.) And indeed *Epicharmus*, though a Theist, seems plainly to have been of this Perswasion, that the World was *Unmade*, as also that there was no *Theogonia* nor *Temporary Production* of the *Inferiour Gods*, from these Verses of his, according to *Grotius* his Correction.

Ἄλλ' αἰεὶ τοὶ θεοὶ πάροιθ' ἔσαν, ὑπέλιπον δ' ὃ πάποκα·
τάδε δ' αἰεὶ παρέσθ' ὅμοια, διὰ δ' οὐκ αὐτῶν αἰεὶ·
Ἄλλὰ λέγεται μὲν χεῖρ πρῶτον γένεσθαι θεῶν·
πᾶς δ' ἰσχυρὸν γ' ἀπὸ μηδενὶ τινος ὅ, τι πρῶτον μέλλοι·
οὐκ ἄρ' ἔμολε πρῶτον εἶναι, εἰδὲ μὲν δὴ δέυτερον,
τῶν δ' ἔτι γ' ὧν ἄμμες νῦν λέγομεν ὥδ' εἶναι μέλλει τάδε.

Excerpt p. 478.

Nempe Dî semper fuerunt, atque nunquam intercident :
Hæc quæ dico semper nobis rebus in iisdem se exhibent.
Extitisse sed Deorum Primum perhibetur Chaos:
Quinam verò ? nam de nihilo nîl pote primum existere.
Ergo nec Primum profecto quicquam, nec fuit Alterum :
Sed quæ nunc sic appellantur, alia fient postmodum.

Where, though he acknowledges this to have been the *General Tradition* of the ancient *Theists*, That *Chaos* was before the *Gods*, and that the *Inferior Mundane Gods*, had a *Temporary Generation* or *Production* with the World, yet notwithstanding does he conclude against it, from this Ground of Reason, because *Nothing could procede from Nothing*, and therefore, both the *Gods*, and indeed whatsoever else is *Substantial* in the World, was from *Eternity Unmade*, only the *Fashion* of things having been altered.

Moreover *Diodorus Siculus* affirms, the *Chaldeans* likewise to have asserted this Dogma of the *Worlds Eternity*, οἱ δ' ἐν χαλδαίοις τὴν μὲν τῆς κόσμου φύσιν αἰδίων φασὶν εἶναι, καὶ μήτε ἐξ ἀρχῆς γένεσθαι ἐκ κένου, μήθ' ὕστερον φθορᾷ ἐπιδέχεσθαι. *The Chaldeans affirm, the Nature of the World to be Eternal, and that it was neither Generated from any Beginning, nor will ever admit Corruption.* Who, that they were not *Atheists* for all that (no more than *Aristotle*) appears from those following words of that *Historiographer*, τὴν τε τῶν ὀντων τάξιν τε καὶ διακόσμησιν, θεῶν τινα προνοία γιγνέσθαι, καὶ νῦν ἕκαστα τῶν ἐν οὐρανῷ γινομένων, ὅχι ὡς ἐτυχεν, εἰδ' αὐτομάτως, ἀλλ' ὡς ἐπορεύθη τινι καὶ βεβαίως κειρωμένη θεῶν κρίσει, συντελεῖσθαι. *They believe also, that the Order and Disposition of the World, is by a certain Divine Providence, and that every One of those things which come to pass in the Heavens, happens not by chance, but by a certain determinate and firmly ratified Judgment of the Gods.* However, it is a thing known to all, that the *Generality* of the later *Platonists* stiffly adhered to *Aristotle* in this, neither did they onely assert the *Corporeal World*, with all the *Inferior Mundane Gods* in it, to be ἀγενήτες, or *Ingenerate*, and to have existed from *Eternity*, but also maintained the same concerning the *Souls of Men* and all other *Animals*;

L. 2. p. 82.

mals ; (They concluding that *no Souls* were *Younger* than *Body* or the *Worlds*;) and because they would not seem to depart from their Master *Plato*, therefore did they endeavour, violently to force this same sense upon *Plato's* words also.

Notwithstanding which, concerning these *Latter Platonists*, it is here observable, that though they thus asserted, the *World*, and all *Inferior Gods and Souls*, to have been ἀρχαῖες, according to that stricter sense of the Word declared, that is, to have had no *Temporary Generation* or *Beginning*, but to have Existed from *Eternity*, yet by no means did they therefore conceive them to be αὐτογενεῖς καὶ αὐθιγόνες, *Self-originated, and Self-existing*, but concluded them to have been all derived from *one sole Self-existent Deity* as their Cause, which therefore, though not in order of *Time*, yet of *Nature*, was before them. To this purpose *Plotinus*, νῦν πρὸ αὐτῶ ἐναι ἔχει ὡς χρόνῳ πρὸ πρὸν αὐτῶ ὄντα, ἀλλ' ὅτι οὐκ ἔστι καὶ φύσις πρότερον ἐκείνου, καὶ αὐτὸν τῶ τῶ, ἀρχετυπον οἶον καὶ ἀρχιδύγμα ἐκείνου. καὶ δι' ἐκείνου ὄντος καὶ ὑποσυνιόντος αἰετὶ τὸνδε τὸ τέλειον. *Mind or God, was before the World, not as if it existed before it in Time, but because the World proceeded from it, and that was in order of Nature First, as the cause thereof, and its Archetype or Paradigm; the World also always subsisting, by it and from it. And again* elsewhere to the same purpose, ἡ τοῖνυν ἐγγύς, ἀλλ' ἐγένετο καὶ γένηται, ὅσα γινώσκονται λέγεται, ἡ ὅ φθαρήσεται, ἀλλ' ἡ ὅσα ἔχει εἰς αὐτόν. *The things which are said to have been made or Generated, were not so Made, as that they ever had a Beginning of their Existence, but yet they were Made and will be always Made, (in another sense;) nor will they ever be destroyed, otherwise than as being dissolved into those Simple Principles, out of which some of them were compounded. Where though the World be said never to have been Made, as to a Temporary beginning, yet in another sense, is it said to be always Made, as depending upon God perpetually, as the Emanative Cause thereof. Agreeably whereunto, the Manner of the Worlds Production from God, is thus declared by that Philosopher; ἐκ οὐδενος οἱ φθέρουσιν καὶ γινώσκουσιν αὐτὸν, ὅτις γὰρ τέλειον τὸ ποιῶσκάς ταύτης, ἐκ ἐκείνου συνιέναι, ὅς' ἴσασιν, ὅτι ὅσον ὁκείνα ἐμάμπει, ἡ μὴ ποτε τὰ ἅμα ἐμείπει. They do not rightly, who Corrupt and Generate the World, for they will not understand what Manner of Making or Production the World had, to wit, by way of Effulgency or Eradiation from the Deity. From whence it follows, that the World must needs have been so long as there was a God, as the Light was coeve with the Sun. So likewise Proclus concludes, that the World was αἰετὶ γινώμενον, καὶ ἐλαμπόμενον ἀπὸ τοῦ ὄντος, always Generated or Eradiated from God, and therefore must needs be Eternal, God being so. Wherefore these Latter Platonists, supposed the same thing concerning the Corporeal World, and the Lower Mundane Gods, which their Master Plato did, concerning his Higher Eternal Gods; that though they had no Temporary Production, yet they all depended no less upon one Supreme Deity, than if they had been made out of Nothing by Him. From whence it is manifest, that none of these Philosophers apprehended any Repugnancy at all, betwixt these Two Things; Existence from Eternity, and Being Caused or produced by Another. Nor can we make any great Doubt, but that if the Latter Platonists, had been fully convinced*

convinced of any *Contradictious Inconsistency* here, they would readily have disclaimed, that their so beloved *Hypothesis*, of the *Worlds Eternity*; it being so far from Truth what some have supposed, that the Assertors of the *Worlds Eternity*, were all *Atheists*, that these Latter Platonists, were led into this Opinion no otherwise than from the sole Consideration of the *Deity*; to wit, its ἀγαθοειδής βέλησις, ἢ γόνιμος δύναμις, its *Essential Goodness*, and *Generative Power*, or *Emanative Fecundity*, as *Proclus* plainly declares upon the *Timæus*. Pag. 116.

Now though *Aristotle* were not Acted with any such *Divine Enthusiasm*, as these Platonists seem to have been, yet did he notwithstanding, after his sober Manner, really maintain the same thing; That though the *World* and *Inferior Mundane Gods*, had no *Temporary Generation*, yet were they nevertheless, all *Produced* from One *Supreme Deity* as their Cause. Thus *Simplicius* represents that Philosopher's Sense, Ἀριστοτέλης δὲ γινεσθαι ἀξιοῖ τὸ καθολικόν, ἀλλὰ κατ' ἄλλον τρόπον ὑπὸ θεοῦ γινεσθαι. *Aristotle would not have the World to have been made* (so as to have had a Beginning) *but yet nevertheless to have been produced from God after some other manner*. And again afterward; Ἀριστοτέλης τὸ αἰτιον τὸ θεοῦ καὶ τὸ αἰδὲς κινήσεως αὐτοῦ θεὸν λέγων, ὅπως ἀρχήτων αὐτὸν ἀποδείκνυσσι. *Aristotle though making God the Cause of the Heaven and its Eternal Motion, yet concludes it notwithstanding to have been Ingenerate or Unmade*, that is, without Beginning. However, we think fit here to observe, that though *Aristotle* do for the most part express, a great deal of Zeal and Confidence, for that Opinion of the *Worlds Eternity*, yet doth he sometimes for all that, seem to flag a little, and speak more Languidly and Sceptically about it; as for Example, in his Book *De Partibus Animalium*, where he treats concerning an *Artificial Nature*, μάλλον εἰκός τ' εἶναι γινώσκειν, ὑπὸ τοιαύτης αἰτίας, εἰ γένοιτο, καὶ εἶναι διὰ τοιαύτω αἰτίαν, μάλλον ἢ ζῶα τὰ θνητὰ. In Arist. Phys. L. 8.
It is more likely that the Heaven was made by such a Cause as this (if it were Made) and that it is maintained by such a Cause, than that Mortal Animals should be so; which yet is a thing more generally acknowledged. Now it was before declared, that *Aristotle's Artificial Nature*, was nothing but the mere Executioner or Opificer of a *Perfect Mind*, that is, of the *Deity*, which Two therefore he sometimes joyns together in the *Cosmopœia*, affirming that *Mind* and *Nature*, that is, *God and Nature*, were the Cause of this Universe. L. 1. C. 1.

And now we see plainly, that though there was a Real Controversie amongst the *Pagan Theologers*, (especially from *Aristotle's* time downward) concerning the *Cosmogonia* and *Theogonia*, according to the Stricter notion of those words, the *Temporary Generation* or *Production* of the *World* and *Inferior Gods*; or whether they had any Beginning or no; yet was there no Controversie at all, concerning the *Self-existency* of them, but it was Universally agreed upon amongst them, That the *World* and the *Inferior Gods*, however supposed by some to have existed from Eternity, yet were nevertheless all derived, from one *Sole Self-existent Deity*, as their Cause; ὑπὸ θεοῦ καὶ ἀρχογῶν, ἢ ἐκμαμπύων; being either *Eradiated* or *Produced* from God. Wherefore it is observable, that these *Pagan Theists*, who asserted the

Simplie. in A-
rist. Phys. fol.
205.

the *Worlds Eternity*, did themselves distinguish concerning the word *γεννητων* *Ortum, Natum, & Factum*, as that which was Equivocal, and though in one sence of it, they denied that the World and Inferior Gods were *γεννητοί*, yet notwithstanding did they in another sence clearly affirm the same. For the word *γεννητων* (say they) strictly and properly taken, is τὸ ἐν μέρει χρόνος τὴν εἰς τὸ εἶναι πορεύδον λαχόν, *that which in respect of time, passed out of Non-existence into Being*, or ὁ τὸ πρῶτον μὴ ὄν, ὕστερον δὲ ὄν, *that which being not before, afterwards was*. Nevertheless they acknowledge, that in a larger sence, this Word *γεννητων* may be taken also for τὸ ὅπως δὲ ἀπ' αἰτίας ὑφισταμένου, *that which doth any way depend upon a Superior Being as its Cause*. And there must needs be the same Equivocation in the word *ἀγεννητων*, so that this in like manner may be taken also, either *χρονικῶς*, for that which is *Ingenerate* in respect of Time, as having no Temporary Beginning; or else for that which is, ἀπ' αἰτίας ἀγεννητων, *Ingenerate or Unproduced from any Cause*; in which latter sence, that word *ἀγεννητων* or *Unmade* is of equal force and extent, with *αὐθυπόστατον* or *αὐτόγενης*, *that which is Self-subsistent or Self-originated*; and accordingly it was used by those Pagan Theists, who concluded ὅτι ἦν ἀγεννητος, i. e. *That Matter was Unmade*, that is, not only existed from *Eternity* without Beginning, but also was *Self-existent*, and *Independent upon any Superior Cause*. Now as to the Former of these two senses of those words, *γεννητων* and *ἀγεννητων*, the Generality of the ancient Pagans, and together with them *Plato*, affirmed, the World and all the *Inferior Gods* to be *γεννητες*, *to have been Made in Time*, or to have had a Beginning; (for whatever the Latter Platonists pretend, this was undoubtedly *Plato's* Notion of that word and no other, when he concluded the World to be *γεννιστον*, forasmuch as himself expressly opposes it to *αἰδιον*, *that which is Eternal*.) But on the contrary, *Aristotle* and the Later Platonists, determined the World and all the *Inferior Gods*, to be in this sence *ἀγεννητες*, *such as had no Temporary Beginning*, but were from *Eternity*. However according to the later Sence of those words, all the Pagan Theologers agreed together, that the World and all the *Inferior Gods*, whether having a Beginning, or Existing from *Eternity*, were notwithstanding *γεννητοι ἀπ' αἰτίας*, *produced or derived from a Superior Cause*; and that thus, there was only One *θεὸς ἀγεννητος*, *One Unproduced and Self-existent Deity*, who is said by them to be *αἰτίας κρείττων* καὶ *πρεσβύτερος*, *Superior to a Cause and Older than any Cause*, he being the Cause of all things besides himself. Thus *Cranior* and his Followers in *Proclus*, zealous Assertors of the *Worlds Eternity*, determined, *γεννητων* λέγεσθαι τὸν κόσμον ὡς ἀπ' αἰτίας ἄλλης παροξυμένου, καὶ οὐ ὅτι αὐτόγονον ἔδὲ αὐθυπόστατον. *that the World (with all the Inferior Mundane Gods in it) notwithstanding their Being from Eternity, might be said to be γεννητοι that is orti or made, as being produced from another Cause, and not Self-originated or Self-existing*. In like manner *Proclus* himself, that grand Champion for the *Worlds Eternity*, plainly acknowledged notwithstanding, the Generation of the Gods and World in this sence, as being produced from a Superior Cause, λέγομεν θεῶν γένεσις, τὴν ἀρχήν αὐτῆς πρῶτον ἐν ἀκινήτοις, καὶ τὴν τῆς δευτέρας ἐπερίστα, πρὸς τὰς αἰτίας αὐτῆς. *We call it the Generations of the Gods, meaning thereby, not any Temporary Pro-*

In Time. pag.
85.

duction

duction of them, but their Ineffable Procession, from a Superior First Cause. Thus also *Salustius*, in his Book *de Dis & Mando*, where he contends the World to have been from Eternity or without Beginning, yet concludes both it, and the other Inferiour Gods to have been made by One Supreme Deity, who is called by him, ὁ πρῶτος θεός, the First God. For saith he, μέγιστος ἢ δυνάμειος ἔσθις, ἐν ἀνθρώποις ἔσθις καὶ ζῷα μόνα ποιεῖν, ἀλλὰ θεός τε καὶ δαίμωνας. God or the First Cause, having the greatest power or being Omnipotent, ought therefore to make, not only Men, and other Animals, but also Gods and Demons. And accordingly this is the Title of his 13. Chapter, πᾶς τὰ αἰδία λέγεται γίνεσθαι, How Eternal things may be said to be Made or Generated. It is true indeed (as we have often declared) that some of the Pagan Theists asserted, God not to be the only ἀγέννητον καὶ αὐτοπόστον, the only Unmade and Self-existent Being, but that Matter also was such; nevertheless, this Opinion was not so generally received amongst them; as is commonly supposed: and though some of the ancient Fathers confidently impute it to *Plato*, yet there seems to be no sufficient ground for their so doing; and *Porphyrius*, *Jamblichus*, *Proclus*, and other Platonists, do not only professedly oppose the same, as false, but also as that which was dissonant from *Plato's* Principles. Wherefore according to that larger Notion of the Word ἀγέννητον, as taken synonymously with αὐτίκηνες and αὐτοπόστον, there were Very many of the Pagan Theologers who agreed with Christians in this; ὅτι αὐτὸ Ἀγέννητον ὁ θεός, καὶ ἐξία αὐτῷ ὡς αὐτοῦ τις ἡ Ἀγεννησία, That God is the only Ingenerate or Unmade Being, and that his very Essence is Ingenerability or Innascibility; all other things, even Matter it self, being made by him. But all the rest of them (only a few Ditheists excepted) though they supposed Matter to be Self-existent yet did they conclude, that there was only, εἷς θεός ἀγέννητος, only One Unmade or Unproduced God, and that all their other Gods, were γυνῶτοι, in One sence or other, if not as Made in Time, yet at least as Produced from a Superiour Cause.

Nothing now remaineth, but onely that we shew, how the Pagans did distinguish, and put a difference, betwixt the One Supreme Unmade Deity, and all their other Inferior Generated Gods. Which we are the rather concerned to do; because it is notorious that they did many times also confound them together, attributing the Government of the Whole World to the Gods promiscuously, and without putting any due Discrimination, betwixt the Supreme, and Inferior; (the true reason whereof seems to have been this, because they supposed the Supreme God, not to do all immediatly, in the Government of the World, but to permit much to his Inferior Ministers) One Instance of which we had before in *Ovid*, and innumerable such others might be cited out of their most sober Writers. As for Example *Cicero*, in his First Book of Laws; *Deorum Immortalium vi, ratione, potestate, mente, numine, Natura omnis regitur*, The Whole Nature, or Universe, is governed by the Force, Reason, Power, Mind, and Divinity of the Immortal Gods. And again in his Second Book, *Deos esse Dominos ac Moderatores omnium rerum, eaque quæ geruntur, eorum geri iudicio atque Numine, eosdemque optimè de genere hominum mereri, & qualis quisque*

quisque sit, quid agat, quid in se admittat, qua mente, qua pietate Religionem colat, intueri; piorumque & impiorum habere Rationem; à Principio Civibus suum esse debet: The Minds of Citizens, ought to be first of all imbued with a firm persuasion, that the Gods are the Lords and Moderators of all things, and that the Conduct and Management of the whole World is directed and over-ruled by their Judgment and Divine Power; that they deserve the best of mankind, that they behold and consider what every man is, what he doth and takes upon himself, with what Mind, Piety and Sincerity he observes the Duties of Religion; and Lastly, that these Gods have a very different regard to the Pious and the Impious. Now such Passages as these, abounding every where in Pagan Writings, it is no wonder if many, considering their Theology but slightly and superficially, have been led into an Error, and occasioned thereby to conclude, the Pagans not to have asserted a Divine Monarchy, but to have imputed both the making and Governing of the World to an Aristocracy or Democracy of Co-ordinate Gods, not only all Eternal, but also Self-existent and Unmade. The contrary whereunto, though it be already sufficiently proved, yet it will not be amiss for us here in the Close, to shew how the Pagans, who sometimes jumble and confound the Supreme and Inferior Gods all together, do notwithstanding at other times, many ways distinguish, betwixt the One Supreme God, and their other Many Inferior Gods.

First therefore, as the Pagans had Many Proper Names for One and the same Supreme God, according to several Particular Considerations of him, in respect of his several different Manifestations and Effects in the World; which are oftentimes mistaken for so many Distinct Deities; (some supposing them Independent, others Subordinate;) so had they also besides these, other Proper Names of God, according to that more full and comprehensive notion of him, as the Maker of the Whole World, and its Supreme Governour, or the Sole Monarch of the Universe. For thus the Greeks called him Ζεύς and Ζην, &c. the Latins Jupiter and Jovis, the Babylonians Belus and Bel, the Persians Mithras and Oromasdes, the Egyptians and Scythians (according to Herodotus) Ammoun and Pappæus. And Celsus in Origen, concludes it to be a Matter of pure Indifferency, to call the Supreme God by any of all these Names, either Ζεύς or Ammoun or Pappæus or the like, κέλζου οἷεται μηδὲν διαφέρειν, διὰ ὕψους, καλεῖν ἢ Ζηνά, ἢ Ἀδωναῖον, ἢ Σαβαώθ ἢ (ὡς Αἰγύπτιοι) Ἀμμουν, ἢ (ὡς Σκύθαι) Παππαῖον. Celsus thinks it to be a matter of no moment, whether we call the Highest and Supreme God, Adonai and Sabaoth, as the Jews do; or Dia and Zena, as the Greeks; or as the Egyptians Ammoun; or as the Scythians Pappæus. Notwithstanding which, that Pious and Jealous Father expresseth a great deal of Zeal, against Christians then using any of those Pagan Names. But we will rather endure any torment (saith he) than confess Ζεύς (or Jupiter) to be God; being well assured that the Greeks often really worship, under that Name, an Evil Demon, who is an enemy both to God and Men. And we will rather suffer death, than call the Supreme God Ammoun, whom the Egyptian Enchanters thus Invoke; λεγέτωσαν ὁ ἐν Σκύθαις ὁ Παππαῖον, θεὸν εἶναι ὁ ἐν ἡμῖν παῖον. ἀλλ' ἡμεῖς οὐ πεισόμεθα, πεινέμε

Lib. 5. c. cii.
sum.

μὴ δὲ ἐπὶ πᾶσι θεόν, ὡς ἡ φίλον τὰ λαχόντι πῶ Σκυθῶν ἐρημίαν, καὶ τὸ
 ἔθνος αὐτῶν καὶ διάλεκτον, ἐκ ὀνομάζοντες τὸ θεόν, ὡς κυρίῳ ὀνόματι τὰ Παππαίων.
 Σκυθῆσι γὰρ τὸ περὶ γεμὸν τὸ θεόν, καὶ αἰγυπῆσι, καὶ πόσει διαλέκτῳ, ἢ ἕκαστος
 αὐτῶν πᾶσι, ὀνομάζων, ἔχ' ἀμαρτῆσται. *And though the Scythians call the*
Supreme God Pappæus, yet we acknowledging a Supreme God, will ne- L.S.P. 261:
ver be persuaded, to call him by that name, Which it pleased that Da-
mon (who ruled over the Scythian Desert, People and Language) to im-
pose. Nevertheless he that shall use the Appellative name for God, either
in the Scythian, Egyptian, or any other Language, which he hath been
brought up in, will not offend. Where Origen plainly affirms, the Scy-
 thians to have acknowledged *One Supreme God*, called by them *Pap-*
pæus, and intimates that the Egyptians did the like, calling him *Am-*
mon. Neither could it possibly be his intent, to deny the same of
 the Greeks and their *Zeus*, however his great Jealousie, made him to
 call him here a Demon, it being true in a certain sence, which shall
 be declared afterward, that the Pagans did oftentimes, really worship
 an Evil Demon, under those very Names, of *Zeus*, and *Jupiter*, as
 they did likewise under those of *Hammon* and *Pappæus*.

In the mean time we deny not, but that both the Greeks used that
 word *Zeus*, and the Latins *Jupiter*, sometimes *φυσικῶς*, for the *Æther*,
Fire, or *Air*, some accordingly etymologizing *Ζεύς* from *ζέω*, others
Διεύς from *δέω*: Whence came those Formes of Speech, *Sub Jove*, and
sub Dio. And thus *Cicero*, *Jovem Ennius nuncupat ita dicens*,

De nat. D. l. 2.
 223. Lamb.

Aspice hoc sublime candens, quem invocant omnes Jovem.

Hunc etiam Augures nostri cum dicunt, Jove Fulgente, Jove Tonante;
dicunt enim in Cælo Fulgente, Tonante, &c. The reason of which
 speeches seems to have been this, because in ancient times, some had sup-
 posed the *Animated Heaven*, *Ether* and *Air*, to be the *Supreme Deity*. We
 grant moreover, that the same words have been sometimes used
ισοεὐκῶς also, for an *Hero* or *Deified Man*, said by some to have been
 born in *Crete*, by others in *Arcadia*. And *Callimachus* though
 he were very angry with the Cretians, for affirming *Jupiter's* Sepul-
 chral Monument, to have been with them in *Crete*, as thereby making
 him Mortal,

Κρήτες αἰεὶ ἰδύσαι, καὶ γὰρ τάφον, ᾧ ἄνα, σείο,
 Κρήτες ἐτεκτῆσαντο: σὺ δ' ἔθανες, ἐσὶ γὰρ αἰεὶ.

Cretes semper mendaces, tuum enim, Rex, Sepulchrum
Extruxerunt: Tu verò non es mortuus, semper enim es.

Himself nevertheless (as *Athenagoras* and *Origen* observe) attributed
 the beginning of death to him, when he affirmed him to have been
 born in *Arcadia*; ἀρχὴ γὰρ θανάτου ἢ ἐπὶ γῆς γένεας, because a *Terrene*
Nativity is the Beginning of Death. Wherefore this may pass for a
 general Observation here, that the *Pagan Theology*, was all along Con-
 founded with a certain Mixture, of *Physiology* and *Herology* or *History*
 blended together. Nevertheless it is unquestionable, that the more
 intelligent,

intelligent of the Greekish Pagans, did frequently understand by *Zeus*, that *Supreme Unmade Deity*, who was the *Maker of the World*, and of all the *Inferiour Gods*. *Porphyrus* in *Eusebius* thus declares their sence, $\tau \delta \alpha \iota \alpha$, $\tau \delta \nu \epsilon \nu \kappa \omicron \sigma \mu \omicron \varsigma \upsilon \pi \omicron \lambda \alpha \mu \beta \acute{\alpha} \nu \epsilon \sigma \alpha \nu$, $\delta \varsigma \tau \acute{\alpha} \epsilon \nu \alpha \upsilon \tau \acute{\alpha} \iota \varsigma \epsilon \delta \eta \mu \iota \kappa \epsilon \gamma \eta \sigma \epsilon \nu$, $\epsilon \chi \omega \nu \tau \delta \kappa \omicron \sigma \mu \omicron \nu$. By *Zeus*, the *Greeks* understand that *Mind of the World* which framed all things in it, and containeth the whole *World*. Agreeable whereunto is that of *Maximus Tyrius*, $\kappa \acute{\alpha} \lambda \epsilon \iota \tau \delta \mu \acute{\eta} \nu \delta \iota \alpha$; $\nu \epsilon \nu \pi \rho \epsilon \sigma \beta \upsilon \tau \alpha \tau \omicron \nu$, $\kappa \upsilon \alpha \rho \chi \eta \kappa \acute{\omega} \tau \alpha \tau \omicron \nu$, $\omega \pi \acute{\alpha} \nu \tau \alpha \epsilon \pi \epsilon \iota \tau \alpha \kappa \upsilon \pi \epsilon \iota \theta \alpha \rho \chi \epsilon \iota$. By *Jupiter* you are to understand, that most *Ancient and Princely Mind*, which all things follow and obey. And *Eusebius* himself, though not forward to grant any more than needs he must to Pagans, concludes with this acknowledgment hereof, $\epsilon \varsigma \omega \delta \omicron \zeta \epsilon \upsilon \varsigma \mu \eta \kappa \epsilon \theta \eta \pi \upsilon \rho \acute{\omega} \delta \epsilon \varsigma \kappa \upsilon \alpha \iota \delta \epsilon \rho \epsilon \iota \theta \iota \sigma \iota \alpha$, $\omega \sigma \omega \phi \tau \omicron \iota \varsigma \pi \alpha \lambda \alpha \iota \omicron \iota \varsigma \epsilon \nu \omicron \mu \iota \zeta \epsilon \iota \sigma$, $\chi \tau \iota \tau \delta \pi \lambda \acute{\alpha} \tau \alpha \rho \chi \omicron \nu$, $\alpha \lambda \lambda \alpha \upsilon \tau \acute{\iota} \varsigma \delta \alpha \nu \alpha \tau \acute{\alpha} \tau \omega \nu \epsilon \varsigma$, $\delta \tau \eta \delta \omicron \lambda \omega \nu \delta \eta \mu \iota \kappa \epsilon \gamma \epsilon \varsigma$. Let *Jupiter* therefore be no longer, that *Fiery and Ethereal Substance*, which the ancient Pagans according to *Plutarch* supposed him to be; but that *Highest Mind*, which was the *Maker of all things*. But *Phornutus* by *Jupiter* understands the *Soul of the World*, he writing thus concerning him; $\omega \sigma \omega \phi \eta \mu \epsilon \iota \varsigma \alpha \pi \omicron \psi \chi \eta \varsigma \delta \iota \omicron \iota \kappa \epsilon \mu \epsilon \theta \alpha$, $\epsilon \tau \omega \kappa \upsilon \delta \kappa \omicron \zeta \mu \omicron \nu \psi \chi \eta \nu \epsilon \chi \epsilon \iota \tau \omega \varsigma \sigma \upsilon \nu \epsilon \chi \epsilon \sigma \alpha \nu \alpha \upsilon \tau \omicron \nu$, $\kappa \upsilon \alpha \upsilon \tau \eta \kappa \alpha \lambda \epsilon \iota \tau \alpha \iota \zeta \epsilon \upsilon \varsigma$, $\alpha \iota \tau \iota \alpha \epsilon \varsigma \tau \alpha \tau \omicron \iota \varsigma \zeta \acute{\alpha} \sigma \tau \epsilon \varsigma \zeta \omega \nu$, $\kappa \upsilon \delta \iota \chi \tau \acute{\omega} \tau \omicron \beta \alpha \sigma \iota \lambda \acute{\epsilon} \upsilon \epsilon \iota \nu \delta \omicron \zeta \epsilon \upsilon \varsigma \lambda \acute{\epsilon} \gamma \epsilon \tau \alpha \iota \tau \eta \delta \omicron \lambda \omega \nu$. As we our selves are governed by a *Soul*, so hath the *World* in like manner a *Soul* that containeth it; and this is called *Zeus*, being the *Cause of Life* to all things that live; and therefore *Zeus* or *Jupiter*, is said to reign over all things. However, though these were two different Conceptions amongst the Pagans concerning God, some apprehending him to be an *Abstract Mind* separate from the *World* and *Matter*, but others to be a *Soul of the World* only, yet nevertheless they all agreed in this, that *Zeus* or *Jupiter* was the *Supreme Moderator* or *Governour* of all. And accordingly *Plato* in his *Cratylus* taking these Two Words, $\zeta \eta \nu \alpha$ and $\delta \iota \alpha$, both together, etymologizeth them as one, after this manner: $\sigma \upsilon \nu \tau \iota \theta \epsilon \mu \epsilon \lambda \omicron \varsigma \epsilon \iota \varsigma \epsilon \nu \delta \eta \lambda \omicron \iota \tau \omega \phi \upsilon \sigma \eta \nu \tau \delta \theta \epsilon \acute{\omega} \varsigma$, $\delta \chi \acute{\alpha} \rho \epsilon \theta \eta \nu \eta \mu \acute{\iota} \nu \kappa \upsilon \tau \omicron \iota \varsigma \alpha \lambda \lambda \omicron \iota \varsigma \pi \acute{\alpha} \sigma \iota \nu$, $\epsilon \varsigma \tau \iota \varsigma \theta \eta \nu \alpha \iota \tau \omicron \nu \mu \acute{\alpha} \lambda \lambda \omicron \nu \tau \delta \zeta \omega \nu$, $\eta \delta \alpha \rho \chi \omega \nu \tau \epsilon \kappa \upsilon \beta \alpha \sigma \iota \lambda \acute{\epsilon} \upsilon \varsigma \tau \eta \delta \pi \acute{\alpha} \nu \tau \omega \nu$. $\sigma \upsilon \mu \beta \alpha \lambda \iota \nu \eta \epsilon \nu \theta \epsilon \theta \acute{\omega} \varsigma \omicron \nu \omicron \mu \acute{\alpha} \zeta \epsilon \iota \sigma \tau \alpha \iota \epsilon \tau \omega \varsigma$, $\tau \acute{\alpha} \tau \omicron \theta \epsilon \delta \varsigma \epsilon \nu \alpha \iota \delta \iota \nu \zeta \eta \nu \alpha \iota \pi \acute{\alpha} \sigma \iota \tau \omicron \iota \varsigma \zeta \acute{\alpha} \sigma \tau \epsilon \nu \upsilon \pi \alpha \rho \chi \epsilon \iota$, $\delta \iota \epsilon \lambda \eta \nu \eta \tau \alpha \iota \eta \delta \delta \iota \chi \alpha$ ($\omega \sigma \omega \phi \lambda \acute{\epsilon} \gamma \omega$) $\epsilon \nu \delta \nu \tau \omicron \nu \omicron \nu \omicron \mu \alpha$, $\tau \acute{\alpha} \tau \alpha \delta \iota \kappa \upsilon \zeta \eta \nu \iota$. These Two words compounded together, declare the *Nature of God*; for there is nothing, which is more the *Cause of Life* both to our selves and all other *Animals*, than *He who is the Prince and King of all things*, so that *God* is rightly thus called; *He being that by whom all things Live*. And these are really but one *Name of God*, though divided into Two Words. But because it was very obvious, then to object against this *Position of Plato's*, that *Zeus* or *Jupiter* could not be the *Prince of all things*, and *First Original of Life*, from the *Theogonia* of *Hesiod* and other ancient Pagans, in which himself was made to have been the *Son of Κρόνος* or *Saturn*; therefore this *Objection* is thus preoccupied by *Plato*, $\tau \acute{\omega} \tau \omicron \nu \eta \kappa \rho \acute{\omicron} \nu \omicron \varsigma \upsilon \iota \omicron \nu$, $\upsilon \beta \epsilon \rho \iota \sigma \kappa \omicron \nu \mu \acute{\eta} \nu \alpha \nu \tau \iota \mu \delta \delta \epsilon \iota \epsilon \nu \epsilon \nu \alpha \iota \alpha \nu \kappa \acute{\omicron} \sigma \alpha \nu \tau \iota \epsilon \xi \alpha \phi \nu \omicron \varsigma$. *Whosoever shall hear this*, (saith he) *will presently conclude it, to be contumelious to this Zeus or Jupiter (as he hath been described by us) to be accounted the Son of Cronos or Saturn*. And in answer hereunto, that *Philosopher* stretcheth his Wits, to salve that *Poetick Theogonia*, and reconcile it with his own *Theological Hypothesis*; and thereupon he interprets that *Hesiodian*

Jodan ζῆς or *Jupiter*, into a Compliance with the *Third Hypostasis* of his *Divine Triad*, so as properly to signify the *Superiour Soul* of the *World*; ὁ λογὸν δὲ, μεγάλῃς τινὸς διανοίας ἐκγονὸν εἶναι τῇ Δία· κρόνον γὰρ τὸ καθ'αυτὸν καὶ ἀκρόατον τῷ Νῦν· ἔστι δὲ ἑστὸς οὐρανῷ ὡς λόγος· Nevertheless it is reasonable to suppose, *Zeus* or *Jupiter* to be the *Offspring* of some *Great Mind*: and *Chronos* or *Saturn* signifieth a *pure and Perfect Mind Eternal*; who again is said to be the *Son* of *Uranus* or *Cælius*. Where it is manifest, that *Plato* endeavours to accommodate this *Poetick Trinity* of *Gods*, *Uranus*, *Chronos* and *Zeus*; or *Cælius*, *Saturn* and *Jupiter*, to his own *Trinity* of *Divine Hypostases*, τὰ κατὰ ὅν, νῦν καὶ ψυχή, the *First Good*, a *Perfect Intellect*, and the *Highest Soul*. Which Accommodation, is accordingly further pursued by *Plotinus* in several places, as *Enn.* 5. l. 1. c. 4. and *Enn.* 5. l. 8. c. 13. Nevertheless these *Three Archical Hypostases* of the *Platonick Trinity*, though look'd upon as *Substances* distinct from each other, and *Subordinate*; yet are they frequently taken all together by them for the *Whole Supreme Deity*. However the Word ζῆς is by *Plato* severally attributed, to each of them; which *Proclus* thus observed P. 298: λέγωμεν ὅτι πολλὰ μὲν εἰσι τάξεις καὶ ὡς Πλάτωνι τῷ Δίῳ· ἄλλος γὰρ ὁ δημιουργὸς ζῆς, ὡς ἐν Κρατύλῳ γέγραπται, καὶ ἄλλος ὁ πρῶτος τῇ Κρονίᾳ τριάδι, ὡς ἐν Γοργίᾳ λέγεται, καὶ ἄλλος ὁ ἀπώλυτος, ὡς ἐν τῷ Φαίδρῳ ὡς ἐν Πλάτῳ, καὶ ἄλλος ὁ ἐσθλὸς, ἔπειτα ὅτι τῷ ἀπλανῆς ἔπειτα ὁ ἐν τῇ βασιλείᾳ ὡς ἐν Πλάτῳ· We say therefore, that there are several Orders, Ranks or Degrees of *Zeus* or *Jupiter* in *Plato*; for sometimes he is taken for the *Demiurgus* or *Opificer* of the *World*, as in *Cratylus*, sometimes for the *First* of the *Saturnian Triad*, as in *Gorgias*, sometimes for the *Superiour Soul* of the *World*, as in *Phædrus*, and lastly sometimes for the *Lower Soul* of the *Heaven*. Though by *Proclus* his lieve, that *Zeus* or *Jupiter* which is mentioned in *Plato's Cratylus* (being plainly the *Superiour Psyche* or *Soul* of the *World*) is not properly the *Demiurgus* or *Opificer*, according to him, that Title rather belonging to νῦν or *Intellect*, which is the *Second Hypostasis* in his *Trinity*.

As for the *Vulgar* of the *Greekish Pagans*, whether they apprehended *God* to be νῦν ἐξηγημένον τῷ κόσμῳ, a *Mind* or *Intellect* separate from the *World*, or else to be a *Soul* of the *World* only; it cannot be doubted, but that by the word *Zeus*, they commonly understood the *Supreme Deity* in one or other of those senses, the *Father* and *King* of *Gods*: he being frequently thus stiled in their solemn *Nuncupations* of *Vows*, ζεῦ πάτερ, ζεῦ ἄνα, O *Jupiter Father*, and O *Jupiter King*. As he was invoked also ζεῦ βασιλεῦ, in that excellent *Prayer* of an ancient *Poet*, not without cause commended in *Plato's Alcibiades*.

ζεῦ βασιλεῦ, τὰ μὲν ἐσθλά καὶ εὐχεταῖς καὶ ἀνένυκτοις

* Αἰμὴ δίδω, τὰ δὲ δεινὰ καὶ εὐχεταῖς ἀπαλέξειν·

O *Jupiter King*, give us good things whether we pray or pray not for them, but withhold evil things from us, though we should pray never so earnestly for them. But the Instances of this kind being innumerable, we shall forbear to mention any more of them. Only we shall observe, that *Zeus Sabazius* was a name for the *Supreme God*, sometime introduced

duced amongst the Greeks, and derived in all probability, from the Hebrew *Sabaoth*, or *Adonai Tsebaoth*, the Lord of Hosts, (that is of the Heavenly Hosts) or the Supreme Governour of the World. Which therefore *Aristophanes* took notice of, as a strange and foreign God, lately crept in amongst them, that ought to be banish'd out of Greece: these several Names of God being then vulgarly spoken of, as so many distinct Deities; as shall be more fully declared afterwards. We shall likewise elsewhere show, that besides *Ζεύς, Πάν* also was used by the Greeks, as a Name for that God, who is the supreme Moderator and Governour of the whole World.

That the Latins did in like manner, by *Jupiter* and *Jovis*, frequently denote the *Supreme Deity*, and *Monarch of the Universe*, is a thing unquestionable; and which does sufficiently appear from those Epithets that were commonly given to him, of *Optimus* and *Maximus*, the *Best* and the *Greatest*, as also of *Omnipotens* frequently bestowed upon him by *Virgil* and others. Which word *Jupiter* or *Jovis*, though *Cicero* etymologize it à *Juvando*, or from *Juvans Pater*, as not knowing how to do it otherwise, yet we may rather conclude it to have been of an Hebraical Extraction, and derived from that *Tetragrammaton* or Name of God, consisting of Four Consonants; whose Vowels (which it was to be pronounced with) though they be not now certainly known, yet must it needs have some such sound as this, either *Jovah*, or *Jahvoh*, or 'Ιδ'ω or 'Ιάω, or the like: and the abbreviation of this Name was *Jah*. For as the Pagan Nations, had besides Appellatives, their several Proper Names for God, so also had the Hebrews theirs, and such as being given by God himself, was most expressive of his Nature, it signifying *Eternal and Necessary Existence*.

But in the next place we shall suggest, that the Pagans did not only signify the *Supreme God*, by these *Proper Names*, but also frequently by the *Appellatives* themselves, when used not for a God in General, but for *The God*, or God κατ' ἐξοχὴν, and by way of eminency. And thus ὁ Θεός and Θεός are often taken by the Greeks, not for θεῶν τις, a God, or one of the Gods, but for God, or the *Supreme Deity*. We have several Examples hereof, in Passages before-cited occasionally in this very Chapter, as in that of *Aristotle's*, τί ἐν ἂν κρεῖττον ἐστὶν ἢ θεός; *What is there therefore, that can be better than Knowledge, but only God*: As also that other of his, that Happiness consisteth principally in Vertue, ἔστω συναμολογούμενον ἡμῖν μάγεσθαι τῷ θεῷ χαλεπούς, *it is a thing that ought to be acknowledged by us from the Nature of God*. So likewise in that of *Thales*, πρεσβύτατον πάντων ὁ Θεός, ἀρχόντων γάρ, *God is the oldest of all things, because he is Unmade*, and that of *Maximus Tyrius*, πολλοὶ θεοὶ παῖδες θεῶν καὶ συναρχόντες θεῶν, *Many Gods the Sons of God and Co-reignors together with God*. Besides which, there have been others also mentioned, which we shall not here repeat. And innumerable more Instances of this kind might be added, as that of *Antiphanes*, θεός ὅθεν οὐκ ἐστιν, διόπερ αὐτὸν ὁδὸς ἀμαθεῖν ἐξ εἰκόνης δύναται, *God is like to nothing, for which cause he cannot be learnt by any, from an Image*: This of *Socrates*, εἰ ταύτη φίλον τῷ θεῷ, ταύτη γινέσθω, *If*
God

God will have it so, let it be so. And that of Epictetus, σὺ μόνον μέμνη-
σο καὶ καθολικῶν, τί ἐμὸν, τί ἔκ ἐμὸν; τί ἄλλ' με ποιεῖν ὁ θεὸς νῦν;
Do thou only remember, these Catholick and Universal Principles; What
is Mine and what is not Mine? What would God have me now to do?
and what would he have me not to do? But we shall mention no more
of these, because they occur so frequently in all manner of Greek
Writers, both Metrical and Prosaical.

Wherefore we shall here only add, that as the Singular θεός was
thus often used by the Greeks for God κατ' ἐξοχὴν or in way of Emi-
nency, that is, for the Supreme Deity, so was likewise the Plural θεοὶ
frequently used by them, for the Inferiour Gods by way of Distincti-
on from the Supreme. As in that usual Form of Prayer and Exclama-
tion ὦ Ζεῦ καὶ θεοὶ, O Jupiter and the Gods, and that Form of Obtesta-
tion, πρὸς Διὸς καὶ θεῶν, By Jupiter and the Gods. So in this of En-
ripides,

Ἄμ' ὄρνι, ἔσι· κἂν τις ἐγέλῃ λογῶν,
Ζεὺς καὶ θεοὶ, βεβήτῃα λούσαντες πόσιν·

*Est, (sint licet qui rideant) est Jupiter,
Superique; Casus qui vident Mortalium.*

In which Passages, as Jupiter is put for the Supreme God, so is θεοὶ
likewise put, for the Inferiour Gods, in way of distinction from him.
Thus also θεός and θεοὶ are taken both together, in Plato's *Phædo*, θεός
for the Supreme, Unmade and Incorruptible Deity, and θεοὶ for the
Inferiour Gods only, ὁ δὲ γὰρ θεός (οἶμαι) ἔφη ὁ Σωκράτης, καὶ αὐτὸ τὸ ἴ-
διον εἶδος ὡς πάντων ἂν ὁμολογηθῇ, μηδὲ ποτε ἀπόλλυσθαι. Περὶ πάν-
των μέγιστοι γὰρ Διὶ (ἔφη) ἀνθρώπων γὰρ καὶ ἐπὶ μᾶλλον, ὡς ἐγὼμαι, ὡς θεῶν.
I suppose, said Socrates, that God and the very Species, Essence or Idea
of Life, will be granted by all to be Incorruptible. Doubtless by all men
(said Cebes) but much more as I conceive, by the Gods. But a further
Instance will be propounded afterwards, of the word θεοὶ thus used
by way of distinction, for the Inferiour Gods only; as it was before
declared, that the *Theogonia* or Generation of Gods was accord-
ingly understood by the Greeks universally, of the οἱ θεοὶ, that is, the
Inferiour Gods.

P. 105.

Plato de Rep.
ἐχ' ὑπὸ διὰ πο-
τὴ ἀμείψας, ὅς
ἐν αὐτοῖς μὲν ἰ-
δίᾳ δυνάμει γιν-
οῖτο, καὶ ὁμοῦ δυνά-
μει, εἰς ὅσον
δυνάμει ἀνδραγα-
θῶν ὁμοῦ δυνά-
μει. He will never be
neglected of the
Gods, who endea-
vours, as much as
it is possible for a
man, to be like to
God. p. 613.

Moreover as the word θεός was taken κατ' ἐξοχὴν, or by way of emi-
nency, for the Supreme God, so was Δαίμων likewise. As for exam-
ple, in this Passage of Callimachus before cited imperfectly,

Εἰ θεὸν οἶδα,
ἴσθ' ὅτι καὶ ῥέξαι Δαίμονι πᾶν δυνάτ' ἐστιν.

*Si Deus est tibi notus,
Hoc etiam noris, omnia posse Deum.*

Where θεός and Δαίμων are used both alike signanter, for the Supreme
God. And thus also in that famous Passage of another Poet,

—Τίς

τοῖς ᾧ ἄλλοις,
Εἶν ἄλὶ καὶ γαίᾳ, κατὰ μέγαρα θεῶν Δαίμων.

Homer likewise, in one and the same place, seems to use θεός and Δαίμων both together, after the same manner, for the *Supreme God*,

“ὅπποτ’ ἀνὴρ ἐθέλει πρὸς δαίμονα φρεσὶ μάχεσθαι,
“ὄν καὶ θεὸς τιμᾷ, τάχα οἱ μέγα πῆμα κυλίσθῃ.”

*Quoties homo vult, adverso Numine, cum viro pugnare
Quem Deus honorat, mox in eum magna clades devolvitur.*

Again we conceive, that *Jupiter* or the *Supreme God*, was sometimes signified amongst the Pagans, by that expression, θεός αὐτός *Deus Ipse*, as in that of *Homer's Ninth Iliad*,

οὐδ’ εἰ κέν μοι ὑποσάιν θεός αὐτός,
Γῆρας ἀποξύζας θήσεν νέον ἠεώοντα.

--- *Neque si mihi promitteret Deus Ipse,
Senectutem abradens, effecturum me Juvenem pubescentem.*

*Contra Jul.
L. 1.*

*So Justin.
Mart. Ad Gra.
cub. p. 22.*

And thus *St. Cyril of Alexandria* interprets *Homer* here, ὃ γὰρ παρὰ φιλοσοφίας, εἰ καὶ θεῶν τις ὑπόχρησται μοι τῷ μὲν γέρας ἀπεμπαλὼν, παλινάγειν δὲ τῇ νεότητι, τετήρηκε δὲ τὸ χρεῖμα μόνῳ τῷ ὅτι πάντας θεῶν, &c. τὸ γὰρ τοῦ θεοῦ αὐτός, ἐκ ἐφ’ ἑνὸς καὶ ἐν μύθοις πεπλάσμενον τινὰ, αὐτὸν δὲ δὴ μόνον κατὰ σκημινύθεν ἂν τὴν ἀληθείαν ὄντα θεόν. *Homer doth not say, If any of the Gods would promise me freedom from old Age and restitution of Youth, but he reserves the matter only to the Supreme God; neither doth he refer it to any of the Fictitious Poetick Gods, but to the true God alone.* The same Language was also spoken, in the Laws of the Twelve Tables; *Deos adeunto caste, Opes amovento: Si secus faxint, Deus ipse vindex erit: Let the Gods be worshipp’d chastely, superfluity of Riches and Pomp being removed: If men do otherwise, God Himself will be the Avenger.* Where though the word *Gods* be used generally, so as to comprehend both the *Supreme* and *Inferiour Gods* under it, yet *Deus Ipse*, *God himself*, denotes the *Supreme God* only. In like manner ὁ Δαίμων αὐτός also seems to be taken for the *Supreme God* in that of *Euripides*,

λύσθ’ με ὁ Δαίμων αὐτός, ὅταν ἐγὼ θέλω,

Which was thus rendred by *Horace*,

— *Ipse Deus, simulatque volet, me solvet.*

Notwithstanding which, Δαίμων and Δαίμονες, are often distinguished from θεός and θεοί, they being put for an *Inferiour* rank of Beings below the *Gods*, vulgarly called *Demons*, which word in a large sense

sence comprehends also *Heroes* under it. For though these *Demons* be sometimes called *Gods* too, yet were they rather accounted *ἡμίθεοι*, *Demi-gods*, than *Gods*. And thus *θεοὶ καὶ δαίμονες*, *Gods and Demons*, are frequently joyned together, as things distinct from one another: which Notion of the word *Plato* refers to, when he concludes, *Love* not to be a *God*, but a *Demon* only. But of these *Demons* we are to speak more afterwards.

Furthermore, the *Pagan Writers* frequently understand the *Supreme God* by the τὸ θεῖον, when the word is used Substantively. As for example, in this of *Epicharmus*,

οὐδὲν διαφύγει τὸ θεῖον· τὸ το γὰρ κυν σε δ' αἶ·
αὐτὸς ἐστὶ ἡμῶν ἐπὶ πᾶσι. ἀδυνατεῖ δ' εἰδέναι θεῶν.

Res nulla est Deum quæ lateat, scire quod te convenit:
Ipse est noster Introspector, tum Deus nil non potest.

So likewise in this of *Plato's*, πῶς ἂν ἡδονῆς καὶ λύπης ἴσθαι τὸ θεῖον, *God is far removed both from Pleasure and Grief*. And *Plotinus* calls the *Supreme God*, τὸ ἐν τῷ παντί θεῖον, *The Divinity that is in the Universe*. But because the Instances hereof are also innumerable, we shall decline the mentioning of any more, and instead of them, only set down the Judgment of that diligent and impartial Observer of the Force of words, *Henricus Stephanus*, concerning it; *Redditur etiam τὸ θεῖον sæpe Deus, sed ita tamen ut intelligendum sit, non de quolibet Deo, ab ipsis etiam profanis Scriptoribus dici, verum de eo quem intelligerent, cum θεῖον dicebant quasi κατ' ἐξοχὴν, ad differentiam eorum, qui multi, appellatione θεῶν includebantur, summum videlicet Supremumque Numen, & quasi dicas θεῖον θεῶν ὑπεῖον καὶ ἀρεῖον, ut loquitur de Jove Homerus.*

Lastly, as τὸ θεῖον so likewise was τὸ δαιμόνιον used by the Greeks, for the *Supreme Numen*, or that *Divinity* which governs the whole World. Thus whereas it was commonly said (according to *Herodotus*) ὅτι τὸ θεῖον φθόνεον, *That God was envious*; the meaning whereof was, that he did not commonly suffer any great *Humane Prosperity*, to continue long, without some check or counterbuff; the same *Proverbial speech* is expressed in *Aristotle*, φθόνεον τὸ δαιμόνιον. And in this sense the word seems to be used in *Isocrates ad Demonicum*, τίμα τὸ δαιμόνιον ἀεὶ καὶ, μάλιστα καὶ μετὰ τὴν πόλιν, *Worship God always, but especially with the City, in her Publick Sacrifices*. And doubtless it was thus taken by *Epictetus* in this Passage of his, μία ὁδὸς ἐστὶν εὐνοίας, καὶ τὸ καὶ ὁρῶν, καὶ μετ' ἡμέραν καὶ νύκτωρ, ἔσω περὶ χειρὸν, ἀπὸ ταῦτα καὶ τὰ ἀπὸ αὐρέτων, τὸ μηδὲν ἰδίον ἡγεῖσθαι, τὸ πάντα δίδου πάντα τὰ δαιμόνια, καὶ τῇ τύχῃ· *There is but one way to Tranquillity of Mind and Happiness, Let this therefore be always ready at hand with thee, both when thou wakest early in the morning, and all the day long, and when thou goest late to sleep; to account no external things thine own, but to commit all these to God and Fortune*. And there is a very remarkable Passage in *Demosthenes* (observed by *Budens*) that must not be here omitted; in which we have οἱ θεοὶ plainly for the *Inferiour* or *Minor Gods* only, and τὸ δαιμόνιον for

P. 27. Supb.

the Supreme God, both together ; ἔσονται οἱ θεοὶ καὶ τὸ δαιμόνιον, ἢ μὴ τὰ δίκαια ἀφιστάμενον. *The Gods and the Deity will know or take notice of him that gives not a righteous sentence ; that is, both the Inferior Gods and the Supreme God himself.* Wherefore we see, that the word δαιμόνιον, as to its Grammatical Form, is not a Diminutive, as some have conceived, but an Adjective Substantiv'd ; as well as τὸ θεῖον is. Nevertheless in Pagan Writings, δαιμόνιον also, as well as δαίμων from whence it is derived, is often used for an Inferiour Rank of Beings below the Gods, though sometimes called Gods too ; and such was Socrates his δαιμόνιον so commonly known. But the Grammar of this Word, and its proper Signification in Pagan Writers, cannot better be manifested, than by citing that Passage of Socrates his own, in his Apology, as written by Plato ; who though generally supposed to have had a *Dæmon*, was notwithstanding by Melitus accused of Atheism ; ἔστιν ὅστις ἀνθρώπων, ὃς μέλιτε, ἀνθρώπειά μὴ νομίζει πράγματα εἶναι, ἀνθρώπων ἢ ὃς νομίζει ; ἢ ὅστις ἵππων μὴ ὃς νομίζει, ἵππων ἢ πράγματα ; &c. ἐκ ἔστιν ὃς ἀνθρώπων, ἀλλὰ τὸ ἐπὶ ταῖς ἀποκρίσεσιν, ἔσθ' ὅστις δαιμόνια μὴ νομίζει πράγματα εἶναι, δαίμονας ἢ ὃς νομίζει ; ἐκ ἔστιν. ἀλλ' ἐν δαιμόνια καὶ νομίζω καὶ τὸ σὺν λόγῳ. εἰ δὲ καὶ δαιμόνια νομίζω, καὶ δαίμονας δήπου πολλὰ ἀνάγκη νομίζειν με ἐστίν. τὸς δὲ δαίμονας ὅχι ἦτοι θεός καὶ ἡγόμεθα εἶναι, ἢ θεῶν παῖδας ; &c. *Is there any one, O Melitus, who acknowledging that there are Humane things, can yet deny that there are any Men ? or confessing that there are Equine things, can nevertheless deny that there are any Horses ? If this cannot be, then no man who acknowledges Demonial things, can deny Demons. Wherefore I being confessed to assert δαιμόνια, must needs be granted, to hold δαίμονας also. Now do we not all think, that Demons are either Gods, or at least Sons of the Gods. Wherefore for any one to conceive that there are Dæmons, and yet no Gods, is altogether as absurd, as if one should think that there are Mules, but yet neither Horses nor Asses. However, in the New Testament, according to the Judgment of Origen, Eusebius, and others of the Ancient Fathers, both those words δαίμονες and δαιμόνια, are alike taken, always in a Worser sence, for Evil and Impure Spirits only.*

But over and besides all this ; the Pagans do often characterize the Supreme God, by such Titles, Epithets, and Descriptions, as are Incommunicably proper to him : thereby plainly distinguishing him from all other Inferiour Gods. He being sometimes called by them, ὁ δημιουργός, the Opifex Architect or Maker of the World, ὁ ἡγμῶν τῶ παντός καὶ ἀρχηγός, the Prince and chief Ruler of the Universe ; ὁ πρῶτος and ὁ πρῶτιστος θεός (by the Greeks) and (by the Latins) *Primus Deus*, the First God ; ὁ πρῶτος νῦς, the First Mind ; ὁ μέγας θεός, the Great God ; ὁ μέγιστος δαίμων, and ὁ μέγιστος θεῶν, the greatest God and the greatest of the Gods ; ὁ ὑψίστος, the Highest ; and ὁ ὑψίστος θεῶν, the Supreme of the Gods ; ὁ ἀνωτάτω θεός, the Uppermost, or most Transcendent God ; *Princeps ille Deus*, that Chief or Principal God ; θεός θεῶν, the God of Gods ; and ἀρχὴ ἀρχῶν, the Principle of Principles ; τὸ πρῶτον αἶτιον, the First Cause ; ὁ τοῦτο τὸ πᾶν κτίσας, He that Generated or Created this whole Universe ; ὁ κρατεῖν τῶ παντός, He that ruleth over the whole World ; *Summus Rector & Dominus*, The Supreme Governour and Lord of all ; ὁ ἐπὶ πάντι θεός, the God over all ; ὁ θεός ἀρχόντος, αὐτοκράτης, αὐτοφύης, αὐθῆν.

ἀνδρὸς αὐτοῦ, *The Ingenerate or Unmade Self-originated and Self-subsisting Deity*; μονὰς αὐτὸς ὁ αὐτοῦ ἀγαθόν, *Unity and Goodness it self*; τὸ ἐπέκεινα τῆς οὐσίας, and τὸ ὑπερῶς, *that which is above Essence or Super-essential*; τὸ ἐπέκεινα νοῦ, *that which is above mind and Understanding*; *Summum illud & Aeternum, neque mutabile neque interitum*, *That Supreme and Eternal Being, which is Immutable and can never perish*; ἀρχὴ, καὶ τέλος, καὶ μέσον πάντων, *The Beginning, and End, and Middle of all things*; ἐν ᾧ πάντα, *One and all things*; *Dens Unus & Omnes*, *One God and All Gods*; And Lastly, to name no more, ἡ Πρὸνοια, or *Providence*, as distinguished from φύσις *Nature*, is often used by them also, as a Name for the Supreme God, which because it is of the Feminine Gender, the Impious and Atheistical Epicureans, therefore took occasion, to call God ridiculously and jeeringly, *Anum fatidicam Pronœan*. Now all these, and other such like Expressions, being found in the Writings of Professed Pagans (as we are able to shew) and some of them very frequently, it cannot be denied, but that the Pagans did put a Manifest Difference betwixt the *Supreme God*, and all their other *Inferiour Gods*.

X V. What hath been now declared, might, as we conceive, be judged sufficient, in order to our present Undertaking; which is to prove, that the more Intelligent of the Ancient Pagans, notwithstanding that *Multiplicity of Gods* worshipped by them, did generally acknowledge, *One Supreme, Omnipotent, and Only Unmade Deity*. Nevertheless, since men are commonly so much prepossessed with a contrary Perswasion; (the reason whereof seems to be no other than this, that because the *Notion* of the Word *God*, which is now generally received amongst us Christians, is such as does essentially include *Self-existence in it*, they are therefore apt to conceit, that it must needs do so likewise amongst the Pagans;) we shall endeavour to produce yet some further Evidence for the Truth of our Assertion. And first we conceive, This to be no small Confirmation thereof, because after the Publication of *Christianity*, and all along during that Tugging and Contest which was betwixt it and *Paganism*, none of the Professed Champions for *Paganism*, and Antagonists of *Christianity* (when occasion was now offered them) did ever assert any such thing, as a *Multiplicity of Understanding Deities Unmade* (or *Creators*) but on the contrary, they all generally disclaimed it, professing to acknowledge *One Supreme Self-existent Deity, the Maker of the whole Universe*.

It is a thing highly probable, if not unquestionable, that *Apollonius Tyanæus*, shortly after the Publication of the Gospel to the World, was a Person made choice of by the Policy, and assisted by the Powers of the Kingdom of *Darkness*, for the doing of some things Extraordinary; merely out of design, to derogate from the Miracles of our Saviour *Christ*, and to enable *Paganism* the better, to bear up against the assaults of *Christianity*. For amongst the many Writers of this Philosophers Life; some, and particularly *Philostratus*, seem to have had no other aim in this their whole undertaking, then only to dress up *Apollonius*, in such a garb and manner, as might make him best seem

Testimonio, (cui enim de se dicenti potest credi ?) sed Prophetarum Testimonio, qui omnia quæ fecit ac passus est, multo antè cecinerunt ; fidem Divinitatis accepit ; quod neque Apollonio neque Apuleio, neque cuiquam Magorum potest aliquando contingere. It is manifest that we Christians are wiser than you Pagans, in that we do not presently attribute Divinity to a person, merely because of his Wonders ; whereas a few Portentous things, or Extraordinary actions, will be enough with you, to make you Deifie the Doer of them ; (and so indeed did some of them, however Hierocles denies it, Deifie Apollonius.) Let this writer against Christianity therefore learn, (if he have any Understanding or Sense in him) that Christ was not therefore believed to be a God by us Christians, merely because of his Miracles, but because we saw all those things done by, and accomplished in him, which were long before predicted to us, by the Prophets. He did miracles, and we should therefore have suspected him for a Magician (as you now call him, and as the Jews then supposed him to be ;) had not all the Prophets, with one voice foretold, that he should do such things. We believe him therefore to be God, no more from his Miracles, than from that very Cross of his, which you so much quarrel with, because that was likewise foretold. So that our Belief of Christ's Divinity, is not founded upon his own Testimony (for who can be believed concerning himself ?) but upon the Testimony of the Prophets, who sang long before of all those things, which he both did and suffered. Which is such a peculiar advantage and privilege of his, as that neither Apollonius nor Apuleius, nor any other Magician, could ever share therein. Now as for the Life and Morals of this Apollonius Tyanæus, as it was a thing absolutely necessary, for the carrying on of such a Diabolical Design, that the Person made use of for an Instrument, should have some colourable and plausible pretence to Vertue, so did Apollonius accordingly take upon him the profession of a Pythagorean ; and indeed act that part externally so well, that even Sidonius Apollinaris, though a Christian, was so dazzled with the glittering show and lustre of his counterfeit Vertues, as if he had been enchanted by this Magician, so long after his death. Nevertheless whosoever is not very dim-sighted in such matters as these, or partially affected, may easily perceive, that this Apollonius was so far from having any thing of that Divine Spirit which manifested it self in our Saviour Christ (transcending all the Philosophers that ever were) that he fell far short of the better moralized Pagans, as for example Socrates, there being a plain appearance of much Pride and Vain-glory (besides other Foolery) discoverable both in his Words and Actions. And this Eusebius undertakes to evince from Philostratus his own History (though containing many Falshoods in it) ὅτι ἐν ὁμοίᾳ καὶ μετέοις ἀνδράσιν ἄξιον ἐγκρίνειν, ὅτι ὅπως τὰ σωτῆρι ἡμῶν χεῖρῳ ὡς ἀποδείκναι τὸ Ἀπολλωνίου, That Apollonius was so far from deserving to be compared with our Saviour Christ, that he was not fit to be ranked amongst the moderately and indifferently Honest men. Wherefore as to his reputed Miracles, if credit be to be given to those Relations, and such things were really done by him, it must for this reason also be concluded, that they were done no otherwise than by Magick and Necromancy ; and that this Apollonius was but an Archimago or grand Magician. Neither ought this to be suspected for a mere slander cast upon him, by partially affected Christians only, since, during his Life-

Con. Cels. l. 6.
p. 302.

Hist. l. 4. p. 111.

time, he was generally reputed, even amongst the Pagans themselves, for no other than a γάμος, or *Infamous Inchanter*, and accused of that very Crime before *Domitian the Emperour*; as he was also represented such, by one of the Pagan Writers of his Life, *Mæragenes*, senior to *Philostratus*; as we learn from *Origen*; *ὅτι ὁ βαλόμενος ἐξετάσται, πότερ ἐν πύττει καὶ φιλόσοφοι ἀλατοὶ εἰσιν αὐτῇ, εἰ μὴ, ἀναγνώτω τὰ γεγραμμένα μοιραγγόνῃ τῇ Ἀπολλωνίου τῷ Τυανέας μάγῳ καὶ φιλοσόφῳ ἀπομανιμοδιδματόν. ἐν οἷς ὁ μὴ χρεῖται ἀλλὰ φιλόσοφος, ἔφησεν ἀλάναι ὑπὸ τῷ ἐν Ἀπολλωνίῳ μάγῳ, καὶ ἀγγενεὶ πιας φιλοσόφῳ, ὅς περὶ γένεα αὐτὸν εἰσελθόντας. ἐν οἷς, οἷμαι, καὶ ὅτι Εὐφράτης πᾶν διηγέσαστο, καὶ τινος Ἐπικουρείου.* As concerning the *Infamous and Diabolical Magick*, he that would know whether or no a Philosopher be temptable by it, or illaqueable into it, let him read the Writings of *Mæragenes*, concerning the memorable things of *Apollonius Tyanæus*, the *Magician and Philosopher*; in which he that was no Christian, but a Pagan Philosopher himself, affirmeth, some not ignoble Philosophers to have been taken, with *Apollonius his Magick*, including (as I suppose) in that number *Euphrates* and a certain *Epicurean*. And no doubt but this was the reason why *Philostratus* derogates so much from the authority of this *Mæragenes*, affirming him to have been ignorant of many things concerning *Apollonius* (ὅτι καὶ μοιραγγόνει τε περὶ Σελλέου, &c.) Because *Mæragenes* had thus represented *Apollonius* in his true colours, as a *Magician*; whereas *Philostratus* his whole business and design was, on the contrary, to vindicate him from that Imputation: the Truth whereof notwithstanding, may be sufficiently evinced, even from those very things that are recorded by *Philostratus* himself. And here by the way we shall observe, that it is reported by good Historians, that Miracles were also done by *Vespasian* at *Alexandria*, *Per eos menses* (they are the words of *Tacitus*) *multa miracula evenere, quæ cælestis favor, & quedam in Vespasianum inclinatio numinum ostenderetur. Ex plebe Alexandrinâ quidam, oculorum tabe notus, genua ejus advoluitur, remedium cecitatis exposcens gemitu; monitu Serapidis Dei, quem dedita superstitionibus gens ante alios colit; precabaturque Principem, ut genas & oculorum orbes dignaretur respergere oris excremento. Alius manu ager, eodem Deo auctore, ut pede ac vestigio Cæsaris calcaretur orabat.* At that time many Miracles happen'd at *Alexandria*, by which was manifested the Heavenly Favour, and Inclination of the Divine Powers towards *Vespasian*. A *Plebeian Alexandrian*, that had been known to be blind, casts himself at the feet of *Vespasian*, begging with tears from him a remedy for his sight (and that according to the suggestion of the God *Serapis*) that he would deign but to spit upon his Eyes and Face. Another having a *Lame hand* (directed by the same Oracle) beseeches him but to tread upon it with his foot. And after some debate concerning this business, both these things being done by *Vespasian*, statim conversa ad usum manus, & cæco reluxit dies, the *Lame hand* presently was restored to its former usefulness, and the *Blind man* recovered his sight: Both which things (saith the Historian) some who were Eye-witnesses, do to this very day testifie, when it can be no advantage to any one to lye concerning it. And that there seems to be some reason to suspect, that our *Archimago Apollonius Tyanæus*, might have some Finger in this business also, because he was not only familiarly and intimately acquainted with

with *Vespasian*, but also at that very time (as *Philostratus* informeth us) present with him at *Alexandria*, where he also did many Miracles himself. However we may here take notice of another Stratagem and Policy of the Devil in this, both to obscure the Miracles of our Saviour Christ, and to weaken mens Faith in the *Messiah*, and baffle the Notion of it; that whereas a Fame of Prophecies had gone abroad every where, that a King was to come out of *Judea*, and rule over the whole World (by which was understood no other than the *Messiah*) by reason of these Miracles done by *Vespasian*, this Oracle or Prediction might the rather seem to have its accomplishment in him, who was first proclaimed Emperour in *Judea*, and to whom *Josephus* himself basely and flatteringly had applied it. And since this business was started and suggested by the God *Serapis*, that is, by the Devil; (of whose Counsel probably *Apollonius* also was :) this makes it still more strongly suspicable, that it was really a Design or Policy of the Devil, by imitating the Miracles of our Saviour Christ, both in *Apollonius* and *Vespasian*, to counter-work God Almighty in the Plot of Christianity, and to keep up or conserve his own Usurped Tyranny in the Pagan World still. Nevertheless we shall here show *Apollonius* all the favour we can, and therefore suppose him, not to have been one of those more foul and black Magicians, of the common sort, such as are not only grossly sunk and debauched in their Lives, but also knowingly do Homage to Evil Spirits as such, for the gratification of their Lusts; but rather one of those more refined ones, who have been called by themselves *Theurgists*, such as being in some measure freed from the grosser Vices, and thinking to have to do only with good Spirits; nevertheless being Proud and Vainglorious, and affecting Wonders,, and to transcend the Generality of Mankind, are by a Divine Nemesis, justly exposed to the illusions of the Devil or Evil Spirits, cunningly insinuating here, and aptly accommodating themselves to them. However concerning this *Apollonius*, it is undeniable, that he was a zealous Upholder of the Pagan Polytheism, and a stout Champion for The Gods, he professing to have been taught by the Samian *Pythagoras* his Ghost how to Worship these Gods, Invisible as well as Visible, and to have converse with them. For which cause he is stiled by *Vopiscus*, *Amicus verus Deorum*, A true Friend of the Gods, that is, a hearty and sincere Friend, to that old Pagan Religion, now assaulted by Christianity, in which not One only True God, but a Multiplicity of Gods, were Worshipped. But notwithstanding all this, *Apollonius* himself was a clear and undoubted Asserter of One Supreme Deity, as is evident from his Apologetick Oration in *Philostratus*, prepared for *Domitian*, in which he calls him. τὸ τῶν ὅλων, and τὸ πάντων δημιουργὸν θεόν, that God who is the Maker of the whole Universe, and of all things. And as he elsewhere in *Philostratus* declares both the Indians and Egyptians to have agreed in this Theology; insomuch that though the Egyptians condemn'd the Indians for many other of their Opinions, yet did they highly applaud this Doctrine of theirs, τὸ μὲν ὅλων ἡρώσεως τε καὶ ἑξ ἑκείας θεὸν δημιουργὸν εἶναι, τὰ δὲ ἐξ ἐκείνου μνησθῆναι τὰ πάντα, ἀπὸ τοῦ αἰχμαδὸν εἶναι αὐτὸν, That God was the Maker both of the Generation and Essence of all things, and that the cause of his making them, was his Essential

Philos. P. 142.

Essential Goodness: So doth he himself very much commend this Philosophy of *Jarchas* the Indian *Brachman*, viz. That the whole World was but *One Great Animal*, and might be resembled to a *Vast Ship*, wherein their are many Inferiour subordinate Governours, under One Supreme, the Oldest and Wilest; as also expert Mariners of several sorts, some to attend upon the Deck, and others to climb the Masts and order the Sails, ἐν ᾗ τὴν μὲν πρῶτον καὶ τελευτάων ἐδραν ἀποδιδόναι θεῶν ἡρώτερι τὰς δὲ τῶν ζώων, τὴν δὲ ὑπὲρ ἐκείνην, θεοῖς οἱ τοὺς μέρη αὐτῶν κυβερνῶσι· καὶ τῶν ποιητῶν ἀποδεχόμεθα, ἐπεὶ δὲ πολλὰς μὲν φάσκωσιν ἐν ταῖς ἑρανῶν θεοῖς εἶναι, πολλὰς δὲ ἐν θαλάττῃ, πολλὰς δὲ ἐν πηγαῖς τε καὶ ῥέμασι, πολλὰς δὲ καὶ ἐν γῇ, εἶναι δὲ καὶ ὑπὸ γῆνιν. *In which the first and highest seat is to be given to That God, who is the Generatour or Creator of this great Animal, and the next under it, to those Gods that govern the several parts of it respectively; so that the Poets were to be approved of here, when they affirm, that there are Many Gods in the Heavens, Many in the Seas, Many in the Rivers and Fountains, Many also upon the Earth and some under the Earth.* Wherein we have a true representation of the old Paganick Theology, which both Indians, and Egyptians, and European Poets (Greek and Latin) all agreed in; That there is One Supreme God, the Maker of the Universe, and under him Many Inferiour Generated Gods, or Understanding Beings (Superiour to Men) appointed to govern and preside over the several parts thereof, who were also to be religiously honoured and worshipped by Men. And thus much for *Apollonius Tyanæus*.

Orig. p. 17, 18.

The first Pagan Writer against Christianity, was *Celsus*; who lived in the times of *Adrian*, and was so professed a Polytheist, that he taxes the Jews for having been seduced by the Frauds of *Moses* into this Opinion of One God, ὅτι τὰς ἡγεσάμενους σφῶν ἐπὶ τῶν μαγικῶν αἰπῶν καὶ πρίμων, ἀγελοῖς ἀπόταις ψευδαγορευθέντες, ἕνα ἐνόμισαν εἶναι θεόν· *Those silly shepherds and Herdsmen, following Moses their Leader, and being seduced by his Rustick frauds, came to entertain this Belief, that there was but One only God.* Nevertheless this *Celsus* himself plainly acknowledged, amongst his Many Gods, One Supreme, whom he sometimes calls ὁ πρῶτος θεός, the First God; sometimes ὁ μέγιστος θεός, the Greatest God; and sometimes ὁ ὑπερθεῖν θεός, the Supercelestial God, and the like; and he doth so zealously assert the Divine Omnipotence, that he casts an imputation upon the Christians of derogating from the same, in that their Hypothesis of an Adversary Power,

Orig. l. 6. p. 303

σφάλλονται ἢ ἀσεβέσονται ἅψα, καὶ οὐκ ὅτι τὴνδε τὴν μεγίστην ἀγνοίαν ὁμοίως ἀπὸ θεῶν αἰνιγματῶν πεπλανημένοι, ποισίντες τὰς θεῶν ἐναντίον τινα, διάβολον τε καὶ γλώττην ἑβραϊκῶς σατανᾶν ὀνομάζοντες ὁ αὐτὸν. ἄλλως μὲν ἐν παιτελῶς ἠντιπῶτα ταῦτα, καὶ οὐδ' ὅσα λέγειν, ὅτι ὁ μέγιστος θεός, βεβλημένος τι ἀνθρώποις ὠφελεῖν, ὁ ἀντιπράσσοντα ἔχει, καὶ ἀδυνατεῖ. *The Christians are erroneously led into most wicked Opinions concerning God, by reason of their great ignorance of the Divine Enigms; whilst they make a certain Adversary to God, whom they call the Devil, and in the Hebrew Language Satan: And affirm, contrary to all Piety, that the Greatest God, having a mind to do good to men, is disabled or withstood by an Adversary, resisting him.* Lastly where he pleads most for the worship of Demons,

Orig. com. Cels. l. 8. p. 419.

he concludes thus concerning the Supreme God, οὐδ' ὁ ἑδραμὴν ἑδραμᾶς

ἀπο-

ἀπολῆπτόν; ὅτε μὲν ἡμέραν, ὅτε νύκτα, ὅτ' ἐς κοινόν, ὅτ' ἰδίαν, λόγῳ τε αὖ πάλιν καὶ ἔργῳ διανεκῶς, ἀλλὰ καὶ μετὰ τῆς δέ, καὶ χωρὶς, ἢ ψυχῇ αἰ πελάσῃ πρὸς τὸ θεόν. *But God is by no means, any where to be laid aside; or left out; neither by Day nor by Night, neither in Publick nor in Private, either in our Words or Actions; but in every thing our Mind ought constantly to be directed towards God.* A Saying that might very well become a Christian.

The next and greatest Champion for the Pagan Cause in Books and Writings, was that Famous Tyrian Philosopher, *Malchus*, called by the Greeks *Porphyrius*; who published a Voluminous and elaborate Treatise (containing Fifteen Books) against the Christians; and yet He notwithstanding was plainly as zealous an Assertor of *One Supreme Deity*, and *One Only ἀγέννητον, Unmade or Self-existent Principle* of all things; as any of the Christians themselves could be; he strenuously opposing that forementioned Doctrine of *Plutarch* and *Atticus*, concerning Three Unmade Principles, a *Good God*, an *Evil Soul* or *Demon*, and the *Matter*, and endeavouring to demonstrate, that all things whatsoever, even Matter it self, was derived from One Perfect Understanding Being, or Self-originated Deity. The Sum of whose Argumentation to which purpose, we have represented by *Proclus* upon the *Timæus*, Page 119.

After *Porphyrius*, the next eminent Antagonist of Christianity, and Champion for Paganism, was *Hierocles* the Writer of that Book entitled (in *Eusebius*) φιλαλήθης, or a *Lover of the Truth*; which is noted to have been a Modest Inscription, than that of *Celsus* his ἀληθῆς λόγος, or *True Oration*. For if *Eusebius Pamphili*, were the Writer of that Answer to this *Philalethes* now Extant, as we both read in our Copies, and as *Photius* also read; then must it needs be granted, that *Hierocles* the Author of it, was either contemporary with *Porphyrius*, or else but little his Junior. Moreover this *Hierocles* seems plainly to be the person intended by *Lactantius* in these following words, *De Trib. L. 4. c. 2.*
Alius eandem materiam mordacius scripsit; qui erat tum è numero Judicum, & qui auctor in primis faciendæ persecutionis fuit: quo scelere non contentus, etiam scriptis eos quos afflixerat, insecutus est. Composuit enim Libellos Duos, non Contrà Christianos, nè inimicè insectari videretur, sed Ad Christianos; ut humanè ac benignè consulere videretur. In quibus ita falsitatem Scripturæ Sacræ arguere conatus est, tanquam sibi esset tota contraria. — Præcipuè tamen Paulum Petrumque laceravit, ceterosque Discipulos, tanquam fallaciæ seminatores; quos eosdem tamen rudes & indoctos fuisse testatus est. Another hath handled the same matter more smartly; who was First himself one of the Judges and a chief Author of the Persecution; but being not contented with that wickedness, he added this afterwards, to persecute the Christians also with his Pen: He composing Two Books, not inscribed Against the Christians (lest he should seem plainly to act the part of an enemy) but To the Christians (that he might be thought to counsel them humanely and benignly:) in which he so charges the holy Scripture with Falshood, as if it were all nothing else but contradictions: but he chiefly lashes Paul and Peter, as divulgers of lyes and deceits, whom notwithstanding he declares to have

have been rude and illiterate Persons. I say, though *Hierocles* for some cause or other be not named here by *Lactantius* in these Cited words, or that which follows, yet it cannot be doubted, but that he was the Person intended by him, for these Two Reasons: First, because he tells us afterward that the main business of that *Christiano-mastix*, was to compare *Apollonius* with our Saviour Christ. *Cum facta Christi mirabilia destrueret, nec tamen negaret, voluit ostendere, Apollonium vel paria, vel etiam majora fecisse. Mirum quod Apuleium prætermiserit, cujus solent & multa & mira memorari. Et ex hoc insolentiam Christi voluit arguere, quod Deum se constituerit: ut ille verecundior fuisse videretur, qui cum majora faceret (ut hic putat) tamen id sibi non arrogaverit: That he might obscure the Miracles of our Saviour Christ, which he could not deny, he would undertake to show that Equal or greater Miracles were done by Apollonius. And it was a wonder he did not mention Apuleius too: of whose many and wonderful things, the Pagans use to brag likewise. Moreover he condemns our Saviour Christ of Insolency, for making himself a God, affirming Apollonius to have been the modestest Person, who though he did (as he supposes) greater miracles, yet arrogated no such thing to himself. The Second Reason is, because *Lactantius* also expressly mentions the very Title of *Hierocles* his Book, viz. *Philalethes*. *Cum talia ignorantie suae deliramenta fudisset, cumque Veritatem penitus excidere connixus est, ausus est Libros suos nefarios, ac Dei hostes, φιλαλήθεις annotare: Though pouring out so much folly and madness, professedly fighting against the Truth, yet he presumed to call these his wicked Books, and Enemies of God, Philaletheis or Friends to Truth. From which words of *Lactantius* and those foregoing, where he affirms this *Christiano-mastix* to have written Two Books, the Learned Prefacer to the late Edition of *Hierocles*, probably concludes, that the whole Title of *Hierocles* his Book was this, λόγοι φιλαλήθεις πρὸς χριστιανούς. And I conceive that the First of those Two Books of *Hierocles* insisted upon such things as *Porphyrinus* had before urged against the Christians; but then in the Second he added this *de novo* of his own, to compare *Apollonius* with our Saviour Christ: which *Eusebius* only takes notice of. Wherefore *Epiphanius* telling us, that there was one *Hierocles* a Prefect or Governour of *Alexandria*, in those persecuting times of *Diocletian*, we may probably conclude, that this was the very Person described in *Lactantius*, who is said to have been First, of the Number of the Judges, and a Principal Actor in the Persecution; and then afterwards to have written this *Philalethes* against the Christians, wherein, besides other things, he ventured to compare *Apollonius Tyanæus* with our Saviour Christ. Now if this *Hierocles* who wrote the *Philalethes* in defence of the Pagan Gods, against the Christians, were the Author of those two other Philosophick Books, the Commentary upon the Golden Verses, and that *De Fato & Providentia*, it might be easily evinced from both of them, that he was notwithstanding, an Asserter of One Supreme Deity. But *Photius* tells us that that *Hierocles* who wrote the Book concerning Fate and Providence, did therein make mention of *Jamblichus* and his Junior *Plutarchus Atheniensis*: from whence *Jonsius* taking it for granted, that it was one and the same *Hierocles*, who wrote against the Christians, and *de Fato*, infers, that it could not be *Eusebius Pam-*
phili**

Dr. Pearson
Bp. of Chester.

phili who Answered the *Philalethes*, but that it must needs be some other *Eusebius* much Junior. But we finding *Hierocles* his *Philalethes* in *Lactantius*, must needs conclude on the contrary, that *Hierocles* the famous *Christiano-masix*, was not the same with that *Hierocles* who wrote *de Fato*. Which is further evident, from *Æneas Gazens* in his *Theophrastus*; where first he mentions one *Hierocles* an Alexandrian, that had been his Master, whom he highly extols, ἀλλ' εἰπέ μοι, ἔτι ποῦς ὑμῖν εἰσὶν οἱ φιλοσοφίας δεικνύτες τὰς τελετάς, οἷον ἦν Ἱεροκλῆς ὁ διδάσκαλος, *P. 7.*
But tell me, I pray you, are there yet left amongst you in Egypt, any such Expounders of the Arcane Mysteries of Philosophy as Hierocles our Master was? And this we suppose to be that *Hierocles*, who wrote concerning Fate and Providence, (if not also upon the Golden Verses.) But afterward upon occasion of *Apollonius*, the Cappadocian, or Tyanæan, he mentions another *Hierocles* distinct from the former; namely him, who had so boasted of *Apollonius* his Miracles, in these words, ὁ ἀπολλωνίου τὰ ψευδῆ λόγων ἐλέγχεται. Ἱεροκλῆς δ' ἐν ὁ διδάσκαλος, ἀλλ' ὁ προβαλόμενος τὰ θαυμάσια, ἄπιστον ἢ τὸ πρὸς ἐπικειν, *P. 24.*
Thus Apollonius is convinced of falshood; but Hierocles (not our Master) but he that boasts of the Miracles (of Apollonius) adds another incredible thing. And though it be probable, that one of these was the Author of that Commentary upon the Golden Verses, (for that it should be written by a Christian is but a dream) yet we cannot certainly determine which of them it was. However that this *Hierocles*, who was the *Masix* of Christianity and Champion for The Gods, was notwithstanding, a professed asserter of one Supreme Deity, is clearly manifest also from *Lactantius*, in these following words, *Quam tandem nobis attulisti Veritatem? nisi quod Assertor Deorum, eos ipsos ad ultimum prodidisti: Prosecutus enim Summi Dei laudes, quem Regem, quem Maximum, quem Opificem rerum, quem Fontem bonorum, quem Parentem omnium, quem Factorem Altorumque viventium confessus es; ademisti Jovi tuo Regnum; eumque Summapotestate depulsum, in Ministrorum numerum redigisti. Epilogus ergo te tuus arguit Stultitiæ, Vanitatis, Erroris. Affirmas Deos esse; & illos tamen subicis & mancipas ei Deo, cujus Religionem conaris evertere.* Though you have entitled your Book *Philalethes*, yet what Truth have you brought us therein, unless only this, that being an Asserter of the Gods (contradicting your self) you have at last betrayed those very Gods. For in the close of your Book, prosecuting the praises of the Supreme God, and confessing him to be the King, the Greatest, the Opifex of the World, the Fountain of Good, the Parent of all things, the Maker and Conserver of all Living beings, you have by this means dethroned your Jupiter, and degrading him from his Sovereign Power, reduced him into the rank of Inferiour Ministers. Wherefore your Epilogue argues you guilty of Folly, Vanity and Error, in that you both assert Gods, and yet subject and mancipate them under that one God, whose Religion you endeavour to overthrow. Where we must confess we understand not well *Lactantius* his Logick; forasmuch as *Hierocles* his Zeus or Jupiter, was one and the same with his Supreme God (as is also here intimated) and though he acknowledged all the other Gods to be but his Inferiour Ministers yet nevertheless did he contend, that these ought to be Religiously Worshipped, which was the thing that *Lactantius* should have confuted. But that which we here take notice

tice of, is this, that *Hierocles* a grand Persecutor of the Christians, and the Author of that bitter Invective against them, called *Philalethes*, though he were so strenuous an assertor of Polytheism and Champion for The Gods, yet did he nevertheless at the same time, clearly acknowledge one Supreme Deity, calling him the King (that is the Monarch of the Universe) the Greatest, the *Opifex* of the World, the Fountain of Good, the Parent of all things, and the Maker and Conserver of all Life.

Cyrl. cont. Jul.
4. p. 115.

But the greatest Opposer of Christianity every way, was *Julian* the Emperour; who cannot reasonably be suspected to have disguised or blanced Paganism, because he was an Emperour, and had so great an Animosity against Christianity, and was so superstitiously or bigotically zealous for the *Worship of the Gods*; and yet this very *Julian* notwithstanding, was an unquestionable Assertor of

One Supreme Deity. In his Book written against the Christians, he

declares the general sence of the Pagans, after this manner; οἱ γὰρ ἡμετέροι φασιν, τὸν δημιουργὸν πάντων μὲν εἶναι κοινὸν πατέρα, καὶ βασιλέα, νεμῶσθαι δὲ τὰ λοιπὰ τῶν ἑθνῶν ὑπὸ αὐτῷ, ἐθνάρχαις καὶ πολιάρχαις θεοῖς, ὧν ἕκαστος ὑπερεπὶ τῷ ἑαυτοῦ ληξὶν οἰκίᾳ αὐτῶν. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐν μὲν τῷ πατρὶ πάντα τέλῃ, καὶ ἐν παντί, ἐν δὲ τοῖς μερυσὶ, ἄλλη παρ' ἄλλῃ κατὰ δύναμιν,

&c. Our Theologers affirm, the Maker of all to be a common Father, and King, but that the Nations, as to particular things, are distributed by him to other Inferiour Gods, that are appointed to be Governours over Countries and Cities, every one of which administers in his own Province agreeably to himself. For whereas in the Common Father, all things are Perfect, and One is All, in the Particular or Partial Deities, one excels in one Power, and another in another. Afterwards in the

same Book he contends, that the Pagans did entertain righter Opinions concerning the Supreme God, than the Jews themselves; ὡς εἰ μὲν ὁ προσεχὴς ἐν τῷ νόμῳ δημιουργός, ὁ κενυθρόμενος ὑπὸ τῆς μαίας, ἡμεῖς ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ βελτίος ἔχοντες δόξας, οἱ κοινὸν μὲν ἐκείνον ὑπολαμβάνοντες ἀπάντων δεσπότην, ἐθνάρχας δὲ ἄλλους, οἱ πυχλῶς μὲν ὑπὸ ἐκείνου, εἰσὶ δὲ ἀσθενεῖς ὑπαρχοὶ βασιλέως, ἕκαστος τῷ ἑαυτοῦ διαφερέντως ἐπανορθόμενος φροντίδα, καὶ καθίστα μὲν αὐτὸν, ὅδε ἀντιμερίτω τῶν ὑπὸ αὐτὸν θεῶν καθιστάμενον.

If that God who is so much spoken of by Moses, be the Immediate Opifcer of the whole World, we Pagans entertain better Opinions of him; who suppose him to be the common Lord of all; but that there are other Governours of Nations and Countries under him, as Prefects or Presidents appointed by a King; we not ranking him, amongst those Partial Governours of Particular Countries and Cities, as the Jews do. From both which places, it is evident, that according to *Julian's* Theology, all those other Gods, whose Worship he contended so much for, were but the Subordinate Ministers of that One Supreme God, the Maker of all.

The same thing might be further manifested from *Julian's* Orati-on made in praise of the *Sun* as a Great God in this visible World; he therein plainly acknowledging another far more Glorious Deity, which was the Cause of all things, ἓς μὲν ὁ τῶν ἑλίων δημιουργός, πολλοὶ δὲ οἱ κατ' ἑρμῶν ἀεὶ πολλῶν δημιουργοὶ θεοί. There is One God the Ma-ker

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ker of all things, but besides him there are many other Demiurgical Gods moving round the Heavens, in the midst of which is the Sun. Where we have a clear acknowledgement of One Supreme God, and of Many Inferiour Deities both together. Moreover in the same Oration, he declareth that the Ancient Poets, making the Sun to have been the Off-spring of Hyperion, did by this Hyperion understand nothing else, but the Supreme Deity, ὃ πάντων ὑπερέχοντα, πᾶντων ἐπέκριντα, ὃς ὃν πάντα, καὶ ὃ ἐνεκα πάντων ὄντων, Him who is above all things, and about whom, and for whose sake, are all things. Which Supreme Deity is thus more largely described by him in the same Oration (where he calls him the King of all things;) ἔτι τοίνυν, ἔπε το ἐπέκριντα P. 248. τὸ καλεῖν αὐτὸν δέμιος. ἔπειθ' ἰδέαν τῆς οὐρανῶν ὁ δὴ φησὶ τὸ νοητὸν σὺμπαν. ἔπει, ἐν ἐπειδὴ πάντων τὸ ἐν δοκεῖ ὡς προσεχέτατον. ἔπει ὁ πλάτων ἑωθεν ὀνομάζειν τὸ ἀρχαῖον. αὐτὴ ὅ ἐν ἡ μονοειδὴς τῆς ἑλῶν αἰτία, πᾶσι τοῖς ἔστιν ἐξηγεμένη καλῶς τε, καὶ τελειότητι, ἐνάσεως τε, καὶ δυνάμεως ἀμνηστῆ. καὶ τῷ ἐν αὐτῇ μέντοι προσεχόν ἐστιν, ἥλιον θεὸν μέγιστον ἀνέφηκεν, &c. This God, whether he ought to be called, that which is above Mind and Understanding, or the Idea of all things, or The One (since Unity seems to be the eldest of all things;) or else as Plato was wont to call him, The Good; I say, this Uniform Cause of all things, which is the Original of all Pulchritude and Perfection, Unity and Power; produced from himself a certain Intelligible Sun, every way like himself, of which the Sensible Sun is but an Image. For thus Dionysius Petavins rightly declares the sense of Julian in this Oration; Vanissima hujus & loquacissima disputationis mysterium est; à Principe ac Primario Deo, νοητὸν quendam, & archetypum Solem editum fuisse; qui eandem prorsus χάριν & τῶν in genere τῆς νοητῆς habeat, quam in αἰσθητοῖς ille quem videmus, Solaris Globus obtinet. Tria itaque discernenda sunt, Princeps ille Deus, qui τὰ ἀρχαῖα à Platone dicitur, ὁ νοητὸς ἥλιος, ὁ φαινόμενος δὲ σικκος. The mystery of this most vain and loquacious Disputation is this, That from the First and Chief Deity, was produced a certain Intelligible and Archetypal Sun, which hath the same place or order, in the rank of Intelligible Things, that the Sensible Sun hath in the rank of Sensibles. So that here are Three things to be distinguish'd from one another, First the supreme Deity which Plato calls, The Good, Secondly the Intelligible Sun or Eternal Intellect, and Lastly the Corporeal or Sensible Sun (Animated.) Where notwithstanding, we may take notice, how near this Pagan Philosopher and Emperour, Julian, approached to Christianity, though so much opposed by him; in that he also supposed an Eternal Mind or Intellect, as the Immediate Off-spring of the First Fountain of all things; which seems to differ but a little from the Christian λόγος. However it is plain that this devout Restorer of Paganism, and zealous Contender for the Worship of The Gods, asserted no Multiplicity of Independent, Self-existent Deities, but derived all his Gods from One.

As for those other Philosophers and Learned men, who in those latter times of the Declining of Paganism, after Constantine, still stood out in opposition against Christianity, such as Jamblichus, Syrianus, Proclus, Simplicius, and many others, it is unquestionably evident concerning them all, that they clearly acknowledged One Supreme Deity,

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as the Original of all things. *Maximus Madaurensis*, a confident and resolved Pagan in *St. Austin's* time, expressed both his own and the general sence of Pagans after this manner; *Equidem Unum esse Deum Summum, sine initio, Naturæ ceu Patrem Magnum atque Magnificum, quis tam demens tam mente captus neget esse certissimum? Hujus nos virtutes per Mundanum opus diffusas, multis vocabulis invocamus, quoniam nomen ejus cuncti proprium videlicet ignoramus. Ita fit, ut dum ejus quasi quædam Membra carptim, variis supplicationibus prosequimur, Totum colere profecto videamur.* Truly that there is One Supreme God, without beginning, as the Great and Magnificent Father of Nature; who is so mad or devoid of sense as not to acknowledge it to be most certain? His Vertues diffused throughout the whole World (because we know not what his proper name is) we invoke under many different names. Whence it comes to pass, that whilst we prosecute with our supplications, his as it were divided Members severally, we must needs be judged to worship the whole Deity. And then he concludes his Epistle thus; *Dii te servant, per quos & Eorum, atque cunctorum mortalium, Communem Patrem, universi mortales quos terra sustinet, mille modis, concordia discordia venerantur: The Gods keep thee, by and through whom, we Pagans, dispersed over the whole World, do worship the common Father, both of those Gods, and all Mortals, after a thousand different manners, nevertheless with an agreeing discord.* *Longimanus* likewise, another more modest Pagan Philosopher, upon the request of the same *St. Austin*, declares his sence concerning the way of worshipping God and arriving to happiness to this purpose. *Per Minores Deos perveniri ad Summum Deum non sine Sacris Purificatoriis, That we are to come to the Supreme God, by the Minor or Inferior Gods, and that not without Purifying Rites and Expiations; he supposing that besides a vertuous and holy Life, certain Religious Rites and Purifications, were necessary to be observed, in order to that end. In which Epistle, the Supreme God is also styled by him, Unus, Universus, Incomprehensibilis, Ineffabilis & Infatigabilis Creator.*

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Lib. 1. p. 19.

Moreover, that the Pagans generally disclaim'd this Opinion of Many Unmade Self-existent Deities, appeareth plainly from *Arnobius*, where he brings them in complaining, that they were falsely and maliciously accused by some Christians, as guilty thereof, after this manner; *Frustrà nos falso & calumnioso incessitis & appetitis crimine, tanquam inficias eamus Deum esse Majorem; cum à nobis & Jupiter nominetur, & Optimus habeatur & Maximus: cùmque illi augustissimas sedes, & Capitolia constituerimus immania; In vain do you Christians calumniate us, Pagans, and accuse us as if we denied, One Supreme Omnipotent God; though we both call him Jupiter, and account him the Best and the Greatest; having dedicated the most august seats to him, the vast Capitols.* Where *Arnobius* in way of opposition, shows first how perplexed and intangled a thing the Pagans Theology was, their Poetick Fables of the Gods, nonsensically confounding Herology together with Theology; and that it was impossible that that Jupiter of theirs, which had a Father and a Mother, a Grandfather and a Grandmother, should be the Omnipotent God. *Nam De-*

us Omnipotens, mente una omnium, & communi mortalitatis assensu, neque Genitus scitur, neque novam in lucem aliquando esse prolatus; nec ex aliquo tempore cepisse esse, vel sæculo. Ipse enim est Fons rerum, Sator seculorum ac temporum. Non enim ipsa per se sunt, sed ex ejus perpetuitate perpetua, & infinita semper continuatione procedunt. At verò Jupiter (ut vos fertis) & Patrem habet & Matrem, Avos & Avias, nunc nuper in utero matris suæ formatus, &c. You Pagans confound your selves with Contradictions; for the Omnipotent God, according to the natural sense of all mankind, was neither begotten or made, nor ever had a Beginning in time, he being the Fountain and Original of all things. But Jupiter (as you say) had both Father and Mother, Grandfathers and Grandmothers, and was but lately formed in the womb; and therefore he cannot be the Eternal Omnipotent God. Nevertheless Arnobius afterwards considering (as we suppose) that these Poetick Fables, were, by the wiser Pagans, either totally rejected, or else some way or other Allegorized, he candidly dismisseth this advantage which he had against them, and grants their Jupiter to be the true Omnipotent Deity, and consequently that same God which the Christians worshipped; but from thence infers, that the Pagans therefore must needs be highly guilty, whilst worshipping the same God with the Christians, they did hate and persecute them after that manner. *Sed sint, ut vultis, unum, nec in aliquo, vi numinis, & majestate distantes; ecquid ergo injustis persequimini nos odiis? Quid, ut ominis pessimi, nostri nominis inhorrescitis mentione, si, quem Deum colitis, eum & nos? aut quid in eadem causa vobis esse contenditis familiares Deos, inimicos atque infestissimos nobis? Etenim, si una religio est nobis vobisque communis, cessat ira cælestium.* But let it be granted that (as you affirm) your Jupiter and the Eternal Omnipotent God, are one and the same; Why then do you prosecute us with unjust hatreds? abominating the very mention of our names, if the same God that you worship be worshipped by us? or if your Religion and ours be the same, why do you pretend that the Gods are propitious to you, but most highly provoked and incensed against us? Where the Pagans defence and reply is, *Sed non idcirco Dii vobis infesti sunt, quod Omnipotentem colatis Deum: sed quod hominem natum, & quod personis infame est vilibus, crucis supplicio interemptum, & Deum fuisse contenditis, & superesse adhuc creditis, & quotidianis supplicationibus adoratis:* But we do not say that the Gods are therefore displeased with you Christians, because you worship the Omnipotent God, but because you contend him to be a God, who was not only born a mortal man, but also died an ignominious death, suffering as a Malefactor; believing him still to survive, & adoring him with your dayly prayers. To which Arnobius retorts in this manner: Tell us, now I pray you, who these Gods are, who take it as so great an injury & indignity done to themselves, that Christ should be worshipped? Are they not Janus and Saturn, Æsculapius and Liber, Mercurius the son of Maia, and the Theban or Tyrian Hercules, Castor and Pollux, and the like? Hic ergo Christum coli & à nobis accipi & existimari pro Numine, vulneratis accipiunt auribus? & obliti paulo ante sortis & conditionis suæ, id quod sibi concessum est, impertiri alteri nolunt? Hæc est Justitia Cælitum? hoc Deorum judicium sanctum? Nonne istud livoris est & avaritiæ genus? non obrectatio quædam sordens, suas eminere solummodo velle fortunas, aliorum res premii & in contempta humilitate calcari?

Natum hominem colimus; Quid enim, Vos hominem nullum colitis natum? non unum & alium? non innumeros alios? quinimo non omnes quos jam templis habetis vestris, mortalium sustulistis ex numero, & cælo sideribusque donastis? Concedamus interdum manum vestris opinionibus dantes, unum Christum fuisse de nobis, mentis, animæ, corporis, fragilitatis & conditionis unius; nonne dignus à nobis est tantorum ob munus gratiam, Deus dici Deûsque sentiri? Si enim vos Liberum quod reperit usum vini; si quod panis, Cererem; si Æsculapium, quod herbarum; si Minervam, quod oleæ; si Triptoleum, quod aratri; si denique Herculem, quod feras, quod fures, quod multiplicium capitum superavit compescuitque natrices, divorum retulistis in cælum: honoribus quantis afficiendus est nobis, qui ab erroribus nos magnis insinuatâ veritate traduxit? &c. Are these the Gods who are so much offended, with Christ's being worshipped, and accounted a God by us? they who being forgetful of their former condition, would not have the same bestowed upon another, which hath been granted to themselves? Is this the Justice of the Heavenly Powers? This the righteous judgment of Gods? or is it not rather base Envy and Covetousness, for them thus to ingross all to themselves? We worship indeed one that was born a man, What then? Do you worship no such? not one, and another, and innumerable? And are not almost all your Gods, such as were taken from out of the rank of men, and placed among the Stars? And will you account that damnable in us, which you your selves practice? Let us for the present yield thus much to your Infidelity, and grant, that Christ was but an ordinary man, of the same rank and condition with other mortals, yet might we not for all that (according to your Principles) think him worthy, by reason of the great benefits we received from him to be accounted a God? For if you have advanced into the number of your Divi, Bacchus or Liber for inventing the use of Wine, Ceres of Corn, Æsculapius of Herbs, Minerva of the Olive, Triptolemus of the Plow, and Hercules for subduing Beasts, Thieves and Monsters; With how great honours ought he to be affected by us, who by the insinuation of divine truth hath delivered us from such great Errors of mind, &c. Which Argumentation of Arnobius though it were good enough *ad homines*, to stop the mouths of the Pagans, there being more reason, that Christ should be made a God, for the Benefits that mankind receive from him, than that Bacchus or Ceres or Hercules should be so; yet as the same Arnobius himself seems to intimate, it is not sufficient without something else superadded to it, for the Justification of Christianity. Neither indeed was that the chief quarrel which the Pagans had with the Christians, That they had deified one who was crucified (though the Cross of Christ was also a great offence to them) but that they condemning the Pagans, for worshipping others besides the Supreme Omnipotent God, and decrying all those Gods of theirs, did themselves notwithstanding worship one Mortal man for a God. This Celsus urges in Origen, *εἰ μὴ δι' ἑνὸς θεοῦ ἡ ἀποστολὴ πολλῶν ἑνὸς θεοῦ, ὡς ἂν τις αὐτοῖς ἰσως πρὸς τὰς ἀλλὰς ἀποστολὰς λόγῳ. οὐκ ἔστι ἑνὸς θεοῦ φανέρωνται τῶν ἑσθέρων κυρίως, καὶ ὅμως ἔθεν πλημμελεῖν νομίζουσι κατὰ τὸ θεῖον, εἰ καὶ ὑπερέτης αὐτῷ θεῷ περὶ τοῦ θεοῦ.* If these Christians themselves worshipp'd no other but One God, or the pure Divinity, then might they perhaps seem to have some just pretense of censuring us; but now they themselves give divine Honour, to one that lately rose up and yet

they perswade themselves, that they do not at all offend God in worshipping that supposed Minister of his. Which as Origen makes there a reply to it, so shall it be further considered by us afterwards.

As for the Judgment of the Fathers in this Particular, *Clemens Alexandrinus*, was not only of this Opinion, that the Pagans (at least the Greekish) did worship the true God, and the same God with the Christians (though not after a right manner) but also endeavours to confirm it from the Authority of St. Peter : That the Greeks knew God Peter intimates in his Predication. There is One God, saith he, who made the Beginning of all things, and hath power over their End, &c. Worship this God, not as the Greeks do. Wherein he seemeth to suppose, the Greeks to worship the same God, with us, though not according to the right Tradition received by his Son. He does not enjoin us not to worship that God, which the Greeks worship ; but to worship him otherwise than they do ; altering only the manner of the worship, but not the Object, or preaching another God. And what that is, not to worship God as the Greeks do, the same Peter intimated in those words, They worship him in images of wood and stone, brass and Iron, gold and silver, and sacrifice to the Dead also, as to Gods. Where he adds further out of St. Peter's Predication, Neither worship God as the Jews do, &c. The one and only God (saith *Clemens*) is worshipped by the Greeks Paganically, by the Jews Judaically, but by Us newly and Spiritually. For the same God who gave the two Testaments to the Jews and Christians, gave Philosophy to the Greeks, δι' ἧς ὁ παντοκράτωρ παρ' ἡμῶν δοξάζεται, by which the Omnipotent God, is glorified amongst the Greeks.

Lactantius Firmianus also, in many places affirms, the Pagans to have acknowledged One Supreme Deity ; *Summum Deum* & *Philosophi* & *Poetae*, & ipsi denique qui Deos colunt, sæpe fatentur, That there is One Supreme Deity, both Philosophers and Poets, and even the vulgar Worshippers of the Gods themselves, frequently acknowledge. From whence he concludes, that all the other Pagan Gods, were nothing but the Ministers of this One Supreme, and Creatures made by him, (he then only blaming them, for calling them Gods, and giving them religious Worship) *Lib. i.* When he had declared that it was altogether as absurd to suppose, the World to be governed by many Independent Gods, as to suppose the Body of a man to be governed by many Minds or Souls Independent ; he adds, *Quod quia intelligunt isti assertores Deorum, ita eos præesse singulis rebus ac partibus dicunt, ut tantum Unus sit Rector eximius. Jam ergo ceteri non Dii erunt, sed satellites ac Ministri, Quos ille Unus, Maximus & Potens omnium, officiis his præfecit, ut ipsi ejus imperio & nutibus serviant. Si universi pares non sunt ; non igitur Dii omnes sunt. Nec enim potest hoc idem esse, quod servit & quod dominatur. Nam si Deus est nomen summæ potestatis, Incorruptibilis esse debet, Perfectus, Impassibilis, nulli rei subiectus. Ergo Dii non sunt quos parere Uni Maximo Deo necessitas cogit.* Which because the Assertors of Gods well understand, they affirm these Gods of theirs so to preside over the several parts of the World, as that there is only One chief Rector or Governour. Whence it follows, that all their other Gods, can be no other thing than Ministers and Officers, which one Great-

P. 28.

est God, who is Omnipotent, hath variously appointed and constituted, so as to serve his command and beck. Now if all the Pagan Gods be not equal, then can they not be all Gods; since that which ruleth, and that which serveth cannot be the same. God is a name of absolute Power, and implies Incorruptibility, Perfection, Impassibility and Subjection to nothing. Wherefore these ought not to be called Gods, whom necessity compels, to obey one Greatest God. Again in the same Book, *Nunc satis est, Demonstrare, summo ingenio viros attigisse veritatem ac propè tenuisse; nisi eos retrorsum insatuta pravis opinionibus consuetudo rapuisset, qua & Deos alios esse opinabantur, & ea quæ in usum hominis Deus fecit, tanquam sensu prædita essent, pro Diis habenda & colenda credebant.* It is now sufficient to have shown, that the more ingenious and intelligent Pagans, came very near to the truth, and would have fully reach'd it, had not a certain customary Insatiation of Evil Opinions, snatch'd them away, to an acknowledgment of other Gods; and to a belief that those things which God made for the use of men, as endued with sense (or animated) ought to be accompted Gods and Worshipped; namely, the Stars. And afterward, *Quod si Cultores Deorum, eos ipsos se colere putant, quos summi Dei Ministros appellamus, nihil est quod nobis faciant invidiam, qui Unum Deum dicamus, Multos negemus;* If the Worshippers of the Gods think that they worship no other than the Ministers of the one Supreme God, then there is no cause, why they should render us as hateful, who say, that there is one God and deny Many Gods.

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Trag. Evang.
Lib. 3. cap. 13.

Eusebius Casariensis likewise gives us this accompt of the Pagans Creed or the Tenour of their Theology, as it was then held forth by them, *ἓνα ὃν ὅλα θεόν, παντοίας δυνάμει, τὰ πάντα πληρῶν, καὶ διὰ πάντων διήκων, καὶ τοῖς πᾶσι ὁρατοῦν. ἁσωμάτως ὃ καὶ ἀφανῶς ἐν πᾶσι ὄντα, καὶ διὰ πάντων διήκοντα. καὶ τῶτον ἐκείνως διὰ τοῦ δεδομένου ὅτι οὐκ ἔστιν ἄλλο. The Pagans declare themselves in this manner, That there is One God, who with his various Powers filleth all things, and passeth through all things, and presideth over all things; but being incorporeally and invisibly present in all things, and pervading them, he is reasonably worshipped By or In those things that are manifest and visible. Which Passage of Eusebius will be further considered afterward, when we come to give a more particular accompt of Paganism.*

Hif. lib. 6. c. 1.

What St. Austin's fence was, concerning the Theology of the Pagans, hath been already declared, namely, That they had not so far degenerated as to have lost the knowledge of One Supreme God, from whom is all whatsoever Nature; and That they derived all their Gods from One. We shall now in the last place conclude with the Judgment of Paulus Orosius, who was his Contemporary, *Philosophi dum intento mentis studio quærunt scrutanturque omnia, Unum Deum, Authorem omnium reppererunt, ad quem Unum omnia referrentur; unde etiam nunc Pagani, quos jam declarata Veritas de contumaciâ magis quàm de ignorantia convincit, cum à nobis discutiuntur, non se Plures sequi, sed sub Uno Deo Magno, Plures Ministros venerari fatentur. Restat igitur de intelligentia veri Dei, per multas intelligendi suspiciones, Confusa dissensio, quia de Uno Deo, omnium penè una est opinio.* The Philosophers of the Gentiles, whilst with intent study of mind, they enquired and searched after things, found that

that there was One God, the Author of all things, and to which One, all things should be referred. Whence also the Pagans at this very day, whom the declared truth rather convinceth of Contumacy, than of Ignorance; when they are urged by us, confess themselves, not to follow Many Gods, but only under One God to worship Many Ministers. So that there remaineth only a confused dissension concerning the manner of understanding the true God, because about One God, there is almost one and the same opinion of all.

And by this time we think it is sufficiently evident; that the Pagans (at least after Christianity) though they asserted *Many Gods*, they calling all *Understanding Beings* Superiour to men by that Name (according to that of St. Jerom, *Deum quicquid supra se esset, Gentiles putabant*;) yet they acknowledged *One Supreme Omnipotent and only Unmade Deity*.

XVI. But because its very possible, that some may still suspect, all this to have been nothing else but a *Refinement* and *Interpolation* of Paganism, after that Christianity had appeared upon the Stage; or a kind of *Mangonization* of it, to render it more vendible and plausible; the better able to defend itself, and bear up against the Assaults of Christianity; whilst in the mean time the Genuine Doctrine of the ancient Pagans was far otherwise: although the contrary hereunto might sufficiently appear from what hath been already declared, yet however, for the fuller satisfaction of the more strongly prejudiced, we shall by an Historical Deduction made, from the most ancient times all along downwards, demonstrate that the Doctrine of the Greatest *Pagan Polytheists*, as well before Christianity as after it, was always the same, That besides their *Many Gods*, there was *One Supreme, Omnipotent and Only Unmade Deity*.

And this we shall perform not as some have done, by laying the chief stress upon the *Sibylline Oracles*, and those reputed Writings of *Hermes Trismegist*, the Authority whereof hath been of late so much decried by Learned Men; nor yet upon such Oracles of the Pagan Deities, as may be suspected to have been counterfeited by Christians: but upon such Monuments of Pagan Antiquity, as are altogether unsuspected and indubitate. As for the *Sibylline Oracles*, there may (as we conceive) be Two *Extremes* concerning them: One, in swallowing down all that is now extant under that Title, as Genuine and Sincere; whereas nothing can be more manifest, than that there is much Counterfeit and Supposititious stuff, in this *Sibylline Farrago* which now we have. From whence, besides other Instances of the like kind, it appears too evidently to be denied, that some pretended Christians of former times, have been for *Pious and Religious Frauds*; and endeavoured to uphold the Truth of Christianity by Figments and Forgeries of their own devising. Which as it was a thing Ignoble and Unworthy in it self, and argued that those very Defenders of Christianity, did themselves distrust their own Cause; so may it well be thought, that there was a *Policy of the Devil* in it also, there being no other more Effectual way than this, to render all Christianity (at least

least in after-ages) to be suspected. Insomuch that it might perhaps be question'd, Whether the Truth and Divinity of Christianity appear more, in having prevail'd against the open force and opposition of its professed Enemies, or in not being at last smothered and oppressed, by these *Frauds* and *Forgeries* of its seeming Friends and Defenders. The *Other Extreme* may be, in concluding the whole business of the *Sibylline Oracles* (as any ways relating to Christianity) to have been a mere *Cheat* and *Figment*; and that there never was any thing in those *Sibylline Books*, which were under the *Custody* of the *Quindecimviri*, that did in the least predict our Saviour Christ or the Times of Christianity. For notwithstanding all that the Learned *Blundel* hath written, it seems to be undeniably evident, from *Virgil's Fourth Idyllium*, that the *Cumean Sibyl*, was then supposed to have predicted a *New Flourishing Kingdom* or *Monarchy*, together with a *Happy State* of *Justice* or *Righteousness*, to succede, in the *Latter Age* of the *World*.

*Ultima Cumæi venit jam Carminis ætas,
Magnus ab integro Seclorum nascitur ordo.
Jam redit & Virgo, redeunt Saturnia Regna,
Jam nova progenies Cælo delabitur alto, &c.*

Moreover it is certain, that in *Cicero's* time, the *Sibylline Prophecies*, were interpreted by some in favour of *Cæsar*, as predicting a *Monarchy*; *Sibyllæ versus observamus, quos illa furens fudisse dicitur. Quorum Interpres nuper falsa quadam hominum fama dicturus in Senatu putabatur, Eum, quem reverà Regem habebamus, appellandum quoque esse Regem, si salvi esse vellemus.* We take notice of the Verses of the *Sibyl*, which she is said to have poured out in a *Fury* or *Prophetick Frenzy*, the Interpreter whereof, was lately thought to have been about to declare in the *Senate-house*, That if we would be safe, we should acknowledge him for a *King*, who really was so. Which Interpretation of the *Sibylline Oracles* (after *Cæsar's* Death) *Cicero* was so much offended with, (he also looking upon a *Roman Monarchy*, as a thing no less impossible than undesirable) that upon this occasion, he quarrels with those very *Sibylline Oracles* themselves, as well as the *Readers* and *Expounders* of them, after this manner; *Hoc si est in Libris, in quem Hominem, & in quod Tempus est? Callidè enim, qui illa composuit, perfecit, ut, quodcunque accidisset, prædictum videretur, Hominum & Temporum definitione sublatà. Adhibuit etiam latebram obscuritatis, ut iidem versus aliàs in aliam rem posse accommodari viderentur. Non esse autem illud Carmen furentis, tum ipsum Poema declarat, (est enim magis Artis & Diligentiae quàm Incitationis & motus) tum verò ea quæ ἀνεξήκως, dicitur, cum deinceps ex primis Versuum literis aliquid connectitur. Quamobrem Sibyllam quidem sepositam & conditam habeamus, ut, id, quod proditum est à Majoribus, injussu Senatùs nè legantur quidem Libri.* If there be any such thing contained in the *Sibylline Books*, then we demand, concerning what *Man* is it spoken, and of what *Time*? For whoever framed those *Sibylline Verses*, he craftily contrived, that whatsoever should come to pass, might seem to have been predicted in them, by taking away all *Distinction* of *Persons* and *Times*. He also purposely affected *Obscurity*, that the

Cic. Div. l. 2.

L. Cotta Quindecimvir.

De Div. l. 2.

the same Verses might be accommodated sometime to one thing, and sometime to another. But that they proceeded not from Fury and Prophetick Rage, but rather from Art and Contrivance, doth no less appear otherwise, than from the Acrostick in them. Wherefore let us shut up the Sibyl and keep her close, that according to the Decree of our Ancestors, her Verses may not be read without the expresse command of the Senate. And lastly he addeth, *Cum Antistitibus agamus, ut quidvis potius ex illis libris, quam Regem proferant, quem Romæ posthac nec Dii nec Homines esse patientur*; Let us also deal with the Quindecimviri, and Interpreters of these Sibylline Books, that they would rather produce any thing out of them, than a King; whom neither Gods nor Men will hereafter suffer at Rome. Where though Cicero were mistaken, as to the Event of the Roman Government, and there were doubtless some Predictions in these Sibylline Books, of a New Kingdom or Monarchy, to be set up in the World; yet that the Roman Empire was not the thing intended in them, doth manifestly appear from that Discription in Virgil's forementioned Eclogue; wherein there is accordingly another Completion of them expected, though flatteringly applied to *Saloninus*. Wherefore we conclude that the Kingdom and Happy State or Golden Age, predicted in the Sibylline Oracles, was no other than that of the Messiah, or our Saviour Christ, and the times of Christianity. Lastly, in that other Passage of Cicero's, concerning the Sibylline Oracles, *Valeant ad deponendas potius quam ad suscipiendas Religiones*; Let them be made use of rather for the extinguishing, than the begetting of Religions and Superstitions; there seems to be an Intimation, as if of themselves they rather tended, to the Lessening than Encreasing of the Pagan Superstitions; and therefore may probably be thought, to have predicted a Change of that Pagan Religion, by the Worship of one Sole Deity to be introduced. Neither ought it to seem a jot more strange, that our Saviour Christ should be foretold by the Pagan Sibyl, than that he was so clearly predicted; by Balaam the Aramitick Sorcerer. However those things in the Sibylline Verses, might have been derived some way or other, from the Scripture-prophecies; which there is indeed the more probability of, because that Sibylline Prophet made use of those very same Figures and Allegories, in describing the Future Happy State, that are found in the Scripture; as for Example,

—*Nec magnos metuent Armenta Leones;
Occidet & Serpens, &c.*

Now as Cicero seems to complain, that in his time these Sibylline Oracles were too much exposed to view, so is it very probable, that notwithstanding they were to be kept under the Guard of the *Quindecimviri*, yet many of them might be copied out, and get abroad, and thereby an occasion be offered, to the ignorantly zealous Christians, who were for *Officious Lies and Pious Frauds*, to add a great deal more of their own forging to them. Neither indeed is it imaginable, how any such Cheat as this, should either at first have been attempted, or afterwards have proved successful, had there not been some Foundation of Truth, to support

Orig. & Cels.
lib. 7. p. 308.

and countenance it. Besides which, it is observable, that *Celsus* who would have had the Christians rather to have made the *Sibyl* than our Saviour *Christ* a *God*; taking notice of their using of those *Sibylline Testimonies* against the Pagans, did not tax them, for counterfeiting the whole business of these *Sibylline Oracles*, but only for inserting many things of their own into them; ὑμεῖς ὃ κἀν Σίβυλλαν, ἢ χερσίν τινος ὑμῶν, εἰκότως ἀν μάλλον παρεσιόσατε, ὥς τῷ θεῷ πολλὰ, νῦν ὃ παρεγέγραπεν μὴ εἰς τὰ ἐσθλῆς, πολλὰ ἔβλαψεν εἰκὴ δύνασθαι. *You Christians might much rather have acknowledged, even the Sibyl for the Off-spring of God; but now you can boldly insert into her Verses, Many, and those Maledicent things of your own.* Where *Origen*, that he might vindicate as well as he could the honour of Christians, pleads in their defence, that *Celsus* for all that, could not shew what they had foisted into those *Sibylline Verses*, because if he had been able to have produced more ancient and incorrupt Copies, in which such things were not found, he would certainly have done it. Notwithstanding which it is likely, that there were other ancient Copies then to be found, and that *Celsus* might have met with them too, and that from thence he took occasion to write as he did. However, this would not justify the present *Sibylline Books*, in which there are Forgeries, plainly discoverable, without Copies. Nevertheless it seems that all the ancient Christians did not agree in making use of these *Sibylline Testimonies*, thus much being intimated by *Celsus* himself, in the forecited words, ἢ χερσίν τινος ὑμῶν, which some of you make use of; as they did not all acknowledge the *Sibyl* to have been a Prophetess neither, since upon *Celsus* mentioning a Sect of Christians called *Sibyllists*, *Origen* tells us, that these were such as using the *Sibylline Testimonies*, were called so in way of disgrace, by other Christians, who would not allow the *Sibyl* to have been a Prophetess; they perhaps conceiving it derogatory to the Scriptures. But though their may be some of the ancient *Sibylline Verses* still left, in that *Farrago* which we now have; yet it being impossible for us to prove which are such; we shall not insist upon any Testimonies at all from thence, to evince that the ancient Pagans acknowledged *One Supreme Deity*. Notwithstanding which we shall not omit one *Sibylline Passage*, which we find recorded in *Pausanias* (from whence by the way it appears also, that the *Sibylline Verses* were not kept up so close, but that some of them got abroad) he telling us, that the defeat of the Athenians at *Aegor Potamos*, was predicted by the *Sibyl* in these Words (amongst others;)

Καὶ τὸν Ἀθηναίων βαρύνονα κήδεα θεῶν
Ζεὺς ὑμῶν μέγας, ὅπως κούρῃ ἔτι μέγιστον, δεῖ.

*Ac tum Cecropidis luctum gemitusque ciebit,
Jupiter Altitonans, rerum cui Summa Potestas, &c.*

Wheretoe might be added also, that of another ancient *Peliadean Prophetess*, in the same Writer, wherein the Divine Eternity and Immutability, is plainly declared.

Ζεὺς ἦν, Ζεὺς ἔτι, Ζεὺς ἑστίαι, ὃ μάλιστα Ζεὺς.

Jupiter

Jupiter Est, Fuit, atque Erit : O bone Jupiter alme.

Besides these Sibylline Prophecies, there are also other Oracles of the Pagan Deities themselves, in which there was a clear acknowledgment of *One Supreme and Greatest God*. But as for such of them, as are said to have been delivered since the Times of Christianity, when the Pagan Oracles began to fail, and such as are now extant only in Christian Writings, however divers of them are cited out of *Porphyrus* his Book of Oracles; because they may be suspected, we shall not here mention any of them. Nevertheless we shall take notice of One Oracle of the Clarian *Apollo*, that is recorded by *Macrobius*, in which One Supreme Deity is not only asserted; but is also called by that Hebrew Name, (or Tetragrammaton) *Jao*,

ἄρχεο ὁ πάντων ὑπάρχων θεὸν ἔμμεν ἰδῶ.

You are to call the *Highest and Supreme of all the Gods, Jao*: Though it be very true, that that *Clarian Devil* there, cunningly endeavoured to divert this to the Sun, as if that were the *Only Supreme Deity and True Jao*. To which might be added, another ancient Oracle (that now occurs) of the Dodonean *Jupiter*, together with the Interpretation of *Themistocles*, to whom it was delivered; wherein he was commanded *πρὸς ὁμοῦνον τῷ θεῷ βαδίζειν*, to repair to him who was called by the same Name with God; which *Themistocles* apprehended to be the King of Persia, *μεγάλος γὰρ ἀμφοτέρους εἶναι τὴν λέγεσθαι βασιλέας*, because both he and God, were alike called (though in different respects and degrees) the Great King or Monarch.

But as for those Writings, commonly imputed to *Hermes Trismegist*, that have been generally condemned by the Learned of this Latter Age, as wholly Counterfeit and Supposititious, and yet on the contrary are asserted by *Athanasius Kircherus*, for sincere and Genuine; we shall have occasion to declare our sense, concerning them, more opportunely afterward.

The most Ancient Theologers, and most Eminent Assertors of *Polytheism* amongst the Pagans, were *Zoroaster* in the Eastern Parts, and *Orpheus* amongst the Greeks. The former of which, was of so great Antiquity, that Writers cannot well agree about his Age. But that he was a *Polytheist* is acknowledged by all, some affirming it to be signified in his very Name, as given him after his death; it being interpreted by them *A Worshipper of the Stars*. Neither is it to be doubted, but that *Ster* or *Ester* in the Persian Language did signify a *Star*, as it hath been observed also by Learned men, concerning sundry other Words, now familiar in these European Languages, that they derived their Original from the Persian. Notwithstanding which, it may be suspected that this was here but a *Greek Termination*: the Word being not only in the Oriental Languages, written *Zertoost* and *Zaradust*, but also in *Agathias*, *Zarades*. However *Zoroaster's Polytheism* is intimated by *Plato*; where

D. A. B. L. 4.
p. 165.

P. 254.

* That Mithras, which was called ὁ κρυπτός Θεός, The Hidden God, was not the Visible Sun.

where his *Magick* is defined, to have been nothing else, but *θεῶν θεράπεια*, *The Worship of the Gods*. Whence by the way we learn also, that the word *μαγεία* or *Magick*, was first taken in a good sence, which is confirmed by *Porphyrus* *ὡς δ' ἔχει μὴν τοῖς Πέρσαις, οἱ δὲ τὸ θεῖον σοφοὶ καὶ τὸς θεοπώτες, μάγοι μὲν προσαγορεύονται*. Amongst the Persians, those who were skilful in the knowledge of the Deity, and Religious Worshippers of the same, were called Magi. And as *Magick* is commonly conceived to be founded in a certain *Vital Sympathy* that is in the Universe, so did these ancient Persian *Magi*, and Chaldeans (as *Pfellus* tells us) suppose *συμπάθει εἶναι τὰ ἀνω τοῖς κάτω*, that there was a *Sympathy*, betwixt the *Superiour and Inferiour Beings*; but it seems, the only way at first by them approved, of attracting the Influence and Assistance of those Superior Invisible Powers, was by *Piety, Devotion, and Religious Rites*: Nevertheless their Devotion was not carried out only to *One Omnipotent God*, but also to *Many Gods*; neither is it to be questioned but that this *Divine Magick* of *Zoroaster*, shortly after degenerated in many of his Followers, into the *Theurgical Magick*, and at length into *γοητεία*, downright *Sorcery and Witchcraft*; the only thing which is now vulgarly called *Magick*. But how many Gods soever this *Zoroaster* worshipped, that he acknowledged notwithstanding *One Supreme Deity*, appeareth from the Testimony of *Eubulus*, cited by *Porphyrus* in his *De Antro Nympharum*, *πρῶτα μὲν, ὡς ἔφη Εὐβουλῷ, ζωρεῖσθαι αὐτοὺς σπήλαιον ἐν τοῖς πλυσίων ὄρεσι τῷ Περσίδῳ, ἀνθερὸν καὶ πηγὰς ἔχον ἀνιέρεισθαι, εἰς τὴν τῶ πάντων ποιητῆ καὶ πατρὸς Μῆθεος, εὐνοῖα φέρειν αὐτῷ τῷ σπηλαίῳ τῷ κόσμῳ, ὃν ὁ Μῆθεος ἐδημιούργησε*. *Zoroaster first of all, as Eubulus testifieth, in the Mountains adjoyning to Persis, consecrated a Native Orbicular Cave, adorned with flowers and watered with fountains, to the honour of Mithras, the Maker and Father of all things; this Cave being an Image or Symbol to him, of the whole World, which was made by Mithras*. Which Testimony of *Eubulus*, is the more to be valued, because as *Porphyrus* elsewhere informeth us, he wrote the *History of Mithras at large, in many Books*, from whence it may be presumed, that he had thoroughly furnished himself with the knowledge of what belonged to the Persian Religion. Wherefore from the Authority of *Eubulus*, we may well conclude also, that notwithstanding the *Sun*, was generally worship'd by the Persians as a *God*, yet *Zoroaster* and the ancient *Magi*, who were best initiated in the *Mithraick Mysteries*, asserted * another Deity, Superior to the Sun, for the True *Mithras*, such as was *πάντων ποιητὴς καὶ πατὴρ*, the *Maker and Father of all things, or of the whole World*, whereof the Sun is a part. However these also look'd upon the Sun as the most lively Image of this Deity, in which it was worshipped by them, as they likewise worship'd the same Deity Symbolically in *Fire*, as *Maximus Tyrinus* informeth us; agreeable to which, is that in the *Magick Oracles*,

— πάντα πνεῦς ἐνὸς ἀγαλαῶτα.

All things are the Off-spring of one Fire; that is, of One Supreme Deity. And Julian the Emperor was such a Devout Sun-worshipper as this, who acknowledged besides the Sun, another Incorporeal Deity, transcendent to it. Nevertheless we deny not, but that others amongst the

the Persians, who were not able to conceive of any thing Incorporeal, might, as well as *Heraclitus*, *Hippocrates*, and the Stoicks amongst the Greeks, look upon the Fiery Substance of the whole World (and especially the Sun) as *Animated* and *Intellectual*, to be the Supreme Deity, and the only *Mithras*, according to that Inscription, *Deo Soli Inviſto* Mithræ. However, *Mithras*, whether supposed to be Corporeal or Incorporeal, was unquestionably taken by the Persians for the Supreme Deity, according to that of *Hesychius*, Μίθρας, ὁ πρῶτος ἐκ πέντε θεῶν, *Mithras, The First God among the Persians*; who was therefore called in the Inscription *Omnipotent*, *Omnipotent* Deo Mithræ. Which *First*, *Supreme* and *Omnipotent* God was acknowledged by *Artabanus* the Persian, in his Conference with *Themistocles*, in these words, ἡμῖν ὅ πολλὰ νόμων καὶ καλῶν ὄντων, καλίστος ἑστὸς ὅτι, τὸ τιμᾶν βασιλέα, καὶ προσκυνεῖν εἰκόνα θεοῦ τῶ πάντων σωζούσης. *Amongst those many excellent Laws of ours, the most excellent is this, that the King is to be honoured and worshipped religiously, as the Image of that God, which conserveth all things.* Scaliger with some others (though we know not upon what certain grounds) affirm, that *Mithra* in the Persian Language signified *Great*, and *Mithra*, *Greater* or *Greatest*, according to which, *Mithras* would be all one, with *Deus Major* or *Maximus*, *The Greatest God*. Wherefore we conclude, that either *Herodotus* was mistaken, in making the Persian *Mithras* the same with *Myllita* or *Venus*; (And perhaps such a mistake might be occasioned from hence, because the Word *Mader* or *Mether* in the Persian Language signified *Mother*, as *Myllita* in the Syrian did;) or else rather, that this *Venus* of his, is to be understood of the Ἀφροδίτη ἑρηνία, *the heavenly Venus or Love*; and thus indeed is she there called in *Herodotus*, *Urania*; by which though some would understand nothing else but the Moon, yet we conceive the *Supreme Deity*, *True Heavenly love* (the *Mother* and *Nurse* of all things) to have been primarily signified therein.

Plut. Themist.

مادر
Genitrix.

But *Zoroaster* and the ancient *Magi* are said to have called the Supreme God also by another name, viz. *Oromasdes* or *Ormisdas*; however *Oromasdes*, according to *Plato*, seems to have been the Father of *Zoroaster*. Thus, besides *Plutarch* and others, *Porphyrus*, in the Life of *Pythagoras*, παρῆναι μάλιστα δ' ἀληθεύειν, τὸ τοῦ μόνου δυνατοῦ τὸς ἀνθρώπων ποιῆν θεῶν ὡς ἀπλοῦς, ἐπεὶ καὶ ὡς τὸ θεῶν, ὡς ὡς τῶν μάγων ἐπὶ πάντων, ὃν ὀρομάζω καλεῖσθαι οἰκόναι τὸ μὲν σῶμα φῶς τῶν ὅ ψυχῶν ἀληθεία. Which we would understand thus. *Pythagoras exhorted men chiefly to the Love of Truth, as being that alone which could make them resemble God, he having learn'd from the Magi that God, whom they call Oromasdes, was as to Corporeals most like to Light, and as to Incorporeals to Truth.* Though perhaps some would interpret these words otherwise, so as to signify *Oromasdes* to have been really compounded of *Soul* and *Body*, and therefore nothing else but the *Animated Sun*, as *Mithras* is commonly supposed also to have been. But the contrary hereunto, is plainly implied in those *Zoroastrian Traditions* or *Fables*, concerning *Oromasdes*, recorded in *Plutarch*, ὅτι ἀπέστη τῆ ἡλίου τοῦ ἑσπέρου, ὅσον ὁ ἡλίου τῆ γῆς ἀπέστη, *that Oromasdes was as far removed from the Sun, as the Sun was from the Earth.* Wherefore *Oromasdes* was according to the Persians, a Deity superior to the Sun; God

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God properly as the *Fountain of Light* and *Original of all Good*, and the same with *Plato's* τὰρχαθόν or *First Good*. From whom the Persians, as *Scaliger* informs us, called the First Day of every Month *Oromasdes*, probably because he was the Beginning of all things. And thus *Zoroaster* and the ancient *Magi*, acknowledged one and the same *Supreme Deity*, under the different names of *Mithras* and *Oromasdes*.

But it is here observable, that the Persian *Mithras* was commonly called Τριπλάσιος, *Three-fold* or *Treble*. Thus *Dionysius* the Pseudo-Areopagite, καὶ εἰσέτι μάγοι τὰ μνημόσυνα τῷ Τριπλάσιῳ Μίθρι τῷ τελεῖ. *The Persian Magi to this very day, celebrate a Festival Solemnity in honour of the Triplasian* (that is, the *Three-fold* or *Tripllicated*) *Mithras*. And something very like to this, is recorded in *Plutarch*, concerning *Oromasdes* also, ὁ μὲν ὡς ἐμάχης τρεῖς ἑαυτὸν αὐξήσας, *Oromasdes Thrice augmented or Tripllicated himself*; from whence it further appears that *Mithras* and *Oromasdes* were really one and the same *Numen*. Now the Scholiasts upon *Dionysius* pretend to give a reason of this Denomination of the Persian *Mithras*, *Triplastos*, or *Threelfold*, from the Miracle done in *Hezekiah's* Time, when the Day was encreased, and almost *Tripllicated*; as if the *Magi* then observing the same, had thereupon given the name of Τριπλάσιος, or *Threelfold*, to their God *Mithras*, that is, the *Sun*, and appointed an Anniversary Solemnity for a Memorial thereof. But Learned men have already shewed the Foolery of this Conceit; and therefore it cannot well be otherwise concluded, but that here is a manifest Indication of a *Higher Mystery*, viz. a *Trinity* in the Persian Theology; which *Gerardus J. Vossius* would willingly understand, according to the Christian Hypothesis, of a *Divine Triunity*, or *Three Hypostases* in one and the same Deity, whose Distinctive Characters, are *Goodness*, *Wisdom*, and *Power*. But the *Magical* or *Zoroastrian Oracles*, seem to represent this Persian *Trinity*, more agreeably to that *Pythagorick* or *Platonick Hypothesis*, of *Three Distinct Substances Subordinate* one to another, the *Two First* whereof, are thus expressed in the following Verses,

πάντα γὰρ ἔτελεισε πατήρ, καὶ νῦν παρέδωκε
 Διττέρα, ὃν πρῶτον κληῖζεσθαι ἔθνεα ἀνθρώπων.

To this Sence: *The Father or First Deity, perfected all things, and delivered them to the Second Mind, who is that, whom the Nations of men commonly take for the First. Which Oracle Psellus thus glosseth upon;* τὴν πᾶσαν κτίσιν δημιουργήσας ὁ δὲ τριῶδες πρῶτος πατήρ, παρέδωκε ταύτῃ τῷ νῦν ὄντινᾶ νῦν τὸ ξύμπαν γένος τῶν ἀνθρώπων, ἀγνοῦντες τὴν πατρικὴν ἐξουσίαν, οὐδὲν πρῶτον καλεῖσθαι. *The First Father of the Trinity, having produced this whole Creation, delivered it to Mind or Intellect. Which Mind, the whole Generation of Mankind being ignorant of the Paternal Transcendancy, commonly call the First God. After which, Psellus takes notice of the difference here betwixt this Magical or Chaldaick Theology, and that of Christians: πλὴν τὸ παρ' ἡμῖν δόγμα ἐναντίας ἔχει, ὥς αὐτὸς ὁ πρῶτος νῦν, ὁ υἱὸς τῷ μεγάλῳ πατρί, τὴν κτίσιν πᾶσαν ἐδημιούργησεν, &c. But our Christian Doctrine is contrary hereunto, namely thus; That the First Mind or Intellect, being the Son of the Great Father, made the whole*

whole Creation. For the Father in the Mosaick Writings, speaks to his Son, the Idea of the Creation; but the Son is the immediate Opifex thereof. His meaning is, that according to this Persian or Chaldaick Theology, the First Hypostasis of the Divine Triad, was the *δημιουργός* or Immediate Architect of the World, whereas according to the Christian as well as Platonick Doctrine, he is the Second. For which cause, *Pletho* framed another Interpretation of that *Magick Oracle*, to render it more conformable both to the Christian and Platonick Doctrine, ὁ γὰρ πατὴρ ἀπαιῖα ἔξετέλεισθε, τὰ νοητὰ διὰ δὴ εἶδη (ταῦτα γὰρ ἔστ' ἐκτετελεσμένα τε καὶ τέλεια) καὶ τὰς μετ' ἐαυτῶν δούλους θεῶν παρέδωκεν, ἄρχων διὰ δὴ καὶ ἡγεῖσθαι αὐτῶν, &c. The Father perfected all things, that is the Intelligible Ideas (for these are those things which are complete and perfect) and delivered them to the Second God, to rule over them. Wherefore whatsoever is produced by this God, according to its own Exemplar and the Intelligible Essence, must needs owe its Original also to the Highest Father. Which Second God, the Generations of men, commonly take for the First, they looking up no higher, than to the Immediate Architect of the World. According to which Interpretation of *Pletho's* (the more probable of the Two) the Second Hypostasis in the *Magick* (or Persian) Trinity, as well as in the Platonick and Christian, is the Immediate Opifex or Architect of the World; and this seems to be properly that which was called *Mithras* in *Eubulus*.

But besides these Two Hypostases, there is also a Third mentioned in a certain other Magick or Chaldaick Oracle, cited by *Proclus*, under the Name of *Psyche*, or the Mundane Soul;

— μετὰ δὲ Πατερικῆς Διανοίας;
Ψυχῇ ἐγὼ νοῶ.

After (or next below) the Paternal Mind, I Psyche dwell. Now the Paternal Mind, as *Psellus* informs us, is the Second Hypostasis before-mentioned; ὁ πατερικὸς νῦς, ὁ δευτερός διὰ δὴ Θεός, καὶ τὸ ψυχῆς προσεχὲς δημιουργός, The Paternal Mind is the Second God, and the Immediate Demiurgus or Opifex of the Soul. Wherefore though both those Names *Oromasdes* and *Mithras*, were frequently used by the Magi, for the τὸ θεῖον, or whole Deity in General, yet this being Triplastian or Threefold, according to their Theology, as containing Three Hypostases in it; the First of those Three, seems to have been that, which was most properly called *Oromasdes*, and the Second *Mithras*. And this is not only confirmed by *Pletho*, but also with this further Superaddition to it, that the Third Hypostasis of that Persian Trinity, was that which they called *Arimanius*; he gathering as much even from *Plutarch* himself; φασὶ δὲ ζωεράσθαι, ὡς τριχῇ τὰ ὅλα διέλοι. καὶ τῇ μὲν πρώτῃ αὐτῶν μορῇ, Ὁρομαζδὶ ἐπιστῆναι. τῷ δὲ ὑπὸ τῆς λογίων πατρὸς καλεσμένῳ. τῇ δὲ ἐσχάτῃ Ἀρειμανίῳ. μίθρῳ δὲ τῇ μέσῃ, καὶ τῷ δὲ ἂν ἔσται τὸ δούλευν νέον καλεσμένον ὑπὸ τῆς λογίων. They say that Zoroaster made a Threefold Distribution of Things; and that he assigned the First and Highest Rank of them, to *Oromasdes*, who in the Oracles, is called the Father; the lowest to *Arimanes*; and the Middle to *Mithras*, who in the same Oracles is likewise called the Second Mind. Whereupon he observes,

how

how great an Agreement there was, betwixt the Zoroastrian and the Platonick Trinity, they differing in a manner only in Words. And the Middle of these, namely the Eternal Intellect that contains the Ideas of all things, being, according to the Platonick Hypothesis, the Immediate δημιουργός and Architect of the World, this probably was that *Mithras*, as we have already intimated, who is called in *Eubulus*, the Demiurgus of the World, and the Maker and Father of all things. Now if that Third Hypostasis of the Magick or Chaldaick Oracles, be the same with that, which the Persians call *Arimanius*, then must it be upon such an account as this, because this Lower World (wherein are Souls Vitally united to Bodies, and Lapfable) is the Region where all manner of Evils, Wickedness, Pains, Corruption and Mortality reign. And herewith *Hesychius* seemeth to agree: Ἀρειμανίως (saith he) ὁ Ἄϊδης καὶ Πέρσαις, *Arimanius among the Persians, is Hades, that is, either Orcus or Pluto*; wherein he did but follow *Theopompus*, who in *Plutarch* calls *Arimanius* likewise *Hades* or *Pluto*: which it seems was as well the Third in the Persian Trinity (or Triplasian Deity) as it was in the Homerican. And this was that *Arimanius*, whom the Persian King in *Plutarch*, upon *Themistocles* his flight, address'd his Devotion to, κατὰ δὲ ἀρχὴν αἰεὶ τοῖς πολεμίοις, τοιαύτας φρένας δίδδναι τῷ Ἀρειμανίῳ, ὅπως ἐλαύνωσι τὸς ἀεὶς τοὺς ἐξ αὐτοῦ, He prayed, that *Arimanius* would always give such a mind to his Enemies, as thus to banish and drive away their best men from them. And indeed from that which *Plutarch* affirms, διὸ καὶ μίθεω Πέρσαι τῷ μεσίτῳ ὀνομάζοντι, That the Persians from their God *Mithras*, called any Mediator, or Middle betwixt two, *Mithras*; it may be more reasonably concluded, that *Mithras*, according to the Persian Theology, was properly the Middle Hypostasis of that Triplasian or Tripllicated Deity of theirs, than that he should be a Middle Self-existent God, or Mediator, betwixt Two Adversary Gods Unmade, one Good, and the other Evil, as *Plutarch* would suppose.

In vit. Them.

Notwithstanding which, if that which the same *Plutarch* and others do so confidently affirm, should be true, that *Zoroaster* and the ancient Magi, made Good and Evil, Light and Darknes, the Two Substantial Principles of the Universe, that is, asserted an Evil Demon Coeternal with God, and Independent on him, in the very same manner that *Plutarch* himself and the Manicheans afterward did; yet however it is plain, that in this way also, *Zoroaster* and the Magi, acknowledged One only Fountain and Original of all Good, and nothing to be independent upon that One Good Principle or God, but only that which is so contrary to his Nature and Perfection, as that it could not proceed from him, namely Evil. But we have already discovered a suspicion, that the meaning of those ancient Magi, might possibly be otherwise; they philosophizing only concerning a certain Mixture of Evil and Darknes, together with Good and Light, that was in the Composition of this Lower World, and Personating the same; as also perhaps taking notice especially therein of Evil Demons (who are acknowledged likewise in the Magick Oracles, and called θῆρες χθονίς, Beasts of the Earth, and χθόνιοι κύνες, Terrestrial Dogs;) the Head of which might be sometimes called also Emphatically ὁ πονηρὸς δαίμων Περσῶν, the Evil Demon of the Persians, as being the very same with the Devil.

Devil : all which was under the immediate Presidency or Government of that God, called by them *Arimanius*, *Hades* or *Pluto*, the *Third Hypostasis* in the *Triplastian Deity* of the Persians. Which suspicion, may be yet further confirmed from hence, because the Persian Theologers, as appears by the Inscriptions, expressly acknowledged the *Divine Omnipotence*, which they could not possibly have done, had they admitted of a *Manichean Substantial Evil Principle*, *Coeternal* with *God*, and *Independent* on him. Besides which it is observable, that whereas the Gnosticks in *Plotinus* time, asserting this World to have been made, not so much from a *Principle Essentially Evil* and *Eternal*, as from a *Lapsed Soul*; to weigh down the Authority of *Plato* that was against them, did put *Zoroaster* in the other Scale, producing a Book entituled, ἀποκαλύψεις Ζωροάστρου, or the *Revelations of Zoroaster*, *Porphyrus* tells us, that himself wrote purposely, to disprove those *Zoroastrian Revelations*, as *New* and *Counterfeit*, and forged by those Gnosticks themselves; therein implying also the Doctrine of the ancient *Zoroaster*, no way to have countenanced or favoured that *Gnostic Hereſie*. Moreover the Tenents of these ancient *Magi*, concerning that *Duplicity of Principles*, are by Writers represented with great Variety and Uncertainty. That Accompt which *Theodorus* in *Photius* (treating of the Persian Magick) gives thereof, as also that other of *Endemus* in *Damascius*, are both of them so Nonsensical, that we shall not here trouble the Reader with them; however, neither of them suppose the Persian *Arimanius* or *Satanas*, to be an *Unmade Self-existing Demon*. But the Arabians, writing of this *Altanawiah*, or *Persian Duplicity of Good and Evil Principles*, affirm, That according to the most approved *Magi*, *Light*, was *Kadiman*, the *Most Ancient* and *First God*, and that *Darkness* was but a *Created God*; they expressly denying the Principle of *Evil* and *Darkness*, to be *Coeve* with *God*, or the Principle of *Good and Light*. And *Abulfeda* represents the *Zoroastrian Doctrine* (as the Doctrine of the *Magi* Reformed) after this manner; *That God was older than Darkness and Light, and the Creator of them, so that he was a Solitary Being, without Companion or Corriual; and that Good and Evil, Virtue and Vice did arise from a certain Commixture of Light and Darkness together, without which this lower World could never have been produced; which Mixture was still to continue in it, till at length Light should overcome Darkness: and then Light and Darkness shall each of them have their separate and distinct Worlds, apart from one another.*

Porock Spic.
Hist. Ar. p. 146,
147, 148.

If it were now needful, we might still make it further evident that *Zoroaster*, notwithstanding the Multiplicity of Gods worship'd by him, was an Asserter of *One Supreme*, from his own Description of God extant in *Eusebius*. οὐδὲς ἔστιν ὁ πρῶτος ἀφθαρτός, αἰδιός, ἀρχήν, ἀμείρεῖς, ἀνομοιοτάτος, ἡνίοχος παντός καλῆς, ἀδωροδοκίτος, ἀγαθῶν ἀγαθώτατος, φρονίμων φρονιμώτατος, ἐστὶ δὲ καὶ πατὴρ ἀνομίας καὶ δικαιοσύνης, αὐτοδιδάκτος, πλεος, καὶ ἰσὺς φυσικῶς μόνος ἀβεβήτης. *God is the First Incorruptible, Eternal, Unmade, Indivisible, Most unlike to every thing, the Head or Leader of all Good, Unbribable, the Best of the Good, the Wisest of the Wise; He is also the Father of Law and Justice, Self-taught, Perfect, and*

Præf. Ev. l. i.

the only Inventor of the Natural Holy. Which Eusebius tells us, that this Zoroastrian Description of God, was contained *verbatim*, in a Book entituled, *A Holy Collection of the Persian Monuments*; as also that Oftanes (himself a famous Magician, and admirer of Zoroaster) had recorded the very same of him, in his *Ofatenchon*.

Now we having, in this Discourse concerning Zoroaster and the Magi, cited the Oracles, called by some *Magical*, and imputed to Zoroaster, but by others *Chaldaical*; we conceive it not improper to give some account of them here. And indeed if there could be any Assurance of the Antiquity and Sincerity of those *Reputed Oracles*, there would then need no other Testimony to prove, that either Zoroaster and the Persian Magi, or else at least the Chaldeans, asserted not only a *Divine Monarchy*, or One Supreme Deity the Original of all things; but also a *Trinity*, consistently with the same.

And it is certain that those Oracles are not such *Novel Things* as some would suspect, they being cited by *Synesius*, as then Venerable and of great Authority, under the name of ἱερὰ λόγια, *Holy Oracles*, and there being of this Number, some produced by him that are not to be found in the Copies of *Pfellus* and *Pletho*; from whence it may be concluded, that we have only some Fragments of these Oracles now left. And that they were not forged by Christians, as some of the Sibylline Oracles undoubtedly were, seems probable from hence, because so many Pagan Philosophers make use of their Testimonies, laying no small stress upon them. As for Example *Damascius*, out of whom *Patritius* hath made a Considerable Collection of such of these Oracles as are wanting in *Pfellus* and *Pletho's* Copies. And we learn from *Photius*, that whereas *Hierocles* his Book of Fate and Providence, was divided into Seven Parts, the Drift of the Fourth of them was this, τὰ λεγόμενα λόγια, εἰς συμφωνίαν συνάγειν, οἷς Πλάτων ἐδωγμάτισε, *to reconcile the Reputed Oracles, with Plato's Doctrines*. Where it is not to be doubted, but that those *Reputed Oracles* of *Hierocles*, were the same with these Magick or Chaldaick Oracles; because these are frequently cited by Philosophers under that name of λόγια or Oracles. *Proclus* upon the *Timæus*, ὑπὸ τε Πλάτωνος, καὶ Ὀρφέως, καὶ λογίων, ποιητῆς καὶ πατρὸς ὑμνεῖται τῷ παντὶ, πατρὶς ἀνδρῶν τε θεῶν τε. ἡμεῶν μὲν τὰ πλήρη τῶν θεῶν, ψυχῆς δὲ πέμπων εἰς ἡμετέρας ἀνδρῶν. *The Maker of the Universe, is celebrated both by Plato, and Orpheus, and The Oracles, as the Father of Gods and Men; who both produceth Multitudes of Gods, and sends down Souls for the Generations of Men*. And as there are other Fragments of these, cited by *Proclus* elsewhere under the name of λόγια or Oracles, so doth he sometimes give them that higher Title of θεοπαράδοτος θεολογία, and μυσσαγωγία, *The Theology that was of Divine Tradition or Revelation*. Which magnificent Encomium, was bestowed in like manner upon *Pythagoras* his Philosophy, by *Jamblichus*, that being thought to have been derived in great part from the Chaldeans and the Magi; ἐκ θεῶν αὐτῆς ἡ θεοπαράδοτος τὸ κατ' ἀρετῆς. *This Philosophy of Pythagoras, having been first Divinely delivered, or revealed by the Gods, ought not to be handled by us without a Religious Invocation of them*. And that *Porphyrinus* was not unacquainted with these

these Oracles neither, may be concluded from that Book of his, entitled *ᾧ ἐκ λόγιων φιλοσοφίας*, concerning the Philosophy from Oracles; which consisting of more Parts, one of them was called, *τὰ τῶν χελδαίων λόγια*, The Oracles of the Chaldeans: which that they were the very same with those we now speak of, shall be further proved afterward. Now though *Pfellus* affirm, that the Chaldean *Dogmata*, contained in those Oracles, were some of them admitted both by *Aristotle* and *Plato*, yet does he not pretend, these very Greek Verses themselves to have been so ancient. But it seems probable from *Suidas*, that *Juliane* a Chaldean and *Theurgist*, the Son of *Juliane* a Philosopher, (who wrote concerning *Dæmons* and *Teleurgicks*) was the First that turned those Chaldæan or Magick Oracles, into Greek Verse; *Ἰσλιανὸς, ὅτι μάρτυς Ἀντωνίνου τῷ βασιλεῶς, ἔγραψε Σεεργικὰ, τελέργικα, λόγια δι' ἐπῶν*. *Juliane in the time of Marcus Antoninus the Emperor, wrote the Theurgick and Telestick Oracles, in Verse*. For that there is something of the *Theurgical Magick* mixed together with *Mystical Theology* in these Oracles, is a thing so manifest, from that Operation about the Hecatine Circle, and other passages in them, that it cannot be denied; which renders it still more unlikely, that they should have been forged by Christians. Nevertheless they carry along with them (as hath been already observed) a clear acknowledgment of a *Divine Monarchy*, or *One Supreme Deity*, the Original of all things; which is called in them *The Father*, and the *Paternal Principle*, and that *Intelligible*, *ὃ χρεὶ σε νοεῖν νόσ ἀνθεῖ*, that cannot be apprehended otherwise than by the Flower of the Mind; as also that *One Fire* from whence all things spring; *Pfellus* thus glossing upon that Oracle, *All things were the Offspring of one Fire*, *πάντα τὰ ὄντα τὰτε νοητὰ, καὶ αἰσθητὰ, ἀπὸ μόνου θεοῦ τῷ ὑπόστασιν ἔλαβον, καὶ πρὸς μόνον θεὸν ἐπέστραπται*, &c. *ἀπ᾽ αὐτοῦ ἐν τῷ λόγῳ, καὶ πληρὲς τῷ ἡμετέροις δόγματι*. *All things whether Intelligible or Sensible receive their Essence from God alone, and return back again only to him; so that this Oracle is irreprehensible, and full of our Doctrine*. And it is very observable, that these very same Oracles, expressly determined also, that *Matter* was not *ἀχρόνιον*, *Unmade or Self-existent*, but derived in like manner, from the Deity. Which we learn from *Proclus* upon *Plato's Timæus*; where when he had positively asserted, that there is *ἐν πάντων αἰτίον*, *One thing the Cause of all things*; and *τάχαθὺν πάντων αἰτίον ὃν, εἶναι καὶ ὑλὴς αἰτίον*, *That the Supreme Good, being the Cause of all things, is also the Cause of Matter*, he confirms this Assertion of his, from the Authority of the Oracles, *ἀπὸ ταύτης καὶ τῆς τάξεως καὶ τὰ λόγια ᾧ ἐκ τῷ πολυποικίλῳ ὕλῳ, ἐνθεν ἀρδην δεῶσιν γένεσις πολυποικίλης ὕλης*. *From this Order also, do the Oracles deduce, the Generation of the Matter, in these words, From thence (that is, from One Supreme Deity) altogether proceeds the Genesis of the Multivarious Matter*. Which unquestionably was one of those very Magick or Chaldæan Oracles; and it may be further proved from hence, because it was by *Porphyrus* set down amongst them, as appears from *Æneas Gæmus* in his *Theophrastus*, *ὅτι ἀχρόνιον ὁ θεὸς ἀναρχὸς ἢ ὕλη, τὸ σὲ καὶ χαλδαῖοι διδάσκουσιν, καὶ ὁ πορφύριος ὁππότερ φησὶ καὶ δόξα τὸ βιβλίον ὁ εἰς μέρον περάγῃ, τῶν χελδαίων τὰ λόγια, ἐν οἷς γινόνται τῷ ὕλῳ ἰχυρίζεται*. *Neither was Matter void of Generation or Beginning, which the Chaldeans and Porphyrius teach thee; he making this the Title of a whole*

P. 118.

(in his Oration in the praise of *Buſiris*;) and confirmed by that ſober Hiſtoriographer *Diodorus Siculus*, he giving this Accompt of *Orpheus*, That he was a man who diligently applied himſelf to Literature, and having learn'd τὰ μυθολογέμενα, or the Mythical Part of Theology, travelled into Egypt, where he attain'd to further knowledge, and became the greateſt of all the Greeks, in the Myſterious Rites of Religion, Theological Skill and Poetry. To which *Pausanias* addeth, that he gained great authority, οἷα πιστόμεθα διηκέναι ἔργων ἀνορίαν καθαριμῶς, νόσων τε ἰάματα, καὶ τροπὰς μυνιμάτων θείων. *As being believed to have found out Expiations for wicked Actions, Remedies for Diſeaſes, and Appeaſments of the Divine Diſpleaſure.* Neither was this Hiſtory of *Orpheus* contradicted by *Origen*, when *Ceſus* gave him ſo fit an occaſion, and ſo ſtrong a Provocation to do it, by his Preferring *Orpheus*, before our Saviour Chriſt. To all which may be added in the laſt place, that it being commonly concluded from the Greek word *Θρησκεία*, that the Greeks derived their *Teletæ* and *Myſteries of Religion*, from the Thracians, it is not ſo reaſonable to think with the Learned *Voffius*, that *Xamolxis* was the Founder of them, (and not *Orpheus*) this *Xamolxis* being by moſt reported to have been *Pythagoras* his Servant, and conſequently too much a Juniour; and though *Herodotus* attribute more Antiquity to him, yet did he conceive him to have been no other than a *Dæmon*, who appearing to the Thracians, was worſhipped by them; whereas in the mean time, the General Tradition of the Greeks, derived the *Thracian Religious Rites* and *Myſteries*, from *Orpheus* and no other, according to this of *Suidas*; λέγεται ὡς ὀρφῆς θεῶν, πρῶτος ἐτεχνολόγησε τὰ ἑλλήνων μύσθηα, καὶ τὸ πᾶν θείον θρησκεῖαν ἐκάλεσεν, ὡς θεσμίας ὄντος ἡ ἀρέσεως. *It is commonly ſaid, that Orpheus the Thracian, was the Firſt Inventor of the Religious Myſteries of the Greeks, and that Religion was from thence called Threſcheia, as being a Thracian Invention.* Wherefore though it may well be granted, that by reaſon of *Orpheus* his great Antiquity, there have been many *Fabulous* and *Romantick* things intermingled with his Hiſtory; yet there appears no reaſon at all, why we ſhould diſbelieve the Exiſtence of ſuch a Man.

But though there were ſuch a man as *Orpheus*, yet may it very well be queſtion'd for all that, Whether any of thoſe Poems, commonly entitled to him, and called *Orphical*, were ſo ancient, and indeed written by him. And this the rather, becauſe *Herodotus* declares it as his own Opinion, that *Hefiod* and *Homer*, were the ancienteſt of all the Greek Poets, αἱ δὲ πρεσβύτερον ποιηταὶ λεγόμενοι τούτων ἤνδ' ἑὸν γινέσθαι ὕστερον ἐχθούτο, and that thoſe other Poets, ſaid to have been before them, were indeed Juniors to them; meaning hereby in all probability, *Orpheus*, *Mufeus* and *Linus*. As alſo becauſe *Ariſtotle* ſeems plainly to have followed *Herodotus* in this, he mentioning the *Orphick Poems* (in his Book Of the Soul) after this manner, τὰ ὀρφικά καλεόμενα ἐπὶ, *The Verſes that are called Orphical.* Beſides which *Cicero* tells us that ſome imputed all the *Orphick Poems* to *Cercops* a *Pythagorean*, and it is well known, that many have attributed the ſame to another of that School, *Onomacritus*, who lived in the times of the *Piſiſtratiðæ*: Wherefore we read more than once in *Sextus Empiricus* of Ὀνομακρίτου ἢ τοῖς ὀρφικοῖς;

Proleg. in Flor.
Stub.

De N. De. L. I.
p. 201. Lamb.

Ὀρφεύς, Onomacritus in the Orphicks. Suidas also reports, that some of the Orphick Poems were anciently ascribed to Theognetus, others to Timocles, others to Zopyrus, &c. From all which Grotius seems to have made up this Conclusion; That the Pythagoricks entitled their own Books to Orpheus and Linus, just in the same manner, as Ancient Christians entitled theirs, some to the Sibyls, and others to Hermes Trismegist. Implying therein, that both the Orphick Poems and Doctrine, owed there very Being and First Original, only to the Pythagoreans. But on the other side, Clemens Alexandrinus affirmeth that Heraclitus the Philosopher borrowed many things from the Orphick Poems. And it is certain, that Plato does not only very much commend the Orphick Hymns, for their Suavity and Deliciousness, but also produce some Verses out of them, without making any Scruple concerning their Author. Cicero himself, notwithstanding what he cites out of Aristotle to the contrary, seems to acknowledge Orpheus for the most ancient Poet, he writing thus of Cleanthes, In Secundo Libro De Natura Deorum, vult Orphei, Musæi, Hesiodi, Homerique Fabellas accommodare ad ea quæ ipse de Diis Immortalibus scripserat, ut etiam Veterimi Poetæ qui hæc ne suspicati quidem sint, Stoici fuisse videantur; Cleanthes in his Second Book of the Nature of the Gods, endeavours to accommodate the Fables of Orpheus, Musæus, Hesiod and Homer, to those very things which himself had written concerning them; so that the most ancient Poets, who never dream'd of any such matter, are made by him to have been Stoicks. Diodorus Siculus affirmeth Orpheus to have been the Author of a most excellent Poem. And Justin Martyr, Clemens Alexandrinus, Athenagoras, and others, take it for granted, that Homer borrowed many Passages of his Poems from the Orphick Verses, and particularly that very Beginning of his Iliads,

Μῆνιν ἄειδε θεὰ.

De V. Pyth.
s. 34.

Lastly, Jamblichus testifieth, that by Most Writers, Orpheus was represented as the ancientest of all the Poets, adding moreover, what Diels he wrote in, αἱ πλεῖς τῶν ἱστορῶν ἀποφαίνονται, κεχρησθαι τῇ δωρικῇ διαλέκτῳ καὶ τῷ ὀρφεῷ, περὶ ὧν οὐκ ὅλα τῶν ποιητῶν. Most of the Historiographers declare, that Orpheus, who was the ancientest of all the Poets, wrote in the Dorick Dialect. Which if it be true, then those Orphick Fragments, that now we have, (preserved in the Writings of such as did not Dorize) must have been transformed by them out of their Native Idiom. Now as concerning Herodotus, who supposing Homer and Hesiod to have been the ancientest of all the Greek Poets, seem'd therefore to conclude the Orphick Poems to have been Pseudepigraphous; himself intimates that this was but a Singular Opinion, and as it were, Paradox, of his own, the contrary thereunto being then generally received. However Aristotle probably, might therefore be the more inclinable to follow Herodotus in this, because he had no great kindness for the Pythagorick or Orphick Philosophy. But it is altogether Irrational and Absurd to think, that the Pythagoricks would entitle their Books to Orpheus, as designing to gain credit and authority to them thereby; had there been no such Doctrine before, either contained in some ancient Monument of Orpheus,

or at least transmitted down by Oral Tradition from him. Wherefore the Pythagoricks themselves constantly maintain, that before *Pythagoras* his time, there was not only an *Orphick Cabala* Extant, but also *Orphick Poems*. The Former was declared in that ancient Book called *ἱερός λόγος*, or *The Holy Oration*, if we may believe *Proclus* upon the *Timæus*. Πυθαγόρειος ὃν ὁ Τίμαιος, ἐπέαι ταῖς Πυθαγορείων ἀρχαῖς· αὐταὶ ἢ εἰσὶν αἱ ὀρφικαὶ παραδόσεις. Ἄ γὰρ ὀρφύλης δι' ἀπορρήτων λόγων μυστικῶς παραδεδόκει, ταῦτα Πυθαγόρας ἐξέμαθεν ἀρχαῖς ἐν λευκῇ τοῖς θρακίοις, Ἀγλαοφήμεν τέλεσα μεταδιδόντος. Ταῦτα γὰρ φησὶν ὁ Πυθαγόρας ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ λόγῳ. *Timæus being a Pythagorean, follows the Pythagorick Principles, and these are the Orphick Traditions; for what things Orpheus deliver'd Mystically, (or in arcane Allegories) these Pythagoras learn'd when he was initiated by Aglaophemus in the Orphick Mysteries, Pythagoras himself affirming as much in his Book called, The Holy Oration.* Where *Proclus* without any doubt or scruple, entitles the Book inscribed *ἱερός λόγος* or *The Holy Oration*, to *Pythagoras* himself. Indeed several of the ancients have resolved, *Pythagoras* to have written nothing at all, as *Fla. Josephus*, *Plutarch*, *Lucian* and *Porphyrinus*; and *Epigenes* in *Clemens Alex.* affirms that the *ἱερός λόγος* or *Holy Oration*, was written by *Cercops* a Pythagorean. Nevertheless *Diogenes Laertius* thinks them not to be in good earnest, who deny *Pythagoras* to have written any thing, and he tells us that *Heraclides* acknowledged this *ἱερός λόγος* or *Holy Oration* for a genuine and indubitate *Fetus* of *Pythagoras*. *Jamblichus* is also of the same opinion, as the most received; though confessing some to have attributed that Book, to *Telauges* *Pythagoras* his Son. But whoever was the Writer of this *Hieros Logos*, whether *Pythagoras* himself, or *Telauges*, or *Cercops*, it must needs be granted to be of great antiquity, according to the Testimony whereof, *Pythagoras* derived much of his *Theology*, from the *Orphick Traditions*. Moreover *Ion Chius* in his *Trigrammi* testified, as *Clemens Alexandrinus* informeth us, that *Pythagoras* himself referred some Poems to *Orpheus* as their Author; which is also the General sence of *Platonists* as well as *Pythagoreans*. Wherefore upon all accounts, it seems most probable, That either, *Orpheus* himself wrote some Philosophick or Theologick Poems, though certain other Poems might be also father'd on him, because written in the same strain, of *Mystical* and *Allegorical Theology*, and as it were in the same Spirit, with which this *Thracian Prophet* was inspired: Or else at least, that the *Orphick Doctrine*, was first conveyed down by *Oral Cabala* or *Tradition* from him, and afterwards for its better Preservation, expressed in Verses, that were imputed to *Orpheus*, after the same manner, as the *Golden Verses* written by *Lyss*, were to *Pythagoras*. And *Philoponus* intimates this Latter to have been *Aristotle's* Opinion concerning the *Orphick Verses*: He glossing thus upon those words of *Aristotle* before cited, καλεσμένοις ἔπει, ὅτι μὴ δοκεῖ ὀρφέως τὰ ἔπει, ὡς καὶ αὐτὸς ἐν τῷ περὶ φιλοσοφίας λέγει. αὐτὸς γὰρ εἰσι τὰ δόγματα, ταῦτα δὴ φασι νομακρίτου ἐν ἔπει καλεσθέντας. *Aristotle calls them the Reputed Orphick Verses, because they seem not to have been written by Orpheus himself, as the same Aristotle affirmeth in his Book of Philosophy. The Doctrine and Opinions of them indeed were his, but Onomacritus is said to have put them into Verse.* However, there can be

no doubt at all made, but that the *Orphick Verses*, by whomsoever Written, were some of them of great antiquity (they being much older than either *Aristotle*, *Plato* or *Herodotus*) as they were also had in great esteem amongst the Pagans; and therefore we may very well make a judgment of the *Theology* of the ancient Pagans, from them.

Now that *Orpheus*, the *Orphick Doctrine*, and *Poems*, were Polytheistical, is a thing acknowledged by all. *Justin Martyr* affirms that *Orpheus* asserted *Three Hundred and Sixty Gods*; he also bestows upon him, this Honourable Title (if it may be so accounted) of πολυθεϊστος πατήρ ἢ πρῶτος διδάσκαλος, *The Father and First Teacher of Polytheism amongst the Greeks*; he supposing that *Homer* derived his *Polytheism* from him; Ὅμηρος τὸ πολυθεϊστικὸς Ὀρφέως ζηλάσας δόξαν, μυθωδῶς μὲν πλείονων θεῶν μέμνηται, ἵνα μὴ δόξη τὸ Ὀρφέως ἀπὸδιδόν ποιήσεως. *Homer emulating Orpheus his Polytheism, did himself therefore fabulously write of many Gods, that he might not seem to dissent from his Poems, whom he had so great a Veneration for.* With which also agreeth the Testimony of *Athenagoras*, Ὀρφέως ἢ τὰ ὀνόματα θεῶν πρῶτος ἐξεδίκεν, ἢ τὰς χυείας διεξήλαθε, ἢ ὅσα ἐκάστοις πέπρακται εἶπε, ὅτι ἢ Ὅμηρος τὰ πολλὰ ἢ οὐκ οὐ θεῶν μάλιστα ἐπέειπε. *Orpheus first invented the very names of the Gods, declaring their Generations, and what was done by each of them, and Homer for the most part follows him therein.* Indeed the whole *Mythical Theology*, or *Fables of the Gods* together with the *Religious Rites* amongst the Greeks, are commonly supposed to have owed their First Original to no other but *Orpheus*. In which *Orphick Fables*, not only the *Things of Nature*, and *Parts of the World* were all *Theologized*, but also all manner of *Humane Passions*, *Imperfections*, and *Vices* (according to the *Literal Sence*) attributed to the *Gods*. Infomuch that divers of the Pagans themselves, took great offence at them, as for Example *Isocrates*; who concludes that a Divine Nemesis or Vengeance was inflicted upon *Orpheus* for this Impiety, Ὀρφέως ὁ μάλιστα τῶν τούτων λόγων ἀφάμελμος, διασπαράχθης τὸ βίον ἐτελεύτησε, *Orpheus, who was most of all guilty in this kind, died a violent death.* Also *Diog. Laertius* for this Cause made a question, whether he should reckon *Orpheus* amongst the Philosophers or no: and others have Concluded that *Plato* ought to have banish'd *Orpheus* likewise out of his Commonwealth, for the same reason that he did *Homer*, which is thus expressed, *For not Lying well concerning the Gods.* And here we may take notice of the Monstrosity and Extravagancy of *Orpheus* his Phancy, from what *Diamascius* and others tell us, that he made one of his Principles to be δρεκονία κεφαλὰς ἔχοντα προσπεφυκίνας ταύρης ἢ λέοντος, ἐν μέσῳ δὲ θεῶν πρόσωπον, ἢ ἔπι ὤμων πτερὰ, *A Dragon, having the Heads both of a Bull and a Lion, and in the midst the Face of a God, with Golden Wings upon his shoulders*; which forsooth must be an *Incorporeal Deity* and *Hercules*, with which *Nature* (called *Ananche* and *Adrastea*) was associated. Nevertheless the Generality of the Greekish Pagans, looking upon this *Orpheus*, not as a meer Fanciful Poet and Fabulator, but as a Serious and Profound Philosopher, or Mystical Theologer; a Person transcendently Holy and Wise; they supposed all his *Fables of the Gods*, to be deep *Mysteries* and

Allegories

In Lau. Bufr.

Allegories which had some *Arcane* and *Recondite* Sence under them, and therefore had a high Veneration for him, as one who did ἀληθέ-
 σεον θεολογεῖν (as *Athenagoras* writes) *More truly Theologize than the*
rest, and was indeed *Divinely Inspired*. Infomuch that *Celsus* would
 rather have had the Christians to have taken *Orpheus* for a *God*, than
 our *Saviour Christ*, ἀνδρὶ ὁμολογούμενως ὅτι καὶ χρηστὸν πνεύματι, καὶ αὐ-
 τὸν βίαιως ἀποθανόντα, as being a man unquestionably endewed with a holy
 spirit, and one who also (as well as the Christians *Jesus*) died a violent
 death.

C. cels. l. 7.
p. 37.

But that *Orpheus*, notwithstanding all his *Polytheism* or *Multiplicity*
 of *Gods*, acknowledged *One Supreme Unmade Deity*, as the Original
 of all things, may be First Presumed from hence, because those Two
 Most Religious Philosophick Sects, the *Pythagoreans* and *Platonists*, not
 only had *Orpheus* in great esteem, he being commonly called by them
 ὁ θεολόγος, *The Theologer*, but were also thought, in great measure to
 have owed their Theology and Philosophy to him, as deriving the
 same from his *Principles* and *Traditions*. This hath been already in-
 timated and might be further proved. *Pythagorus*, as we are inform-
 ed by *Porphyrinus* and *Jamblichus*, learn'd something from all these Four,
 from the *Egyptians*, from the *Persian Magi*, from the *Chaldeans*, and
 from *Orpheus* or his Followers. Accordingly *Syrianus* makes ὀρφικαὶ καὶ
 πυθαγορικαὶ ἀρχαί, *The Orphick and Pythagorick Principles to be one*
and the same. And as we understand from *Suidas*, the same *Syrianus*
 wrote a Book entituled, Συμφωνία ὀρφέως, πυθαγόρου καὶ πλάτωνος, *The*
Harmony of Orpheus, Pythagoras and Plato. *Proclus*, besides the
 place before cited, frequently insists upon this elsewhere, in his Com-
 mentary upon the *Timæus*, as p. 289. πυθαγορείον ἢ καὶ τὸ ταῖς ὀρφικαῖς
 ἐπεσὶν ἡμεαλογίας. Ἀναθεν γὰρ ἀπὸ τῆς ὀρφικῆς ἀφ' ἧς ἀδύνατος διὰ πυθαγόρου
 καὶ εἰς ἑμῶν ἢ καὶ δὲ ἑωὶ ἐπιστήμη προήλθεν. *It is Pythagorick to follow*
the Orphick Genealogies. For from the Orphick Tradition downward by Py-
thagoras, was the knowledge of the Gods derived to the Greeks. And that
 the *Orphick Philosophy* did really agree and symbolize with that which
 afterward was called *Pythagorick* and *Platonick*, and was of the same
 strain with it, may be gathered from that of *Plato* in his *Cratylus*,
 where he speaks concerning the Etymology of the Greek Word
 σῶμα. δοκεῖ μοι μάλιστα θεῖσθαι οἱ ἀμφὶ ὀρφέα τῷ τὸ ὄνομα, ὡς
 δίκην διδόντος τῆς ψυχῆς, τῷτον ὃ καὶ ἐξέσθαι ἔχειν ἵνα σώζηται, δεξιμότης ἐ-
 κόνει· εἶναι ἔν τῇ ψυχῇ τῷ αὐτῷ ἕως ἂν ἐκτίσῃ τὰ ὀφειλόμενα τὸ σῶμα.
Orpheus and his followers seem to me to have given the best Etymology
of this word σῶμα (from σώζεσθαι) That the Soul is here in a state of
Punishment, its Body being a Prison to it, wherein it is kept in custody,
till its Debts or Faults be expiated, and is therefore called σῶμα. Now these
 Three Philosophies, the *Platonick*, *Pythagorick*, and *Orphick*, symbo-
 lizing so much together, it is probable that as the *Platonick* and *Py-*
thagorick, so the *Orphick* likewise, derived all their *Gods* from *One*
Self-existent Deity.

MS. Coll. Caj.
Cant. p. 14.

P. 400. Suph.

Which may be further manifested, from that *Epitome* of the *Orphick*
Doctrine, made long since by *Timotheus the Chronographer* in his *Cosmo-*
pœia, still extant in *Cedrenus* and *Eusebii Chronica*, and imperfectly set

down by *Suidas* (upon the Word *Orpheus*) as his own, or without mentioning the Authors Name:—*Ἐξ ἀρχῆς ἀνεδείχθη τῷ κόσμῳ ὁ αἰθέρ, ὑπὸ τῷ θεῷ δημιουργῶντι. First of all the Æther was made by God, and after the Æther a Chaos; a Dark and dreadful Night, then covering all under the whole Æther. Σεμνύνων τὴν νύκτα προεβόαν, Orpheus hereby signifying (saith *Timotheus*) that Night was Senior to day, or that the World had a Beginning; εἰρηκὼς ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ ἐκθέσει, ἀκατάληπτόν τινα καὶ πάντων ὑπέριστατον εἶναι, προχρῆστερόν τι καὶ δημιουργὸν ἀπάντων, καὶ αὐτὸς τῷ αἰθέρι, καὶ πάντων τῷ ὑπ' αὐτῷ αἰθέρι. He having declared also in his Explication, that there was a certain Incomprehensible Being, which was the Highest and Oldest of all things, and the Maker of every thing, even of the Æther it self, and all things under the Æther. But the Earth being then invisible by reason of the Darkneß, a Light breaking out through the Æther, illuminated the whole Creation: This Light being said by him, to be that Highest of all Beings (before mentioned) which is called also Counsel and Life. ταῦτα τὰ τεῖα ὀνόματα (to use *Suidas* his words here) μίαν δύναμιν ἀπεφάνητο, καὶ ἐν κρείττῳ τῷ δημιουργῶντι πάντων θεῷ, τῷ πάντα ἐκ τῆς μη οὐκ ὄντος εἰς τὸ εἶναι. These Three Names in Orpheus (Light, Counsel and Life) declaring one and the same Force and Power of that God, who is the Maker of all, and who produceth all out of Nothing into Being, whether Visible or Invisible. To conclude with *Timotheus*: Ὁ ὁ αὐτὸς Ὀρφῆς, ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ βίβλῳ συνέταξεν, ὅτι διὰ τῶν αὐτῶν τελεῶν ὀνομάτων μᾶς θεότητος, τὰ πάντα ἐγένετο, καὶ αὐτὸς ἔστι τὰ πάντα. And the same Orpheus in his Book declared, that all things were made by one Godhead in Three Names, and that this God is all things.*

But that *Orpheus* asserted One Supreme Deity, as the Original of all things, is unquestionably evident from the *Orphick Verses* themselves; of which notwithstanding, before we mention any, in way of Proof, we shall premise this Observation, or rather Suspicion of our own; That there seem to be some *Orphick Verses* supposititious, as well as there were *Sibylline*; they being counterfeited either by Christians or Jews. For we must freely profess, for our own part, that we cannot believe all that to be genuine, which is produced by ancient Fathers as *Orphical*; that is, either to have been written by *Orpheus* himself, or else by *Onomacritus*, or any other Pagan of that Antiquity, according to the *Orphick Cabala* or Tradition.

As for example, this concerning *Moses*,

ὡς λόγος ἀρχαίων, ὡς ὑδροχρῆς διέταξεν,
Ἐκ θεοῦ γενόμενος λαῶν καὶ δίπλακα θεομένων.

*Ut habet sermo antiquorum, ut Ex-aqua-ortus descripsit,
Accepta divinitus Lege quæ Duplicia Præcepta continet.*

And this that is commonly understood of *Abraham*,

οὐ γὰρ κεν τις ἴδοι θνητῶν, μερόπων κραίνοντα,
εἰ μὴ μανοχρῆς τις ἀπὸρρώξ φύλα ἀναθεν
καλδαίων, ἴδεις γὰρ ἔην ἀσποίο πορείης.

Non

Non enim quispiam mortalium videre posset eum qui hominibus imperat,

Nisi Unigenitus quidam profectus ab antiqua origine Gentis Chaldaeorum; Sciebat enim astri cursum.

The manifest Forgery of which, might make one suspect also some other Passages, such as this concerning the *Divine Logos*;

Εἰς ἃ λόγον θεῖον βλέψας, τῶν προζέσδωκε,
Ἰδύνων κραδίης νοερεὺν κύττω.

Wherefore it being not ingenuous, to lay stress upon that for the Proof of any thing, which our selves believe not to be sincere and genuine; we shall here cite no *Orphick Verses*, for the acknowledgment of *One Supreme Deity*, but only such as we find attested in Pagan Writings. As first of all that Copy produced by *Proclus* upon the *Timæus* :

P. 93.

Τῶν τε καὶ σὺν τῷ παντὶ Διὸς πάλιν ἐστὶς ἐτύχων,
Αἰθέρεσσι δὲ εἰς ἡδ' ἔργων ἄγλαον ὕψος,
Πόντος τ' ἀπρυγέτης, γαῖα τ' ἐοικυμένη δὲ
Ὠκεανὸς τε μέγας, καὶ νεώτατα πάντα γαῖα,
καὶ πόντος, καὶ πῦρ ἀπείροτος, ἅλλα τε πάντα,
πάντες τ' ἀθάνατοι μάχαιρες θεοὶ, ἡδὲ θείαιαι,
Ὅσα τ' ἐν γυνάτω, καὶ ὕπερον ὅπως ἔμελλεν
Ἐρχέτο· ζῆνός δ' ἐπὶ γαστέρι σέβρα πεφύκει.

To this Sence: *Wherefore, together with the Universe, were made within Jupiter, the Height of the Ethereal Heaven, the Breadth of the Earth and Sea, the great Ocean, the Profound Tartara, the Rivers and Fountains, and all the other things; all the Immortal Gods, and Goddesses. Whatsoever hath been, or shall be, was at once contained in the Womb of Jupiter.*

Proclus understands this of the *Idea's* of all things, being in God, before the World was produced, that is, in order of Nature only, he supposing them in time Coeve. However it is plain, that all things are said to be contained in the *Womb and Fecundity* of *One Self-originated Deity*; not only all the other Gods and Goddesses, but every thing else whatsoever.

Again *Proclus* in the same place, ushers in another Copy of *Orphick Verses* (which are also found in the *Writer de Mundo*) after this manner: *Ἡ δ' ἰδεῶν πλήρης ἦν, διὰ τῶν ἐν ἑαυτῇ τὰ ὅλα περιέλιπε, ὡς καὶ τὸ ἐνδοεικνύμενος ὁ λόγος ἐπήγαγε.* *The Demiurgus or Maker of the World, being full of Ideas, did by these comprehend all things within himself, as that Theologer also declareth in these following Verses:*

Ζῶς πρώτος γένετο, Ζῶς ὑστάτος ἀρχιμέρουτος.
Ζῶς κεφαλῇ, Ζῶς μέσῃ· Διὸς δ' ἐκ πάντα τέτυκται.
Ζῶς ἄρ' ἔσω γένετο, Ζῶς ἄμετροτος ἐπλετο νύμφη.
Ζῶς πῶς μιν γαῖα τε καὶ ἔργων ἀσερξέντος.

D d 2

Ζῶς

Ζεύς πνοίη πάντων • Ζεύς ἀχαμάτῃ πύρρ' ὀρμή •

Ζεύς πόντ' εἶλα • Ζεύς ἥλιον ἠδὲ σελήνην •

Ζεύς βασιλεὺς • Ζεύς αὐτὸς ἀπάντων ἀρχηγέστατος •

"Εν κροτάφῳ, εἰς Δαίμων γενέσθω, μέγας ἀρχὸς ἀπάντων.

Which likewise in plain Prose is this : *The high-thundering Jove is both the First and the Last ; Jove is both the Head and Middle of all things ; All things were made out of Jupiter ; Jove is both a Man and an Immortal Maid ; Jove is the Profundity of the Earth and Starry Heaven ; Jove is the Breath of all things ; Jove is the Force of the untameable Fire ; Jove the Bottom of the Sea ; Jove is Sun, Moon and Stars ; Jove is both the Original, and King of all things : There is one Power, and One God, and one great Ruler over all.*

Where though there be many strange Expressions, yet this seems to be the strangest of them all, that *Jupiter* should be said to be, both a *Man*, and an *Immortal Maid*. But this is nothing but a *Poetick Description* of ἀρρενὸς θήλυς, *Male and Female together*. And it was a thing very familiar with all the Mystical Theologers amongst the Pagans, to call God ἀρρενὸς θήλυς, *Male and Female together* ; they signifying thereby Emphatically, *The Divine Fecundity, or the Generative and Creative Power of the Deity* ; that God was able from himself alone, to produce all things. Thus *Damascius* the Philosopher, writing of this very *Orphick Theology*, expounds it, ἀρρενὸς θήλυς αὐτὴν ὑπερῆσαν, πρὸς ἐνδύξιν τῶν πάντων γυναικῆς ἁΐας. *The Orphick Theology calls the First Principle, Hermaphroditick, or Male and Female together ; thereby denoting that Essence, that is Generative or Productive of all things.* And that Learned and Pious Christian Bishop, *Synesius*, it seems thought the Expression so harmless, that he scrupled not himself to make use of it. in those elegant and devout Hymns of his to God Almighty.

Σὺ πατήρ, Σὺ δ' ἐσὶ μάτηρ,

Σὺ δ' ἀρρενίω, Σὺ ὃ θήλυς.

Tu Pater, Tu es Mater,

Tu Mas, Tu Fœmina.

Besides these, there are also certain other *Orphick Verses*, scatter'd up and down in *Proclus*, but cited altogether in *Eusebius* out of *Porphyrinus*, in which the whole *World* is represented, as *One Great Animal*, God being the *Soul* thereof.

"Εν ὃ δέμας βασιλεῖον ἐν ᾧ τὰδε πάντα κυκλεῖται,

Πῦρ καὶ ὕδωρ, καὶ γαῖα, καὶ αἰθήρ, νῦν τε καὶ ἡμερ •

Καὶ μήτις, πρῶτον γένεταρ, καὶ ἔρως πολυτελής •

Πάντα γὰρ ἐν μεγάλῳ ζωὸς τὰδε σώματι κεῖται •

Τὸ δ' ἔστι κεφαλὴν μὲν ἰδεῖν, καὶ καλὰ πρόσωπα,

οὐρανὸς αἰγλήεις ὃν χεῦσται ἀμφὶς ἔθειραι

* Ἀστρον μαρμαρέων ποσειδάλλεες ἡερέθονται, &c.

*Omnia Regali sunt hæc in corpore clausa,
 Ignis & Unda, & Terra, Æther cum Noctæ Diæque :
 (Consilium, Primus Genitor, cum Numine Amoris :)
 Juppiter immenso sub Corpore cuncta coerccit :
 En hujus Caput Eximium, Vultusque decoros
 Undique resplendens Cælum, cui pendula circum
 Aurea Cæsaries Astrorum lumina fundit :
 Sunt oculi Phæbus, Phæboque adversa recurrens
 Cynthia, &c.*

Where probably that one Verse,

Καὶ Μητρὶς, πρῶτον γένετο, καὶ ἕως πολυτετρῆς.

though truly *Orphical*, and indeed *Divine* (it signifying that *Mind* and *Love* were the First Begetters and Original of all things) was notwithstanding, clap'd in udduly out of some other place. But from all these Citations, it plainly appears, that according to the *Orphick Theology*, though there were many *Ghds* and *Goddeses* too, admitted, yet there was *One Original and King of them all, One Supreme Deity* acknowledged. We are not ignorant, that some of the ancient and learned Fathers, conceiving it contradictory, for *Orpheus* at the same time, to assert both *Many Gods*, and *One God*, apprehended this to be a convenient *salvo* for this Difficulty, to suppose that *Orpheus* had by *Fits* and *Turns*, been of different Humours and Perswasions; First a *Rank Polytheist*, asserting *Three Hundred Gods*, and more; and then afterwards a *Converted Monotheist*; they being the rather led into this Opinion, by reason of certain Counterfeit *Orphick Verses* in *Aristobulus*, made probably by some ignorant Jew; wherein *Orpheus* is made to sing a *Palinodia* or Recantation, for his former Error and *Polytheism*. But we must crave lieve with all due respect, to dissent from Reverend Antiquity in this, it plainly appearing from that First *Orphick Exception* in *Proclus*, that *Orpheus* at the same time acknowledged, both *One Unmade Deity* (the Original of all things) and *Many Generated Gods and Goddeses*, that were all contained in it. *See Just. Mart. and Clem. Al. Prot.*

Having now made it sufficiently evident from such *Orphick Fragments*, as have been acknowledged by Pagan Writers and by them cited out of *Orpheus* his *Hymns* and *Rapsodies*; that the *Opinion of Monarchy* or *One Self-existent Deity*, the Original of all things, was an Essential Part of the *Orphick Theology* or *Cabala*; we shall here further observe, that besides this *Opinion of Monarchy* (but consistently with the same) a *Trinity* also of *Divine Hypostases* Subordinate, was another part of this *Orphick Cabala*. *Proclus* upon *Plato's Timæus*, making an Enquiry P. 93. into *Plato's Demiurgus* or *Opifex* of the World, gives us an accompt amongst other Platonists, of the Doctrine of *Amelius* (who was contemporary with *Plotinus*, and who is said to have taken notice of what *St. John* the Evangelist had written concerning the *Logos*, as agreeing with the *Platonick* and *Pythagorick Hypothesis*) after this manner: Ἀμέλιος ὁ τρίτον ποιεῖ, τὸ Ἀμιμαργόν, καὶ τὸς τρεῖς, βασιλεῖς τρεῖς, τὸ οὐλᾶ, τὸ ἐχούλᾶ, τὸ ὀρεῶντα· διαφέρει δὲ ἑτοί, ὅτι ὁ μὲν πρῶτος τὸς, ὁ

τας ὅτιν ὁ ἔστιν· ὁ ὅ δὲ δὴ πρῶτος, ἔστι μὲν τὸ ἐν αὐτῷ νοητὸν, ἔχον ὅ τὸ πρὸ
 αὐτῷ, καὶ μετέχον πάντως ἐκείνου, καὶ διὰ τῆτο δὴ πρῶτος· ὁ ὅ τρίτος, ἔστι μὲν
 τὸ ἐν αὐτῷ, καὶ ἴσος νοητὸν· (πᾶς γὰρ νῦν τῶν συζυγῶν νοητῶν ὁ αὐτὸς ὅτιν)
 ἔχον ὅ τὸ ἐν τῷ δευτέρῳ· καὶ ὁρατὸν τὸ πρῶτον· ὁ ὅ γὰρ πλείων ἢ ἀπόστασις, το-
 σῶτα τὸ ἔχον ἀμολέειται. This Passage being very remarkable, we
 thought fit to set it down at large, and shall here translate it. Ame-
 lius makes a Threefold Demiurgus or Opifex of the World, Three Minds
 and Three Kings: Him that Is, Him that Hath, and Him that Beholds.
 Which Three Minds differ thus, in that the First is Essentially that
 which he is (or all Perfection:) The Second Is its own Intelligible,
 but Hath the First (as something distinct from it) and indeed par-
 takes thereof, and therefore is Second. The Third, Is also that Intelli-
 gible of its own, (for every Mind is the same thing with its correspon-
 dent Intelligible) but Hath that which is in the Second, and Beholds
 the First. For how much soever every Being departs from the First, so
 much the Obscurer is it. After which Proclus immediately subjoyns,
 τῶτας ἐν τῶς τρεῖς νόας καὶ δημιουργοὺς ὑποτίθεσθαι, καὶ τῶς αὐτῶν τῶν πλάτωνι,
 τρεῖς βασιλείας, καὶ τῶς παρ' Ὀρφέου τρεῖς, Φάνης, καὶ Οὐρανὸν, καὶ Χρόνον· καὶ ὁ
 μάλα παρ' αὐτῶν δημιουργὸς ὁ Φάνης ὅτιν· Amelius therefore supposeth These
 three Minds and Demiurgick Principles of his, to be both the same with
 Plato's Three Kings, and with Orpheus his Trinity, of Phanes, Ura-
 nus, and Chronus; but Phanes is supposed by him to be principally the
 Demiurgus. Where though Proclus (who had some Peculiar Phanies
 and Whimsies of his own, and was indeed a Confounder of the Pla-
 tonick Theology, and a Mingler of much Unintelligible Stuff with
 it) does himself assert a *Monad* or *Unity*, Superior to this Whole
Trinity, yet does he seem nevertheless, rightly to contend against
Amelius, that it was not the First *Hypostasis* neither in the *Platonick*
nor Orphick Trinity, that was chiefly and properly the *Demiurgus* or
Opifex of the World, but the *Second*. And thus Proclus his Master
Syrianus had before determined, that in the *Orphick Theology*, the Ti-
 tle of *Opifex*, did properly belong to Orpheus his προλόγον Θεός,
 or First-begotten God, which was the same with Plato's Νῦν or *Divine*
Intellect. Agreeably whereunto Proclus his Conclusion is, τίς μὲν ἐν
 ὁ δημιουργὸς ὅτι καὶ ὅτι Νῦν Θεός· ὅς ἐστι ποιηστὴς αἰτίας, ἐκείνου διὰ τῶτων· καὶ ὅτις
 ὑπὸ τῶν Ὀρφέως καὶ πλάτωνος, ὁ αὐτὸς ἀνυμνεῖται δημιουργὸς τῶν, ἀπὸ τῶτων ὑ-
 πεμνήσθαι· Thus much may suffice to have declared, who is the Demiurgus of
 the World, namely, that it is the Divine Intellect, which is the proper and im-
 mediate Cause of the whole Creation, and that it is one and the same Demi-
 urgical Jupiter, that is praised both by Orpheus and Plato. Now be-
 sides this, it is observable that Damascius in his Book Θεὸς ἀρχῶν, or
 Concerning the Principles (not yet published) giving an account of the
 Orphick Theology, tells us amongst other things, that Orpheus introduc-
 ed, τριμορφον Θεόν, a Triform Deity. To all which may be added,
 what was before cited out of Timotheus the Chronographer, That
 God had Three Names, Light, Counsel, and Life, and that all things
 were made by one Deity under these Three several Names. Where
 Cedrenus, the Preserver of that excellent Fragment of Antiquity, con-
 cludes in this manner; ταῦτα Τιμόθεος συνεγενεσθαι ὁ χρονογράφος, λέγων
 ὅτι Ὀρφέα πρὸς τῶτων χρόνων εἰπόντα, τριάδα ὁμοῦσιον δημιουργῆσαι τὰ πάντα.
 These things Timotheus the Chronographer wrote, affirming Orpheus so
 long

long ago, to have declared, That All things were made by a Coessential or Consubstantial Trinity. Which though otherwise it might be looked upon suspiciously, because that *Timotheus* was a Christian (especially in regard of that word ὁμοῦσιον) yet by comparing it with what we have before alledged, out of Pagan Writers, it appears, that so far as concerns an Orphick Trinity, it was not altogether vainly Written, or without Ground by him.

But we have not yet done with *Orpheus* and the Orphick Theology, before we have made one further Reflection upon it, so as to take notice of that strong and rank *Hant-goust*, which was in it, of making God to be All. As for example, if we may repeat the forecited Passages, and put in the Name of God, instead of Ζεύς or Jupiter; Διὸς πάντων ἐν τῷ ἐτύχθῃ, This Universe, and all things belonging to it, were made within God. Ζηνὸς δ' ἐν γαστέρι σὺν ἅρᾳ πεφυκεῖ, All things were contained together in the Womb of God: Ζεύς κεφαλὴ Ζεύς μέσση, God is the Head and Middle of all things: Ζεύς πύθμῳ γαίης, &c. God is the Basis of the Earth and Heaven; God is the Depth of the Sea; God is the Breath of all (or the Air that we breath;) God is the Force of the Untameable Fire; God is Sun, Moon and Stars. Ἐν τε θεῷ βασιλεύει, There is One Kingly (or Divine) Body; and

πάντα γὰρ ἐν μεγάλῳ ζηνὸς τὰδε σώματι κεῖται,

For All these things lie in the Great Body of God. And thus was the Orphick Theology before represented also by *Timotheus* the Chronographer, διὰ τὸ θεοῦ πάντα ἐγένετο, καὶ αὐτὸς ἐστὶ πάντα, All things were made by God, and Himself is All Things.

But further to prove that the ancient Greekish Pagans, were indeed of such a Religious Humour as this, to resolve All Things into God, and to make God All, we shall here cite a Remarkable Testimony of *Plutarch's*, out of his Defect of Oracles; δύο πόλεις χυέσεως αἰτίας ἔχουσιν, P. 438. οἱ μὲν σφόδρα παλαιοὶ θεολόγοι καὶ ποιηταί, τῇ κρείττονι μόνον τῷ νῦν προσέχειν ἐλπίσιν, τὸ δὲ τὸ κοινὸν ἐπιφθεγόμενοι πᾶσι πράγμασι,

Ζεύς ἀρχή, Ζεὺς μέσση, Διὸς δ' ἐκ πάντα πέλουται.

ταῖς δ' ἀναγκαῖς καὶ φυσικαῖς, οὐκ ἐπὶ προσησαν αἰτίαις· οἱ δὲ νεώτεροι τῶν καὶ φυσικοὶ προσεφθεγόμενοι, τεναντίον ἐκείνοις, τὴν καλὴν καὶ θεῶν ἀποπλανήντες ἀρχὴν, ἐν σώματι καὶ πάθει σωμάτων, πληγαῖς τε καὶ μεταβολαῖς καὶ κρείττονι τίθενται τὸ σὺμπαν· Whereas there are Two Causes of all Generation (the Divine and the Natural) the most ancient Theologers and Poets, attended only to the more excellent of these Two (the Divine Cause) resolving all things into God, and pronouncing this of them universally, That God was both the Beginning, and Middle, and that all things were out of God. Inasmuch that these had no regard at all to the other Natural and Necessary Causes of things. But on the contrary their Juniors, who were called Physici (or Naturalists) straying from this most excellent and Divine Principle, placed all in Bodies, their Passions, Collisions, Mutations and Commixtures together. Where by the most ancient Theolo-

Theologers and Poets, *Plutarch* plainly meant *Orpheus* and his Followers, it being an *Orphick Verse*, that is here cited by him, whereby he gives also an acknowledgment of their Antiquity. But by their Juniors, who are called *Physici*, he could understand no other, than those First Ionick Philosophers, *Anaximander*, *Anaximenes*, *Hippo*, and the rest, whom those Degenerate Italicks afterward followed, Atomizing Atheistically, *Leucippus*, *Democritus*, and *Epicurus*. So that here we have another Confirmation also, of what was before asserted by us, that the Ionick Philosophers after *Thales*, and before *Anaxagoras*, were generally *Atheistical*. And indeed from them the word φυσικοί or Naturalists, came to be often used as Synonymous with ἄθεοι or Atheists. Now these Two are here condemned by *Plutarch*, for Two Contrary Extremes; the One who resolved all into *Natural and Necessary Causes*, that is, into *Matter*, *Motion*, and *Qualities* of Bodies, leaving out the *Divine Cause*, as guilty of *Atheism*; the other, who altogether neglecting the *Natural and Necessary Causes* of things, resolved all into the *Divine Cause*, as it were swallowing up all into God, as guilty of a kind of *Fanaticism*. And thus we see plainly, that this was one Grand Arcanum of the *Orphick Cabala*, and the ancient *Greekish Theology*, That *God is All things*.

Some Fanaticks of Latter Times, have made *God to be All*, in a Gross Sense, so as to take away all *Real Distinction* betwixt God and the Creature, and indeed to allow no other Being besides God; they supposing the Substance of every thing, and even of all Inanimate Bodies, to be the very Substance of God himself, and all the variety of things that is in the World, to be nothing but God under several *Forms*, *Appearances* and *Disguizes*. The Stoicks anciently made God to be All, and All to be God, in somewhat a different way; they conceiving God properly to be the *Active Principle* of the whole Corporeal Universe, which yet (because they admitted of no Incorporeal Substance) they supposed, together with the *Passive* or the *Matter*, to make up but one and the same complete *Substance*. And others who acknowledged God to be an *Incorporeal Substance* distinct from the *Matter*, have notwithstanding made *All to be God* also, in a certain sense; they supposing God to be nothing but a *Soul of the World*, which together with the *Matter*, made up all into One entire *Divine Animal*. Now the *Orphick Theologers* cannot be charged with *making God all*, in that First and Grossly-Fanatick Sense; as if they took away all *Real Distinction* betwixt God and the Creature, they so asserting *God to be all*, as that notwithstanding, they allowed other things to have *Distinct Beings* of their own. Thus much appearing from that Riddle, which in the *Orphick Verses* was proposed by the *Maker of the World*, to *Night*.

Proclus in
Tim.

Πᾶς δὲ μοι ἐν πὶ τὰ παντ' ἔσαι, καὶ ἅπας ἕκαστον;

How can All things be One, and yet Every thing have a distinct Being of its own? Where ἐν πὶ τὰ πάντα, All things One. or One all things, seems to be the Supreme Deity, or Divine Intellect, as Proclus also interprets it, τὰ ἅλα ὡς ἕχον ὁ Ζεὺς καὶ πάντα μοναδικῶς καὶ νοεράς, κατὰ

τὸ τὸς

τάς χεῖρας, μετὰ τ' οὐκ ὕψιστος, καὶ πάντα τὰ ἐκείνου θεῶν, καὶ τοὺς
 μολεῖς τῷ παντός Jupiter who containeth the Universe, and All
 things within himself, Unitively and Intellectually, according to
 these Orphick Oracles, gives a Particular Subsistence of their own
 also, to all the Mundane Gods, and other parts of the Universe. And
 this is ἡμεῖς ἑαυτῶν, in that fore-cited Orphick Verse, Every thing a-
 part by it self, the whole Produced or Created Universe, with all
 its Variety of things in it; which yet are Orphically said to be God
 also, in a certain other sence, that shall be declared afterward. Nor
 can the Orphick Theologers be charged with making God All, in the
 Second Stoical Sence, as if they denied all Incorporeal Substance,
 they plainly asserting as Damascius and others particularly note, θεὸν
 ἀσώματον, an Incorporeal Deity. But as for the Third way it is very true,
 that the Orphick Theologers, did frequently call the World, The Body
 of God, and its Several Parts, His Members, making the Whole Uni-
 verse to be One Divine Animal; Notwithstanding which they sup-
 posed not, this Animated World to be the First and Highest God, but
 either δεύτερον θεόν, as the Hermaick or Trismegistick Writers call
 it, The Second God; or else as Numenius and others of the Platonists
 speak, τρίτον θεόν, The Third God: the Soul thereof being as well in
 the Orphick, as it was in the Pythagorick and Platonick Trinity, but
 the Third Hypostasis; they supposing Two other Divine Hypostases
 Superiour thereunto, which were perfectly Secrete from Matter.
 Wherefore, as to the Supreme Deity, these Orphick Theologers, made
 Him to be All things, chiefly upon the Two following Accompts.
 First because All things coming from God, they inferred, that there-
 fore they were all contained in Him, and consequently were in a cer-
 tain sence Himself; thus much being declared in those Orphick Verses
 cited by Proclus and others,

πάντα τάδε κρύψας, αἴθης φάος ἐς πολυχυδές·
 μέλλεν ἀπὸ κρυδείης περφέρειν, πολυθέσκελα γέρον.

Which Apuleius thus renders,

Namque Sinnu Occultans, dulces in luminis oras
 Cuncta tulit, sacro versans sub pectore curas.

The Sence whereof is plainly this; That God at first Hiding or Occultly
 containing all things within himself, did from thence display them,
 and bring them forth into light, or distinct Beings of their own, and so
 make the World. The Second is, Because the World, produced by
 God, and really existing without him, is not therefore quite cut off
 from him, nor subsists alone by it self as a Dead Thing, but is still
 Livingly united to him, essentially Dependent on him, always Sup-
 ported and Upheld, Quickned and Enlivened, Acted and Pervaded
 by him; according to that Orphick Passage, ἐν δ' αὐτοῖς αὐτὸς ἐπι-
 νοεῖται—— God passes through and intimately pervades All things.

Now it is very true, that some Christian Theologers also have made
 God to be All, according to these Latter senses; as when they affirm the

whole World to be nothing else but *Deum Explicatum*, *God Expanded or Unfolded*, and when they call the Creatures, as St. Jerom and others often do, *Radios Deitatis*, *the Rays of the Deity*. Nay the Scripture it self may seem, to give some countenance also hereunto, when it tells us, That *Of Him, and Through Him, and To Him, are All things*, which in the Orphick Theology was thus expressed, *God is the Beginning, and Middle, and End of All things*; That ἐν αὐτῷ ἐγένετο τὰ πάντα, *All things were made in him*, as in the Orphick Verses, — αὐτὸς ἐν τῷ ἐν ᾧ ἔσται; That τὰ πάντα ἐν αὐτῷ συνέσονται, *All things consist in him*; That, *In Him we Live and Move, and have our Being*; That God doth ζωοποιεῖν πάντα, *Quicken all things*, and that he ought to be made, πάντα ἐν πᾶσι, *All in All*; which supposeth him in some sence to be so. Notwithstanding which, this is a very Ticklish Point, and easily lyable to Mistake and Abuse: and, as we conceive, it was the mistake and abuse of this One Thing, which was the Chief Ground and Original of the both *Seeming and Real Polytheism*, not only of the Greekish and European, but also of the Egyptian and other Pagans; as will be more particularly declared afterwards: They concluding that because *God was All things*, and consequently *All things God*, that therefore God ought to be Worshipped in *All things*, that is, in all the several *Parts of the World, and Things of Nature*; but especially in those Animated Intellectual Beings, which are Superiour to Men. Consentaneously whereunto, they did both θεολογεῖν ἅπαντα, *Theologize or Deifie all things*, looking upon every thing as having ὑπερφυσικὸν τι, *something Supernatural*, or a kind of *Divinity* in it; and also bestow Several Names upon God, according to all the several *Parts of the World, and Things of Nature*, calling him in the Starry Heaven and *Æther*, *Jupiter*; in the Air, *Juno*; in the Winds, *Æolus*; in the Sea, *Neptune*; in the Earth and Subterraneous Parts *Pluto*; in Learning, Knowledge and Invention, *Minerva* and the *Muses*; in War, *Mars*; in Pleasure, *Venus*; in Corn, *Ceres*; in Wine, *Bacchus*, and the like.

However it is unquestionably Evident from hence, that *Orpheus* with his Followers, that is, the Generality of the Greekish Pagans, acknowledged *One Universal and All-comprehending Deity*, *One* that was *All*; and consequently could not admit of Many Self-existent and Independent Deities.

XVIII. Having treated largely concerning the Two most Eminent Polytheists amongst the ancient Pagans, *Zoroaster* and *Orpheus*, and clearly proved that they asserted *One Supreme Deity*; we shall in the next place observe, that the Egyptians themselves also, notwithstanding their Multifarious *Polytheism* and *Idolatry*, had an acknowledgment, amongst them, of *One Supreme, and Universal Numen*.

There hath been some Controversie amongst Learned Men, Whether *Polytheism* and *Idolatry* had their first rise from the *Egyptians* or the *Chaldeans*, because the Pagan Writers for the most part give the Precedency here to the Egyptians: *Lucian* himself, who was by Birth a Syrian, and a diligent enquirer into the Antiquities of his own Country,

Country, affirming that the Syrians and Assyrians received their Religion and Gods first from the Egyptians : and before *Lucian*, *Herodotus* the Father of History, reporting likewise that the Egyptians were the First, that erected Temples and Statues to the Gods. But whether the Egyptians or Chaldeans were the First Polytheists and Idolaters, there is no question to be made, but that the Greeks, and Europeans generally derived their Polytheism and Idolatry from the Egyptians. *Herodotus* affirms in one place, that the Greeks received their Twelve Gods from thence, and in another, that *ἡ δὲ πᾶσι τοῖς ὀνόμασι τῶν θεῶν ἐξ Αἰγύπτου ἐλήλυθεν εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα*, *Almost all the Names of the Gods, came first out of Egypt into Greece.* In what sense this might be true of *Zeus* it self, though the word be Originally Greekish, shall be declared afterwards : But it is probable that *Herodotus* had here a further meaning, that the very Names of many of the Greekish Gods, were originally Egyptian. In order to the confirmation of which, we shall here propound a Conjecture concerning One of them, viz. Ἀθηνᾶ, called otherwise by the Greeks *Pallas*, and by the Latins *Minerva*. For first, the Greek Etymologies of this word, seem to be all of them either Trifling and Frivolous, or Violent and Forced. *Plato* in his *Cratylus* having observed, that according to the ancient Allegorical Interpreters of *Homer*, Ἀθηνᾶ, was nothing else but *νῆς* or *διάνοια*, *Mind or Understanding Personated and Deified*, conceived that the first imposers of that Name, intending to signify thereby Divine Wisdom called it Ἀθηνᾶ, as *θεὸς νόου*, *The Understanding of God, or the Knowledge of Divine things* ; as if the Word had been at first *θεονόη*, and thenceafterward transformed into Ἀθηνᾶ. But being not fully satisfied himself with this Etymology, he afterwards attempts another, deriving the Word from *νόησις ἐν τῷ ἡσδί*, *Knowledge concerning Manners or Practical Knowledge* ; as if it had been at first ἡθονόη, and from thence changed into Ἀθηνᾶ. Others of the Greeks have deduced this Word, ἀπὸ τῆς ἀθρήν, because it is the Property of Wisdom, to collect all into One, supposing that it was at first Ἀθρηνᾶ. Others would fetch it from *Θῆλυς* and *Alpha* Private, because *Minerva* or Wisdom, though she be a Goddess, yet hath nothing of Feminine Imperfection in her. Others again would etymologize it, ἀπὸ τῆς μὴ πεφυκέναι θῆναι καὶ ὑποτάττειν τῷ ἀρετῷ, because *Vertue or Wisdom, is of such a Noble and Generous temper, as that it scorns to subject it self to any base and unworthy servitude.* Lastly, others would derive it, ἀπὸ τῆς αἰθερῆς, affirming it to have been at first *Αἰθεροειδῆς*. From all which uncertainty of the Greeks concerning the Etymon of this Word, Ἀθηνᾶ, and from the Frivolousness or Forcedness of these Conjectures, we may rather conclude, that it was not originally Greekish but Exotical, and probably, according to *Herodotus*, Egyptian. Wherefore let us try whether or no, we can find any Egyptian Word from whence this Ἀθηνᾶ might be derived. *Plato* in his *Timæus*, making mention of *Sais* a City in Egypt, where *Solon* sometime sojourned, tells us, ὅτι τῆ πόλεως θεὸς ἀρχαῖος ἦν, Αἰγυπτίσι μὲν τῆνομα Νιθ, Ἑλλήσι δὲ, ὡς ὁ ἑρμῶν λόγῳ, Ἀθηνᾶ, *That the President or Tutelar God of that City was called in the Egyptian Language Neith, but in the Greek, as the same Egyptians affirm, Ἀθηνᾶ.* Now why might not this very Egyptian word *Neith*, by an easie inversion

have been at first turned into *Thien* or *Θην*, (men commonly pronouncing Exotick words ill-favouredly) and then by additional *Alpha*'s at the beginning and end, transformed into *Ἀθλωα*? This seems much more probable, than either *Plato*'s *Θεονόν*, or *Ἡδονόν*, or any other of those Greek Etymologies before-mentioned. And as the Greeks thus derived the Names of many of their Gods from the Egyptians, so do the Latins seem to have done the like, from this one Instance of the word *Neptune*; which though *Varro* would deduce à *nubendo*, as if it had been *Nuptunus*, because the Sea covers and hides the Land, and *Scaliger* with others, ἀπὸ τῆς νύκτεω, from *Washing*, this being the chief use of Water, yet as the learned *Bochart* hath observed, it may with greater probability be derived from the Egyptian word *Nephthys*, *Plutarch* telling us, ὅτι Νέφθυς καλεῖται τὸ γῆς τὰ ἐχέα καὶ παρεξία καὶ θαλάσσης, That the Egyptians called the Maritime parts of Land, or such as border upon the Sea, *Nephthus*. Which Conjecture may be further confirmed from what the same *Plutarch* elsewhere writes, that as *Isis* was the Wife of *Osiris*, so the Wife of *Typhon* was called *Nephthus*. From whence one might collect, that as *Isis* was taken sometimes for the Earth, or the Goddess presiding over it, so *Nephthus* was the Goddess of the Sea. To which may be further added out of the same Writer, that *Nephthus* was sometimes called by the Egyptians Ἀφροδίτη or *Venus*, probably because *Venus* is said to have risen out of the Sea. But whatever may be thought of these Etymological conjectures, certain it is, that no Nation in the world was ever accompted by the Pagans, more Devout, Religious and Superstitious, than the Egyptians, and consequently none was more Polytheistical and Idolatrous. *Isocrates* in his Praise of *Busiris*, gives them a high *Encomium* for their Sanctity; and *Herodotus* affirmeth of them, that they were πιστοτέρους θεῶν μάλιστα πάντων ἀνθρώπων, Exceedingly more Religious and more Devout Worshipers of the Deity, than all other Mortals. Wherefore they were highly celebrated by *Apollo*'s Oracle (recorded by *Porphyrus*) and preferred before all other Nations for teaching rightly, αἰπέντω δὲ δὴν μακάρων, that hard and difficult way that leadeth to God and Happiness. But in the Scripture, *Egypt* is famous for her Idols and for her Spiritual Whoredoms and Fornications; to denote the uncleanness whereof, she is sometimes joyned with *Sodom*. For the Egyptians, besides all those other Gods that were worshipped by the Greeks and other Barbarians; besides the Stars, Demons and Heroes; and those Artificial Gods, which they boasted so much of their power of making, viz. Animated Statues; had this peculiar Intoxication of their own, which render'd them infamous and ridiculous even amongst all the other Pagans, that they worshipped Brute Animals also, in one sence or other,

Euseb. Pr. Ev.
l. 9. c. 10.

Juv. Sat. 15.

*Quis nescit, Volusi Bithynice, qualia demens
Ægyptus portenta colat? Crocodilon adorat
Pars hæc, illa pavet saturam serpentibus Ibin.*

Lib. 3. p. 121.

Concerning which *Origen* against *Celsus* thus writeth; παρ' οἷς προσδίδεται μὲν ὅτι λαμπρὰ τέμνη, καὶ ἄλση, καὶ προτυλάων μεγάλῃ τε καὶ κάλλει καὶ νεφθαίμασι, καὶ σκηναὶ πέριξ ὑψηλοὶ, καὶ θρηνηταὶ μάλ' αἰσθηταὶ καὶ μεσηριώπιδες;

σπεῖοντες· ἢ δὲ ὅ ἐστιν, καὶ ἐσδοτέρω ἡγομένη, θεωρεῖται προσκυνέμεθα αἰδέσθω ἢ πίμπκος, ἢ κερκόειλα, ἢ τεύχω, ἢ κύνων· To him that cometh to be a Spectator of the Egyptian Worship, there first offer themselves to his view, most splendid and stately Temples, sumptuously adorned, together with solemn Groves, and many pompous Rites and mystical Ceremonies; but as soon as he enters in, he perceives that it was either a Cat or an Ape, a Crocodile or a Goat, or a Dog, that was the Object of this Religious Worship.

But notwithstanding this multifarious Polytheism and Idolatry of these Egyptians, that they did nevertheless acknowledge, One Supreme and Universal Numen, may first be probably collected, from that great Fame which they had anciently over the whole World for their Wisdom. The Egyptians are called by the *Elei* in *Herodotus*, σοφώτατοι ἀνθρώπων, *The wisest of Men*, and it is a commendation that is given to one in the same Writer, That he excelled the Egyptians, in wisdom, who excelled all other Mortals. Thus is it set down in the Scripture, for *Moses* his Encomium, that he was learned in all the Wisdom of the Egyptians; and the Transcendency of *Solomon's* Wisdom is likewise thus expressed, by the Writer of the Book of *Kings*, that it excelled the Wisdom of all the Children of the East-country, and all the Wisdom of Egypt. Where by the Children of the East, are chiefly meant the Persian Magi, and the Chaldeans; and there seems to be a Climax here, that *Solomon's* Wisdom did not only excel the Wisdom of the Magi and of the Chaldeans, but also that of the Egyptians themselves. From whence it appears, that in *Solomon's* time Egypt was the chief School of Literature in the whole World, and that the Greeks were then but little or not at all taken notice of, nor had any considerable fame for Learning. For which cause, we can by no means give credit to that of *Philo* in the Life of *Moses*, that besides the Egyptian Priests, Learned men were sent for by *Pharaoh's* Daughter, out of Greece to instruct *Moses*. Whereas it is manifest from the Greekish Monuments themselves, that for many Ages after *Solomon's* time, the most famous of the Greeks, travell'd into Egypt to receive Culture and Literature, as *Lycurgus*, *Solon*, *Thales* and many others, amongst whom were *Pythagoras* and *Plato*. Concerning the former of which *Isocrates* writes, that coming into Egypt, and being there instructed by the Priests, he was the first that brought Philosophy into Greece: and the latter of them is perstringed by *Xenophon*, because Αἰγυπτίᾳ ἡγάσθη καὶ τὸν Πυθαγόρα περὶ πάσης σοφίας, not contented with that simple Philosophy of *Socrates* (which was little else besides Morality) he was in love with Egypt, and that monstrous Wisdom of *Pythagoras*. Now as it is not probable that the Egyptians, who were so famous for Wisdom and Learning, should be ignorant of One Supreme Deity, so is it no small Argument to the contrary, that they were had in so great esteem by those Two Divine Philosophers, *Pythagoras* and *Plato*. We grant indeed, that after the Greeks began to flourish in all manner of Literature, the Fame of the Egyptians was not only much eclipsed, (so that we hear no more of Greeks travelling into Egypt upon the former accompt) but also that their ardour towards the liberal Sciences, did by degrees languish and abate; so that *Strabo* in his time could

could find little more in *Egypt*, besides the empty Houses and Pallaces in which Priests formerly famous for Astronomy and Philosophy had dwelt. Nevertheless their *Arcane Theology* remained more or less amongst them unextinct to the last, as appears from what *Origen*, *Porphyrius* and *Jamblichus* have written concerning them.

L. 15. 715.

Euseb. Chron.
p. 6.

The Learning of the Egyptians was either *Historical*, or *Philosophical*, or *Theological*. First the Egyptians were famous for their *Historick Learning* and Knowledge of *Antiquity*, they being confessed in *Plato* to have had so much ancienter Records of Time than the Greeks, that the Greeks were but Children or Infants compared with them. They pretended to a continued and uninterrupted series of History, from the Beginning of the World downward, and therefore seem to have had the clearest and strongest Perswasions of the *Cosmogonia*. Indeed it cannot be denied, but that this Tradition of the World's Beginning, was at first in a manner Universal among all Nations. For concerning the Greeks and Persians we have already manifested the same, and as *Sancunniathon* testifieth the like concerning the Phenicians, so does *Strabo* likewise of the Indian *Brackmans*, affirming that they did agree with the Greeks in many things and Particularly in this, ἐν γυνήτιος ὁ κόσμος καὶ φθαεῖς, *That the World was both Made, and should be Destroyed*. And though *Diodorus* affirm the contrary of the Chaldeans, yet we ought in reason to assent rather to *Berosus*, in respect of his greater Antiquity, who represents the fence of the Ancient Chaldeans after this manner, γενέσθαι χρόνον ἐν ᾧ τὸ πᾶν σκοτὸς καὶ ὕδωρ—τὸ δὲ βῆλον, ὃν δία μεθερμενεύει, μέζον τεμόντα τὸ σκοτὸς, χωρίσαι γλῶσση καὶ ἄστρον, ἀπ' ἀνῆλων, καὶ διατάξαι τὸ κόσμον—ἀποτελέσαι δὲ τὸ βῆλον καὶ ἄστρον καὶ ἥλιον καὶ σελήνην καὶ τὰς πέντε πλανήτας. *That there was a time when all was Darkness and Water, but Bell (who is interpreted Jupiter) cutting the Darkness in the middle, separated the Earth and Heaven from one another and so framed the World; this Bell also producing the Stars, the Sun and the Moon and the five Planets*. From which Testimony of *Berosus*, according to the Version of *Alexander Polyhistor*, by the way it appears also, that the Ancient Chaldeans acknowledged One Supreme Deity, the Maker of the whole World, as they are also celebrated for this in that Oracle of *Apollo*, which is cited out of *Porphyry* by *Eusebius*,

Eu. P. l. 9. c. 10.

Μᾶνοι Χαλδαῖοι σφίλω λόχον, ἡδ' ἀρ' ἑβραῖοι,
 Αὐτοῦ θελον ἀνακτα σελάζομενοι θεὸν ἀγνῶς.

Where the Chaldeans are joyned with the Hebrews, as worshipping likewise in a holy manner, *One Self-existent Deity*. Wherefore if *Diodorus* were not altogether mistaken, it must be concluded, that in the latter times, the Chaldeans (then perhaps receiving the Doctrine of *Aristotle*) did desert and abandon the Tradition of their Ancestors concerning the *Cosmogonia*. But the Egyptians, however they attributed more Antiquity to the World than they ought, yet seem to have had a constant Perswasion of the Beginning of it, and the Firmest of all other Nations: they (as *Kircher* tells us) therefore picturing *Horns* or *the World*, as a *Young man* *Beardless*, not only to signify its constant youthful and flourishing Vigour, but also the Youngness and Newness of

of its Duration. Neither ought it to be suspected, that though the Egyptians held the World to have had a Beginning, yet they conceived it to be made by Chance without a God, as *Anaximander*, *Democritus* and *Epicurus* afterwards did; the contrary thereunto being so Confessed a Thing, that *Simplicius* a zealous Contender for the Worlds Eternity, affirms the *Mosaick History* of its Creation by God, to have been nothing else but *μύθοι Αιγυπτίους*, *Egyptian Fables*. The Place is so considerable, that I shall here set it down in the Authors own Language, Εἰ δὲ τὸ Ἰσοχάριον νομοθέτω ἐνδεκνύται λέγοντα, *Simpl. in Arist. Phys. l. 8. fol. 268. col. 1.* ἐν ἀρχῇ ἐποίησεν ὁ θεὸς τὸ ἕρπον καὶ τὴν γλῶσσαν· ἡ δὲ γῆ ἦν ἀόρατος καὶ ἀκατάσχετος· καὶ σκότος ἐπάνω τῷ ὕδατι, καὶ πνεῦμα θεοῦ ἐπεφέρετο ἐπάνω τῷ ὕδατι. ἔτα ποιησάντος αὐτῶ τὸ φῶς, καὶ διαχωρισάντος ἀνὰ μέσον τῶ φωτός καὶ ἀνὰ μέσον τῶ σκότους, ἐπήγαγε, καὶ ἐκάλεσεν ὁ θεὸς τὸ φῶς ἡμέραν, καὶ τὸ σκότος νύκτα· καὶ ἔργασθη ἡμέρας καὶ ἔργασθη πρὸς ἡμέρας μία· εἰ δὲ ταύτῃ τῷ χρόνῳ νομίζει ἦσαν τὴν ἀπὸ χρόνου, ἐνοεῖται ὅτι μυθική τις ἔστι ἡ ἀρχὴ, καὶ ἀπὸ μύθων Αιγυπτίων εἰλημμένη. *If Grammaticus here mean the Lawgiver of the Jews, writing thus, [In the beginning God made Heaven and Earth, and the Earth was invisible and unadorned, and Darkneſs was upon the Deep, and the Spirit of God moved upon the Water:] and then afterward when he had made Light, and separated the Light from the Darkneſs, adding [And God called the Light Day, and the Darkneſs Night, and the Evening and the Morning were the First Day] I ſay, if Grammaticus think this to have been the First Generation and Beginning of Time; I would have him to know, that all this is but a Fabulous Tradition, and wholly drawn from Egyptian Fables.*

As for the Philosophy of the Egyptians, That besides their Physiology, and the Pure and Mix'd Mathematicks (Arithmetick, Geometry and Astronomy) they had another higher kind of Philosophy also, concerning *Incorporeal Substances*, appears from hence, because they were the first Asserters of the *Immortality of Souls*, their *Preexistence* and *Transmigration*, from whence their *Incorporeity* is necessarily inferred. Thus *Herodotus*; πρῶτοι τῶνδε τὸ λόγον Αἰγυπτίοι εἰσι ἐπὶ νόες, ὡς ἀνθρώπων ψυχὴ ἀθάνατος ἔστι· τῷ σώματι δὲ καταφθινόντος, εἰς ἄλλο ζῶον αἰεὶ γινόμενον εἰσδύεται, &c. *The Egyptians were the first Asserters of the Souls Immortality, and of its Transmigration after the Death and Corruption of this Body, into the Bodies of other Animals successively, viz. until it have run round through the whole Circuit of Terrestrial, Marine and Volatile Animals, after which (they say) it is to return again into a Humane Body; they supposing this Revolution or Apocatastasis of Souls, to be made in no less space than that of Three Thousand years. But whether Herodotus were rightly Catechized and instructed in the Egyptian Doctrine as to this particular or no, may very well be questioned; because the Pythagoreans whom he there tacitly reprehends for arrogating the first Invention of this to themselves, when they had borrowed it from the Egyptians, did represent it otherwise; namely, That the Descent of Humane Souls into these Earthy Bodies, was first in way of Punishment, and that their sinking lower afterwards into the Bodies of Brutes, was only to some, a further Punishment for their further Degeneracy; but the Vertuous and Pious Souls should after this Life enjoy a state of Happiness, in Celestial or Spiritual Bodies.*

And

Strabo L. 15.
p. 715.

Domicilia Vi-
ventium, Di-
versoria appel-
lant, Diod.

L. 1. p. 11.

And the Egyptian Doctrine is represented after the same manner by *Porphyrus* in *Stobæus*, as also in the *Hermetick* or *Trismegistick* Writings. Moreover *Chalcidius* reports, that *Hermes Trismegist*, when he was about to die, made an Oration to this purpose, *That he had here lived in this Earthly Body, but an Exile and Stranger, and was now returning home to his own Country, so that his Death ought not to be lamented, this Life being rather to be accounted Death.* Which Perswasion the Indian *Brachmans* also were embued withal, whether they received it from the Egyptians (as they did some other things) or no; *τὸ μὲν ἐν τῷδε βίον, ὡς ἐν ἀγκυλῇ κυομενῶν εἶναι, τὸ δὲ θάνατον γένεσθαι εἰς τὸν ὄντως βίον, That this Life here is but the Life of Embryo's, and that Death [to good men] is a Generation or Birth into true life.* And this may the better be believed to have been the Egyptian Doctrine, because *Diodorus* himself, hath some Passages sounding that way; as that the Egyptians lamented not the Death of Good men, but applauded their Happiness, *ὡς τὸ αἰῶνα διατελεῖν μέλλουσιν καὶ ἄλλοι μετὰ τῆς θούρας, as being to live ever in the other World with the pious.* However it being certain from this Egyptian Doctrine of *Preexistence* and *Transmigration*, that the Egyptians did assert the Souls *Incorporeity*, it cannot reasonably be doubted, but that they acknowledged also, an *Incorporeal Deity*. The Objection against which, from what *Porphyrus* writeth concerning *Charemon*, will be answered afterwards.

We come in the last place to the Theology of the Egyptians. Now it is certain, that the Egyptians besides their Vulgar and Fabulous Theology (which is for the most part that which *Diodorus* describes) had another ἀπὸ κρυπτῆς Θεολογίας, *Arcane and Recondite Theology*, that was concealed from the Vulgar and communicated only to the Kings, and such Priests and others as were thought capable thereof; These Two Theologies of theirs differing, as *Aristotle's* *Exotericks* and *Acroamaticks*. Thus much is plainly declared by *Origen*, whose very name was Egyptian, it being interpreted *Horo-genitus*, (which *Horus* was an Egyptian God) upon occasion of *Celsus* his boasting, that he thoroughly understood all that belonged to Christianity; *Celsus* (saith he) *seemeth here to me, to do just as if a man travelling into Egypt, where the Wise men of the Egyptians, according to their Country-Learning Philosophize much, about those things that are accounted by them Divine, whilst the Idiots in the mean time, hearing only certain Fables which they know not the meaning of, are very much pleased therewith: Celsus, I say, doth as if such a Sojourner in Egypt, who had conversed only with those Idiots, and not been at all instructed by any of the Priests, in their Arcane and Recondite Mysteries, should boast that he knew all that belonged to the Egyptian Theologie.* Where the same *Origen* also adds, that this was not a thing proper neither to the Egyptians only, to have such an *Arcane and True Theology*, distinct from their *Vulgar and Fabulous one*, but common with them to the Persians, Syrians, and other Barbarian Pagans; *ἀλλὰ τὸ ἔργον ὡς αἱ Αἰγυπτίων σοφῶν τε καὶ ἰδιωτῶν δύνατον εἶπεν καὶ περὶ τῶν Περσῶν, &c.* What we have now affirmed (saith he) concerning the difference betwixt the Wise men and the Idiots amongst the Egyptians, the same may be said also of the Persians, amongst whom the Religious Rites are performed Rationally by those that are ingenious,

genious, whilst the superficial Vulgar look no further in the observation of them, than the external Symbol or Ceremony. And the same is true likewise concerning the Syrians and Indians, and all those other Nations, who have besides their Religious Fables, a Learning and Doctrine. Neither can it be dissembled, that Origen in this place plainly intimates the same also concerning Christianity it self; namely that besides the Outside and exterior Cortex of it (in which notwithstanding there is nothing Fabulous) communicated to all, there was a more Arcane and Recondite Doctrine belonging thereunto, which all were not alike capable of; he elsewhere observing this to be that Wisdom that St. Paul spake amongst the Perfect. From whence he concludes that Celsus vainly boasted, *πολύτα γὰρ οἶδα, For I know all things belonging to Christianity*, when he was acquainted only with the exterior Surface of it. But concerning the Egyptians this was a thing most notorious and observed by sundry other Writers, as for Example Clemens of Alexandria, a man also well acquainted with the affairs of Egypt; Αἰγυπτῆσι δὲ τοῖς ἐπιτυχέσι τὰ θεῶν σφίσιν ἀνέλιθεντο μυστήρια, ἔδδ' μὲν βεβήλοισι τὴν τοῦ θεῶν εἰδὴν ἐξέφερον, ἀλλ' ἢ μόνοις γε τοῖς μέλλουσιν ἐπὶ τὴν βασιλείαν ποιεῖναι, καὶ τοῦ ἱερέων τοῖς κερθεῖν εἶναι δοκιμαστέας, ἀπὸ τε τῆς τεραφῆς, καὶ τῆς παιδείας, καὶ τῆς γῆρας. *The Egyptians do not reveal their Religious Mysteries promiscuously to all, nor communicate the knowledge of Divine things to the Profane, but only to those who are to succeed in the Kingdom, and to such of the Priests as are judged most fitly qualified for the same, upon account both of their Birth and Education.* With which agreeth also the Testimony of Plutarch, he adding a further Confirmation thereof from the Egyptian Sphinges, ὁ ἑκάμαχικον ἀποδεσφύμενος [βασιλεύς] διὸς ἐγένετο τοῦ ἱερέων, καὶ μετέχευε τὴν φιλοσοφίας ὑπεκρυμμένης τὰ πολλὰ μύθοις καὶ λόγοις, ἀμυδρὸς ἐμφάσεις τῆς ἀληθείας καὶ διαφάσεις ἔχουσαν. ὡς αὖ ἀμέλει καὶ ἀδυνατῶν αὐτοὶ περὶ τοῦ ἱερέων τοῖς σφίγας ὑπεκρῖναι, ὡς ἀνιγματοδὴ σοφίαν τῆς θεολογίας αὐτοῦ ἔχουσιν. *When among the Egyptians there is any King chosen out of the Military Order, he is forthwith brought to the Priests, and by them instructed in that Arcane Theology, which conceals Mysterious Truths under obscure Fables and Allegories. Wherefore they place Sphinges before their Temples, to signify that their Theology contained a certain Arcane and Enigmatical Wisdom in it.* And this meaning of the Sphinges in the Egyptian Temples, is confirmed likewise by Clemens Alexandrinus, διὰ τὸ τὸ καὶ Αἰγυπτῆσι περὶ τοῦ ἱερέων τοῖς σφίγας ἰδεύονται, ὡς ἀνιγματοδὴς τῆς θεῶν δεσλόγος, καὶ ἀσαφὲς ὄντος. *Therefore do the Egyptians place Sphinges before their Temples, to declare thereby, that the Doctrine concerning God is Enigmatical and Obscure.* Notwithstanding which, we acknowledge that the same Clemens gives another interpretation also of these Sphinges, or Conjecture concerning them, which may not be unworthy to be here read, τάχα δὲ καὶ ὅτι φιλεῖν περὶ αὐτῆς φοβεῖσθαι τὸ θεῖον· ἀγαπᾶν μὲν ὡς περὶ εὐνήν καὶ ἀμειβόμενος τοῖς ὁσίοις, δεδιέναι δὲ ὡς ἀπαρηγορητῆτος δίκαιον τοῖς ἀνομοίοις· θηρὶς γὰρ ὅμοιος καὶ ἀνθρώπου ἢ σφίγος ἀνιγνέσθαι τὴν εἰκόνα. *But perhaps the meaning of those Egyptian Sphinges might be also to signify, that the Deity ought both to be Loved and Feared; to be Loved as benigne and propitious to the Holy, but to be Feared as inexorably just to the Impious, the Sphinx being made up of the Image both of a Man and a Lion.* Moreover besides these sphinges, the Egyptians had

Strom. l. 5.
p. 508.

De Is. 3. of.
354.

also *Harpocrates* and *Sigalions* in their Temples, which are thus described by the Poet,

Quique premunt vocem, digitoque silentia suadent.

De If. & Osir.

They being the Statues of Young men pressing their Lips with their Finger. The meaning of which *Harpocrates* is thus expressed by *Plutarch*, *ἡ Ἀρποκράτης, ὁ θεὸν ἀτελὴν καὶ νήπιον, ἀλλὰ τὸ ἐπὶ τοῦ στόματος ἐν ἀνθρώποις λόγους νεαροῦ καὶ ἀτελοῦ καὶ ἀδιαφθάρτου προσάτιν καὶ σωφρονιστὴν, διὸ τῷ στήματι τῷ δακτύλῳ ἐχρῆτο προσηύμενον, ἐχεμυθίας καὶ σωπῆς σύμβολον.* The *Harpocrates* of the Egyptians is not to be taken for an Imperfect and Infant God, but for the President of mens Speech concerning the Gods, that is but imperfect, balbutient and inarticulate, and the Regulator or Corrector of the same; his Finger upon his Mouth being a Symbol of Silence and Taciturnity. It is very true that some Christians have made another Interpretation of this Egyptian *Harpocrates*, as if the meaning of it had been this; That the Gods of the Egyptians had been all of them really nothing else but Mortal Men, but that this was a Secret that was to be concealed from the Vulgar. Which Conceit, however it be witty, yet is it devoid of Truth; and doubtless the meaning of those Egyptian *Harpocrates* was no other than this, That either the Supreme and Incomprehensible Deity was to be adored with Silence, or not spoken of without much caution and circumspection; or else that the Arcane Mysteries of Theology were not to be promiscuously communicated, but concealed from the profane Vulgar. Which same thing seems to have been also signified, by that yearly Feast kept by the Egyptians in honour of *Thoth* or *Hermes*, when the Priests eating Honey and Figs, pronounced those words, γλυκὴ ἡ ἀλήθεια, *Truth is sweet.* As also by that Amulet which *Isis* was fabled to have worn about her, the interpretation whereof, was φῶν ἀληθὴς, *True speech.*

This ἀπόκρυφτος Θεολογία, this *Arcane and Recondite Theology* of the Egyptians, was concealed from the Vulgar Two manner of ways, by Fables or Allegories, and by Symbols or Hieroglyphicks. *Eusebius* informs us, that *Porphyrins* wrote a Book περὶ τῆς ἀλληγορηματικῆς ἐννοίας καὶ Αἰγυπτίαν θεολογίας, *Concerning the Allegorical Theology both of the Greeks and Egyptians.* And here by the way we may observe, that this business of Allegorizing in matters of Religion, had not its first and only Rise amongst the Christians, but was a thing very much in use among the Pagan Theologers also: and therefore *Celsus* in *Origen*, commends some of the Christians for this, that they could Allegorize ingeniously and handsomly. It is well known how both *Plutarch* and *Synesius* Allegorized those Egyptian Fables of *Isis* and *Osiris*, the one to a Philosophical, the other to a Political sence. And the Egyptian Hieroglyphicks, which were Figures not answering to Sounds or Words, but immediately representing the Objects and Conceptions of the Mind, were chiefly made use of by them to this purpose, to express the Mysteries of their Religion and Theology, so as that they might be concealed from the prophane Vulgar. For which cause the Hieroglyphick Learning of the Egyptians, is commonly taken for one and the same thing with their *Arcane Theology* or *Metaphysicks.* And this

this the Author of the Questions and Answers *ad Orthodoxos*, tells us Q. 25. was anciently had in much greater esteem amongst the Egyptians, than all their other Learning, and that therefore *Moses* was as well instructed in this Hieroglyphick Learning and Metaphysical Theology of theirs, as in their Mathematicks. And for our parts we doubt not but that the *Mensa Isaca* lately published, containing so many strange and uncouth Hieroglyphicks in it, was something of this ἀπόρρητος θεολογία, this *Arcane Theology* of the Egyptians, and not meer History, as some imagine: Though the late confident *Oedipus*, seem to arrogate too much to himself, in pretending to such a certain and exact Interpretation of it. Now as it is reasonable to think, that in all those Pagan Nations where there was another Theology besides the Vulgar, the principal part thereof, was the Doctrine of *One Supreme and Universal Deity the Maker of the whole World*, so can it not well be conceived, what this ἀρρητος and ἀπόρρητος and αἰνιγματώδης θεολογία, this *Arcane and Mysteries and Enigmatical Theology* of the Egyptians, so much talked of, should be other than a kind of *Metaphysics* concerning God, as *One Perfect Incorporeal Being, the Original of all things*.

We know nothing of any Moment, that can be objected against this, save only that which *Porphyrins*, in his Epistle to *Anebo* an Egyptian Priest, writeth concerning *Charemon*, Pr. Ev. Lib. 3. c. 4. καὶ ἡμεῖς μὲν οὐκ, καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι, οὐδ' ἄλλοι περὶ τῆς οὐρανόθεν καὶ γῆθεν ἡγεῖσθαι ἐν ἀρχῇ λόγων πθέμενοι τὰς Αἰγυπτίων, οὐδ' ἄλλας θεοὺς πλὴν τῆς πλανιτῆς λεγομένης, καὶ τῆς συμπληρῆσαντος τὸ ζῳδιακόν, &c. *Charemon and others acknowledge nothing before this Visible and Corporeal World, alledging for the countenance of their Opinion, such of the Egyptians as talk of no other Gods, but the Planets and those Stars that fill up the Zodiack, or rise together with them, their Decans, and Horoscopes, and Robust Princes, as they call them; whose names are also inserted into their Almanacks or Ephemerides, together with the times of their Risings and Settings, and the Prognosticks or significations of future Events from them. For he observed that those Egyptians who made the Sun the Demiurgus or Architect of the World, interpreted the Stories of Isis and Osiris, and all those other Religious Fables, into nothing but Stars and Planets and the River Nile, καὶ ὅλως πάντα εἰς τὰ φυσικά καὶ εἰς ἀσώματα καὶ ζῶσας ὁμοιωσάντων, and referred all things universally into Natural or Inanimate, nothing into Incorporeal and Living Substances. Which Passage of Porphyrins concerning Charemon, we confess Eusebius lays great stress upon, endeavouring to make advantage of it, first against the Egyptians, and then against the Greeks and other Pagans, as deriving their Religion and Theology from them; It is manifest from hence, saith he, that the very Arcane Theology of the Egyptians, deified nothing but Stars and Planets, and acknowledged no Incorporeal Principle or Demiurgick Reason as the Cause of this Universe, but only the Visible Sun: And then he concludes in this manner, See now what is become of this Arcane Theology of the Egyptians, that deifies nothing but senseless Matter or Dead Inanimate Bodies. But it is well known that Eusebius took all advantages possible, to represent the Pagans to the worst, and render their Theology ridiculous and absurd; nevertheless what he here urgeth against the Egyptians, is*

the less valuable, because himself plainly contradicts it elsewhere, declaring that the Egyptians acknowledged a *Demiurgick Reason* and *Intellectual Architect* of the World, which consequently was the Maker of the Sun ; and confessing the same of the other Pagans also. Now to affirm that the Egyptians acknowledged no other Deity than Inanimate Matter and the Senseless Corporeal World, is not only to deny that they had any ἀπρόβητος Θεολογία, any *Arcane Theology* at all, (which yet hath been sufficiently proved) but also to render them *absolute Atheists*. For if this be not Atheism to acknowledge no other Deity besides Dead and Senseless Matter, then the word hath no signification. *Chæremon* indeed seems to impute this Opinion (not to all the Egyptians) but to some of them; and it is very possible that there might be some Atheists amongst the Egyptians also, as well as amongst the Greeks and their Philosophers. And doubtless this *Chæremon* himself was a kind of *Astrological Atheist*; for which cause we conclude, that it was not *Chæremon* the Stoick, from whom notwithstanding *Porphyrius* in his Book of Abstinence citeth certain other things concerning the Egyptians, but either that *Chæremon* whom *Strabo* made use of in *Egypt*, or else some other of that name. But that there ever was or can be any such *Religious Atheists*, as *Eusebius* with some others imagine, who though acknowledging no Deity, besides Dead and Senseless Matter, notwithstanding devoutly court and worship the same, constantly invoking it and imploring its assistance, as expecting great Benefit to themselves thereby; This we confess is such a thing, as that we have not Faith enough to believe, it being a sottishness and contradictory Non-sence, that is not incident to humane Nature. Neither can we doubt, but that all the devout Pagans, acknowledged *some Living and Understanding Deities* or other; nor easily believe that they ever worshipped any Inanimate or Senseless Bodies otherwise, than as some way referring to the same, or as Images and Symbols of them. But as for that Passage in *Porphyrius* his Epistle concerning *Chæremon*, where he only propounds doubts to *Anebo* the Egyptian Priest, as desiring further Information from him concerning them, *Jamblichus* hath given us a full answer to it, under the person of *Abammon* another Egyptian Priest, which notwithstanding hath not hitherto been at all taken notice of, because *Ficinus* and *Scutellinus* not understanding the word *Chæremon* to be a Proper name, ridiculously turn'd it in their Translations, *Optarem* and *Gauderem*, thereby also perverting the whole sence. The words in the Greek MS. (now in the hands of my Learned Friend Mr. Gale) run thus, καὶ ἐμὴν ὃ καὶ οἱ πῶς ἄλλοι, καὶ ὅτι καὶ ὁ κόσμος ἀποῖται πρώτων αἰτίων, τὰς τελευταίας ἀρχὰς ἐξηγῶνται, ὅσοι τε τὸς πλανήτας, καὶ τὸ ζῳδιακόν, τὸς ὀδεκανῶς, καὶ ἄρῳ Κυρίως καὶ τὸς λεγομένους κατὰ τὰς ἡγεμόνας ἀστρονομίας, τὰς μερῶς καὶ ἀρχὰς διανομὰς ἀναφανίσκει. πάντα ἐν τοῖς ἀλμυρικακοῖς μέρεσι τι βραχύτατον ὡς ἐχθρὸν καὶ ἐρμαιοῦν διατάξω, καὶ τὰ ὡς ἀστέρων ἢ φάσεων, ἢ κρύψεων, ἢ σελήνης αὐξήσεων, ἢ μείψεων ἐν τοῖς ἐχθροῖς ἔχει τι ὡς αἰγυπῶσις αἰτιολογίαν φυσικὰ τε καὶ λέγειν εἶναι πάντα αἰγυπῶσι, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν τῆς ψυχῆς ζωὴν, καὶ τὴν νοερὰν ἀπὸ τῆς φύσεως διακρίνειν. ἐν ἑπὶ τῷ παντὸς μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐφ' ἡμῶν, ὅτι καὶ λόγον προσσημαίνομεν καθ' ἑαυτὸς ὄντας, ὅπως δημουργεῖσθαι φασι τὰ γινόμενα.

But Chæremon and those others who pretend to write of the first Causes of the World, declare only the Last and Lowest Principles, as likewise they

who

who treat of the Planets, the Zodiack, the Decans, the Horoscopes and the Robust Princes. And those things that are in the Egyptian Almanacks (or Ephemerides) contain the least part of the Hermaical Institutions, namely the Phases and Occultations of the Stars, the Increase and Decrease of the Moon and the like Astrological Matters; which things have the lowest place in the Egyptian Ætiology. Nor do the Egyptians resolve all things into (Sensles) Nature, but they distinguish both the Life of the Soul, and the Intellectual Life, from that of Nature, and that not only in our selves, but also in the Universe; they determining Mind and Reason, first to have existed of themselves, and so this whole World to have been made. Wherefore they acknowledge before the Heaven and in the Heaven a Living Power, and place pure Mind above the World, as the Demiurgus and Architect thereof. From which Testimony of *Jamblichus*, who was but little Junieur to *Porphyrius*, and Contemporary with *Ensebius*, and who had made it his business to inform himself thoroughly concerning the Theology of the Egyptians, it plainly appears that the Egyptians did not generally suppose (as *Charemon* pretended concerning some of them) a Senseless Inanimate Nature to be the first Original of all things, but that as well in the World as in our selves, they acknowledged Soul superiour to Nature, and Mind or Intellect superiour to Soul, this being the *Demiurgus* of the World. But we shall have afterwards occasion more opportunely to cite other Passages out of this *Jamblichus* his Egyptian Mysteries, to the same purpose.

Wherefore there is no pretense at all to suspect, that the Egyptians were universally *Atheists* and *Anarchists*, such as supposed no Living Understanding Deity, but resolved all into Senseless Matter as the first and highest Principle; But all the question is whether they were not *Polyarchists*, such as asserted a Multitude of Understanding Deities Self-existent or Unmade. Now that *Monarchy* was an essential part of the Arcane and True Theology of the Egyptians *A. Stenchnus Eugubinus*, and many other learned men, have thought to be unquestionably evident, from the *Hermetick* or *Trismegistick Writings*, they taking it for granted, that these are all genuine and sincere. Whereas there is too much cause to suspect that there have been some *Pious Frauds* practised upon these *Trismegistick Writings*, as well as there were upon the *Sibylline*; and that either whole Books of them have been counterfeited by pretended Christians, or at least several spurious and supposititious Passages here and there inserted into some of them. *Isaac Casaubon* who was the first Discoverer, has taken notice of many such, in that first Hermetick Book entituled *Pamander*, some also in the Fourth Book inscribed *Crater*, and some in the Thirteenth call'd the *Sermon in the Mount, concerning Regeneration*; which may justly render those Three whole Books, or at least the First and Last of them to be suspected. We shal here repeat none of *Casaubon's* condemned Passages, but add one more to them out of the Thirteenth Book, or *Sermon in the Mount*, which, however omitted by him, seems to be more rankly Christian than any other, λέγε μοι τὸ τοῦ Θεοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ Θεοῦ καὶ τοῦ Θεοῦ πατρὸς, ὁ Θεὸς υἱὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ καὶ τοῦ Θεοῦ πατρὸς, ἀνθρώπος εἰς, θελήματι Θεοῦ. Tell me this also, Who is the Cause or Worker of Regeneration? The Son of God,

One

One Man, by the will of God. Wherefore though *Ath. Kircherus* contend with much zeal for the sincerity of all these Trismegistick Books; yet we must needs pronounce of the Three forementioned, at least the *Pemander* properly so called, and the *Sermon in the Mount*, that they were either wholly forged and counterfeited by some pretended Christians, or else had many spurious Passages inserted into them. Wherefore it cannot be solidly proved, from the Trismegistick Books, after this manner, as supposed to be all alike Genuine and sincere, that the Egyptian Pagans acknowledged *One Supreme and Universal Numen*. Much less can the same be evinced from that pretended Aristotelick Book, *De secretiore parte Divinae Sapientiae secundum Aegyptios*, greedily swallowed down also by *Kircherus*, but unquestionably pseudepigraphous.

Notwithstanding which, we conceive that though all the *Trismegistick Books* that now are or have been formerly extant, had been forged by some pretended Christians, as that Book of the *Arcane Egyptian Wisdom*, was by some Philosopher and imputed to *Aristotle*; yet would they for all that upon another accompt, afford no inconsiderable Argument to prove that the Egyptian Pagans asserted *One Supreme Deity*; viz. Because every Cheat and Imposture must needs have some *Basis or Foundation of Truth* to stand upon; there must have been something truly Egyptian, in such counterfeit Egyptian Writings, (and therefore this at least of *One Supreme Deity*) or else they could never have obtained credit at first, or afterwards have maintain'd the same. The rather because these Trismegistick Books were dispersed in those ancient times before the Egyptian Paganism and their Succession of Priests were yet extinct; and therefore had that which is so much insisted upon in them, been dissonant from the Egyptian Theology, they must needs have been presently exploded as meer Lyes and Forgeries. Wherefore we say again, that if all the *Hermaick* or *Trismegistick Books* that are now extant, and those to boot, which being mentioned in ancient Fathers have been lost, as the *τὰ Ῥητικά*, and the *τὰ δι' ἑξοδικά*, and the like, had been nothing but the *Pious Frauds* and *Cheats* of Christians, yet must there needs have been some Truth at the bottom to give subsistence to them; This at least, that *Hermes Trismegist* or the Egyptian Priests, in their *Arcane and True Theology*, really acknowledged *One Supreme and Universal Numen*.

But it does not at all follow that because some of these *Hermaick* or *Trismegistick Books* now extant, were counterfeit or supposititious, that therefore all of them must needs be such, and not only so, but those also that are mentioned in the Writings of ancient Fathers which are now lost. Wherefore the Learned *Casaubon* seems not to have reckoned or concluded well, when from the detection of Forgery in Two or Three of those Trismegistick Books at most, he pronounces of them all universally, that they were nothing but *Christian Cheats* and *Impostures*. And probably he was lead into this mistake, by reason of his too securely following that vulgar Errour (which yet had been confuted by *Patricius*) that all that was published by *Ficinus* under the

the name of *Hermes Trismegist*, was but one and the same Book *Pæmander*, consisting of several Chapters, whereas they are all indeed so many Distinct and Independent Books, whereof *Pæmander* is only placed First. However there was no shadow of reason, why the *Asclepius* should have fallen under the same condemnation, nor several other Books superadded by *Patricius*, they being unquestionably distinct from the *Pæmander*, and no signs of Spuriousness or Bastardy discovered in them. Much less ought those *Trismegistick Books*, cited by the Fathers and now lost, have been condemned also Unseen. Wherefore notwithstanding all that *Casaubon* has written, there may very well be some *Hermetick* or *Trismegistick Books* Genuine, though all of them be not such; that is, according to our after-declaration, there may be such Books, as were really Egyptian, and not counterfeited by any Christian, though perhaps not written by *Hermes Trismegist* himself, nor in the Egyptian Language. And as it cannot well be conceived how there should have been any counterfeit Egyptian Books, had there been none at all Real, so that there were some Real, and Genuine, will perhaps be rendered probable by these following Considerations.

That there was anciently amongst the Egyptians, such a man as *Thoth*, *Theuth* or *Taut*, who together with Letters, was the First Inventor of Arts and Sciences, as Arithmetick, Geometry, Astronomy, and of the Hieroglyphick Learning, (therefore called by the Greeks *Hermes*, and by the Latins *Mercurius*) cannot reasonably be denied; it being a thing confirmed by general Fame in all Ages, and by the Testimonies not only of *Sanchuniathon* a Phenician Historiographer, who lived about the times of the Trojan War, and wrote a Book concerning the *Theology of the Egyptians*, and *Manethos Sebennytæ* an Egyptian Priest, contemporary with *Ptol. Philadelphus*; but also of that grave Philosopher *Plato*, who is said to have sojourned Thirteen years in *Egypt*, that in his *Philebus* speaks of him as the First Inventor of Letters (who distinguished betwixt Vowels and Consonants determining their several Numbers) there calling him either a God or Divine Man; but in his *Phædrus* attributeth to him also, the Invention of Arithmetick, Geometry and Astronomy, together with some Iudicrous Recreations, making him either a God or Demon, ἡκούσα ὡς ἐν Ναυκρατίῳ τινὶ Αἰγύπτῳ, γράσσειν τῷ ἐκείνῳ παλαιῶν τινὰ θεῶν, ὃ ἐν τῷ ὄνειρον τὸ ἱερὸν ὃ καλεῖται ἱεῖν, αὐτῷ ὃ ὄνομα τῷ δαίμονι εἶναι οὐδ'·
I have heard (saith he) that about Naucratis in Egypt, there was one of the ancient Egyptian Gods, to whom the Bird Ibis was sacred, as his Symbol or Hieroglyphick; the name of which Demon was Theuth. In which place, the Philosopher subjoyns also an Ingenious Dispute, betwixt this Theuth, and Thamus then King of Egypt, concerning the Convenience and Inconvenience of Letters; the Former boasting of that Invention ὡς μνήμης καὶ σοφίας φάρμακον, as a Remedy for Memory and great Help to Wisdom, but the Latter contending, that it would rather beget Oblivion, by the neglect of Memory, and therefore was not so properly μνήμης as ὑπομνήσεως φάρμακον, a Remedy for Memory, as Reminiscence, or the Recovery of things forgotten: adding, that it would also weaken and enervate Mens Natural Faculties, by slugging them, and rather beget δόξαν σοφίας, than ἀλήθειαν, a Puffy Conceit and Opinion

Opinion of Knowledge, by a Multifarious Rabble of Indigested Notions, than *the Truth thereof*. Moreover since it is certain, that the Egyptians were famous for *Literature* before the Greeks, they must of necessity have some One or More Founders of Learning amongst them, as the Greeks had; and *Thoth* is the Only or First Person celebrated amongst them upon this account, in remembrance of whom the First Moneth of the Year was called by that Name. Which *Thoth* is generally supposed to have lived in the times of the Patriarchs, or considerably before *Moses*; *Moses himself* being said to have been instructed in that Learning, which owed its Original to him.

Again, besides this *Thoth* or *Thenth*, who was called the *First Hermes*, the Egyptians had also afterwards, another eminent Advancer or Restorer of Learning, who was called ὁ δεύτερος Ἑρμῆς, *The Second Hermes*; They perhaps supposing the Soul of *Thoth* or the *First Hermes* to have come into him by Transmigration; but his proper Egyptian Name was *Siphoas*, as *Syncellus* out of *Manetho* informs us; Σιφῶας, ὁ καὶ Ἑρμῆς, υἱὸς Ἡφαιστος, *Siphoas (who is also Hermes) the Son of Vulcan*. This is he, who is said to have been the Father of *Tat*, and to have been Surnamed τεῖς μέγας, *Ter Maximus*, (he being so styled by *Manetho*, *Jamblichus* and others.) And he is placed by *Eusebius* in the Fiftieth year after the Israelitish *Exitus*, though probably somewhat too Early. The Former of these Two *Hermes*, was the Inventor of Arts and Sciences, the Latter, the Restorer and Advancer of them: the First wrote in *Hieroglyphicks* upon Pillars, ἐν τῇ συνετυκτῇ γῇ, (as the learned *Valesius* conjectures it should be read, instead of συνελαδικῇ.) Which *Syringes* what they were, *Am. Marcellinus* will instruct us; The Second Interpreted and Translated those *Hieroglyphicks*, composing many Books in several Arts and Sciences; the Number whereof set down by *Jamblichus*, must needs be Fabulous, unless it be understood of Paragraphs, or Verses. Which *Trismegistick* or *Hermetick* Books, were said to be carefully preserved by the Priests, in the Interior Recesses of their Temples.

But besides the *Hieroglyphicks* written by the First *Hermes*, and the Books composed by the Second (who was called also *Trismegist*) it cannot be doubted, but that there were Many other Books written by the Egyptian Priests successively in several Ages. And *Jamblichus* informs us, in the beginning of his *Mysteries*, That *Hermes the God of Eloquence, and President or Patron of all true Knowledge concerning the Gods, was formerly accounted Common to all the Priests, insomuch, that τὰ αὐτοῦ τῆ σοφίας δειγμῶτα αὐτῶν ἀνετίθεσαν, ἑκαστὸν πάντα τὰ οὐκ αἰεὶ συσχεσμένῳ ἐπινοοῦσιν, they dedicated the Inventions of their Wisdom to him, entitling their own Books to Hermes Trismegist*. Now though One Reason hereof, might probably have been thought to have been this, because those Books were supposed to have been written, according to the Tenour of the Old *Hermetick* or *Trismegistick Doctrine*; yet *Jamblichus* here acquaints us with the chief Ground of it, namely this, that though *Hermes* was once a Mortal Man, yet he was afterward Deified by the Egyptians (which is testified also by *Plato*)

plato) and made to be the Tutelar God, and Fautor of all Arts and Sciences, but especially Theology; by whose Inspiration therefore; all such Books were conceived to have been written. Nay further we may observe, that in some of the *Hermaick* or *Trismegistick* Books; now extant, *Hermes* is sometimes put for the *Divine Wisdom* or *Understanding* it self. And now we see the true Reason, Why there have been many Books, called *Hermetical* and *Trismegistical*; Some of which notwithstanding, cannot possibly be conceived to have been of such great Antiquity, nor written by *Hermes Trismegist* himself, viz. because it was customary with the Egyptian Priests, to entitle their own Philosophick and Theologick Books, to *Hermes*. Moreover it is very probable, that several of the Books of the Egyptian Priests of Latter times, were not Originally written in the Egyptian Language, but the Greek; because at least from the Ptolemaick Kings downward, Greek was become very familiar to all the learned Egyptians, and in a manner vulgarly spoken; as may appear from those very Words, *Hermes*, *Trismegist*, and the like, so commonly used by them, together with the Proper Names of Places, and because the Coptick Language to this very day, hath more of Greek than Egyptian Words in it; nay *Plutarch* ventures to etymologize those Old Egyptian Names, *Isis*, *Osiris*, *Horus* and *Typhon* from the Greek, as if the Egyptians had been anciently well acquainted with that Language.

Now that some of those ancient Hermaick Books, written by *Hermes Trismegist* himself, or believed to be such by the Egyptians, and kept in the custody of their Priests, were still in being and extant amongst them, after the times of Christianity, seems to be unquestionable, from the testimony of that Pious and Learned Father *Clemens Strom. 6. p. 633.* *Alexandrinus*, he giving this particular Accompt of them, after the mentioning of their Opinion concerning the Transmigration of Souls. *The Egyptians follow a certain peculiar Philosophy of their own, which may be best declared by setting down the Order of their Religious Procession. First, therefore goes the Precentor, carrying Two of Hermes his Books along with him, the One of which contains the Hymns of the Gods, the Other Directions for the Kingly Office. After him follows the Horoscopus, who is particularly instructed in Hermes his Astrological Books, which are Four. Then succeeds the Hierogrammateus or Sacred Scribe, with Feathers upon his head, and a Book and Rule in his hands, to whom it belongeth to be thoroughly acquainted with the Hieroglyphicks, as also with Cosmography, Geography, the Order of the Sun and Moon and Five Planets, the Chorography of Egypt, and Description of Nile. In the next place cometh the Stolistes, who is to be thoroughly instructed in those Ten Books, which treat concerning the honour of the Gods, the Egyptian Worship, Sacrifices, First-fruits, Prayers, Poms, and Festivals. And last of all marcheth the Prophet, who is President of the Temple and Sacred things, and ought to be thoroughly versed in those other Ten Books, called Sacerdotal, concerning Laws, the Gods, and the whole Discipline of the Priests. Wherefore amongst the Books of Hermes there are Forty Two accounted most necessary, of which Thirty Six, containing all the Egyptian Philosophy, were to be learned by those Particular Orders*

before-mentioned; but the other Six, treating of Medicinal things, by the Pastophori. From which place we understand, that at least Forty Two Books of the ancient *Hermes Trismegist*, or such reputed by the Egyptians, were still extant in the time of *Clemens Alexandrinus*; about Two Hundred years after the Christian *Epocha*.

P. 374.

Furthermore, that there were certain Books really Egyptian, and called *Hermaical* or *Trismegistical* (whether written by the ancient *Hermes Trismegist* himself, or by other Egyptian Priests of latter times according to the Tenour of his Doctrine, and only entitled to him) which after the times of Christianity began to be taken notice of by other Nations, the Greeks and Latins; seems probable from hence, because such Books are not only mentioned and acknowledged by Christian Writers and Fathers, but also by Pagans and Philosophers. In *Plutarch's* Discourse de *Iside & Osiride* we read thus of them, *Ἐν ᾗ ταῖς Ἑρμῆος λεγομένοις βίβλοις, ἱεροῖσι γυνεάφθαι, καὶ τῇ ἱερῶν ὀνομασίᾳ, ὅτι τὴν μὲν ἐπὶ τῷ ἡλίου καὶ τῷ ἀέρι τεταγμένῳ δυνάμει, ὡς οἱ, Ἑλλήνων δ' Ἀπόλλωνος καὶ Ἄερος, τὴν δ' ἐπὶ τῷ πνεύματι, οἱ μὲν Ὀσίριον, οἱ δ' Σάραπιν, οἱ δ' Σωθίαν αἰγυπτίῃσι.* In the Books called *Hermes's* or *Hermaical*, it is reported to have been written concerning Sacred Names; that the Power appointed to preside over the Motion of the Sun, is called by the Egyptians *Horus* (as by the Greeks *Apollo*) and that which presides over the Air and Wind, is called by some *Osiris*, by others *Sarapis*, and by others *Sothi*, in the Egyptian Language. Now these Sacred Names in *Plutarch*, seem to be, Several Names of God, and therefore whether these Hermaick Books of his, were the same with those in *Clemens Alexandrinus*, such as were supposed by the Egyptians to have been written by *Hermes Trismegist* himself, or other Books written by Egyptian Priests according to the Tenour of this Doctrine; We may by the way observe, that according to the Hermaical or Trismegistical Doctrine, One and the same Deity, was worshipped under Several Names and Notions, according to its Several Powers and Vertues, manifested in the World; which is a thing afterwards more to be insisted on. Moreover it hath been generally believed, that *L. Apuleius Madurensis* an eminent Platonick Philosopher, and zealous Asserter of Paganism, was the Translator of the *Asclepian Dialogue* of *Hermes Trismegist*, out of Greek into Latin; which therefore hath been accordingly published with *Apuleius* his Works. And *Barthius* affirms that *St. Austin* does somewhere expressly impute this Version to *Apuleius*, but we confess we have not yet met with the place. However there seems to be no sufficient reason, why *Colvius* should call this into Question, from the *Stile* and *Latin*. Again it is certain, that *Jamblichus* doth not only mention these Hermaick Books, under the name of *τὰ φερύμηναι ὡς Ἑρμῆος*, the Books that are carried up and down as *Hermes's* or vulgarly imputed to him; but also vindicate them from the imputation of Imposture. Not as if there were any suspicion at all of that which *Casaubon* is so confident of, that these Hermaick Books were all forged by Christians, but because some might then possibly imagine them to have been counterfeited by Philosophers. Wherefore it will be convenient here to set down the whole Passage of *Jamblichus* concerning it, as it is in the Greek MS. *Ἀποκεκρυμμένων ἐν τέτταρ' αἰῶσι, καὶ τῇ*

ἐν τοῖς συγγραμμασιν οἷς λέγει ὅτι περὶ χηρῶν, σαφὲς ἔστιν ἡ διάλυσις· τὰ μὲν γὰρ φερόμενα, ὡς Ἑρμῆς, ἑρμαϊκὰς ἀρετὰς δόξας, εἰ καὶ τῇ τῶν φιλοσόφων γλώτῃ πολὺν χρόνον χρῆται· μεταγέγραπται γὰρ ἀπὸ τῶν αἰγυπτίων γλώτῃς ὑπ' ἀνδρῶν φιλοσοφίας ἐκ ἀπείρου ἔχοντων. καὶ ἡμῶν δὲ, &c. These things being thus discussed and determined, the solution of that difficulty, from those Books which Porphyrius saith he met withal, (namely the Hermaicks, and those Writings of Chæremon) will be clear and easie. For the Books vulgarly imputed to Hermes, do really contain the Hermaick Opinions and Doctrines in them; although they often speak the language of Philosophers, the reason whereof is, because they were translated out of the Egyptian tongue, by men not unacquainted with Philosophy. But Chæremon and those others, &c. Where it is First observable, that Jamblichus doth not affirm, these Hermaick Books to have been written by Hermes Trismegist himself, he calling them only τὰ φερόμενα ὡς Ἑρμῆς, the Books that were carried about as Hermes's. But that which he affirmeth of them is this, That they did really contain the Hermaical Opinions, and derive their Original from Egypt. Again whereas some might then possibly suspect, that these Hermaick Books had been counterfeited by Greek Philosophers, and contained nothing but the Greek Learning in them, because they speak so much the Philosophick Language; Jamblichus gives an accompt of this also, that the reason hereof was, because they were translated out of the Egyptian Language, by men skilled in the Greek Philosophy, who therefore added something of their own Phrase and Notion to them. It is true indeed, that most of these Hermaick Books which now we have, seem to have been written originally in Greek, notwithstanding which, others of them and particularly those that are now lost, as the τὰ γενικά, and the like, might as Jamblichus here affirmeth, have been translated out of the Egyptian Tongue, but by their Translators disguised with Philosophick Language and other Greecanick things intermixed with them. Moreover from the forecited Passage of Jamblichus, we may clearly collect, that Porphyrius in his Epistle to Anebo the Egyptian Priest (of which Epistle there are only some small fragments left) did also make mention of these Hermaick Writings; and whereas he found the Writings of Chæremon to be contradictory to them, therefore desired to be resolved by that Egyptian Priest, whether the Doctrine of those Hermaick Books, were genuine and truly Egyptian, or no. Now Jamblichus in his answer here affirmeth, that the Doctrine of the ancient Hermes, or the Egyptian Theology, was as to the Substance truly represented in those Books, (vulgarly imputed to Hermes,) but not so by Chæremon. Lastly, St. Cyril of Alexandria informs us, that there was an Edition of these Hermaick or Trismegistick Books (compiled together) formerly made at Athens, under this Title, ἑρμαϊκὰ πεντεκαίδεκα βιβλία, Fifteen Hermaick Books. Which Hermaicks, Casaubon, conceiving them to have been published before Jamblichus his time, took them for those Salaminiaca, which he found in the Latin Translations of Jamblichus made by Ficinus and Scutellius. Whereas indeed he was here abused by those Translators, there being no such thing to be found in the Greek Copy. But the word ἀλμυρινιακά, (not understood by them) being turned into Salaminiaca; Casaubon

therefore conjectur'd them to have been those *Hermaick Books* published at *Athens*, because *Salamis* was not far distant from thence. Now it cannot be doubted, but that this Edition of *Hermaick Books* at *Athens*, was made by some Philosopher or Pagans and not by Christians, this appearing also from the words of *St. Cyril* himself, where having spoken of *Moses* and the agreement of *Hermes* with him, he adds, πεποιήται ὅτι καὶ τὸς μὲν, ἐν ἰδίᾳ συλλεγόμενος, ὁ συντεθεικὸς Ἀδελφός, τὰ ἑνὶ ἑκάστῳ ἑκατὶ καὶ πέντε καὶ δέκα βιβλία. Of which *Moses* he also who compiled and published the Fifteen *Hermaick Books* at *Athens*, makes mention in his own discourse (annexed thereunto.) For thus we conceive that place is to be understood, that the Pagan Publisher of the *Hermaick Books* himself, took notice of some agreement that was betwixt *Moses* and *Hermes*. But here it is to be noted that because *Hermes* and the *Hermaick Books* were in such great credit not only amongst the Christians, but also the Greek and Latin Pagans, therefore were there some counterfeit Writings obtruded also under that specious Title; such as that Ancient Botanic Book mentioned by *Galen*, and those Christian Forgeries of later times the *Pamander* and *Sermon on the Mount*. Which being not cited by any ancient Father or Writer, were both of them doubtless Later than *Jamblichus*, who discovers no suspicion of any Christian Forgeries in this kind.

But *Casaubon*, who contends that all the Theologic Books imputed to *Hermes Trismegist*, were counterfeited by Christians, affirms, all the Philosophy, Doctrine and Learning of them (excepting what only is Christian in them) to be merely *Platonical* and *Grecanical* but not at all *Egyptian*; thence concluding, that these Books were forged by such Christians, as were skilled in the *Platonick* or *Grecanick* Learning. But First, it is here considerable, that since *Pythagorism*, *Platonism* and the Greek Learning in general, was in great part derived from the Egyptians, it cannot be concluded, that whatsoever is *Platonical* or *Grecanical*, therefore was not *Egyptian*. The only Instance that *Casaubon* insists upon, is this *Dogma* in the *Trismegistick* Books, *That Nothing in the World perisheth, and that Death is not the Destruction, but Change and Translation of Things only*: Which because he finds amongst some of the Greek Philosophers, he resolves to be peculiar to them only, and not common with the Egyptians. But since the chief design and tendency of that *Dogma*, was plainly to maintain the *Immortality, preexistence and Transmigration of Souls* which Doctrine was unquestionably derived from the Egyptians, there is little reason to doubt but that this *Dogma* was it self *Egyptian* also. And *Pythagoras*, who was the chief Propagator of this Doctrine amongst the Greeks, εἰδὲν ὅτι γένεσθαι καὶ φθίβεσθαι τῶν ὄντων, *That no real Entity* (in Generations and Corruptions) *was Made or destroyed*, according to those *Ovidian* Verses before cited,

*Nec perit in toto quicquam, mihi credite, mundo,
Sed variat faciemque novat. Nasique vocatur
Incipere esse Aliud, &c.*

did in all probability, derive it together with its superstructure,

ture, (the *Preexistence* and *Transmigration* of Souls,) at once from the Egyptians. But it is observable, that the Egyptians had also a peculiar ground of their own, for this *Dogma* (which we do not find insisted upon by the Greek Philosophers) and it is thus expressed in the Eighth of *Ficinus* his Hermetick Books or Chapters; *ἡ δὲ ἀθάνατος ψυχή ὁ κόσμος, καὶ ζῶν ἀθάνατον, ἀδύνατον ἔστι τῷ ἀθανάτῳ ζῶσι μένειν πᾶσι τοῖς ἀποθανόντι· πάντα γὰρ ἐκ τῶν κόσμου, μένει ἔστι τῷ κόσμῳ, μάλιστα δὲ ὁ ἀνθρώπῳ τὸ λογικὸν ζῶν.* If the World be a Second God and an Immortal Animal, then is it impossible that any part of this Immortal Animal should perish or come to nothing; but all things in the World are Parts of this great Mundane Animal, and chiefly Man, who is a Rational Animal. Which same Notion we find also insisted on in the Asclepian Dialogue; *Secundum Deum hunc crede, ὁ Ἀσκληπὶ, omnia gubernantem, omniaque mundana illustrantem animalia. Si enim Animal, Mundus, vivens, semper & fuit & est & erit, nihil in mundo mortale est: viventis enim uniuscujusque Partis, quæ in ipso mundo, sicut in uno eodemque Animale semper vivente, nullus est mortalitatis locus.* Where though the Latin be a little imperfect, yet the sense is this; You are to believe the World, ὁ Ἀσκληπὶ, to be a Second God, governing all things, and illustrating all Mundane Animals. Now if the World be a Living Animal, and Immortal; then there is nothing Mortal in it, there being no place for mortality as to any Living Part or Member, of that Mundane Animal, that always Liveth. Notwithstanding which we deny not, but that though *Pythagoras* First derived this Notion from the Egyptians, yet he and his Followers might probably improve the same farther (as *Plato* tells us, that the Greeks generally did, what they received from the Barbarians) namely to the taking away the Qualities and Forms of Bodies, and resolving all Corporeal Things, into Magnitude, Figure and Motion. But that there is indeed some of the old Egyptian Learning, contained in these *Trismegistick Books* now extant, shall be clearly proved afterwards, when we come to speak of that Grand Mystery of the Egyptian Theology (derived by *Orpheus* from them) That God is All. To conclude, *Jamblichus* his judgment in this case, ought without controversie, to be far preferred before *Casaubon's*, both by reason of his great Antiquity, and his being much better skilled, not only in the Greek, but also the Egyptian Learning; That the Books imputed to *Hermes Trismegist* did *Ἑρμαϊκὰς ἐπεὶ δὲ δέξαι*, really contain the Hermaick Opinions, though they spake sometimes the Language of the Greek Philosophers.

Wherefore upon all these Considerations, we conceive it reasonable to conclude, that though there have been some *Hermaick Books* counterfeited by Christians, since *Jamblichus* his time, as namely the *Pemander* and *The Sermon in the Mount*, concerning Regeneration; neither of which are found cited by any ancient Father; yet there were other *Hermaick Books* which though not written by *Hermes Trismegist* himself, nor all of them in the Egyptian Language, but some of them in Greek, were truly Egyptian, and did for the substance of them, contain the *Hermaick Doctrine*. Such probably were those mentioned by the Ancient Fathers, but since lost, as the *τὸ γενικόν*, which seems to have been a discourse concerning the *Cosmogonia*, and the

the τὰ διεξοδικὰ, and the like. And such also may some of these *Hermaick Books* be, that are still extant, as to instance particularly, the *Asclepian Dialogue*, entituled in the Greek ὁ τελειῶς λόγος, the *Perfekt Oration*, and in all probability translated into Latin by *Apuleius*. For it can hardly be imagined, that he who was so devout a Pagan, so learned a Philosopher, and so Witty a man, should be so far imposed upon, by a counterfeited *Trismegistick Book*, and mere *Christian Cheat*, as to bestow Translating upon it, and recommend it to the World, as that which was genuinely Pagan. But however, whether *Apuleius* were the Translator of this *Asclepian Dialogue* or no, it is evident that the Spirit of it is not at all Christian, but rankly Pagan; one Instance whereof we have, in its glorying of a power that men have of *Making Gods*, upon which accompt *St. Austin* thought fit to concern himself in the confutation of it. Moreover it being extant and vulgarly known before *Jamblichus* his time, it must needs be included in his τὰ φερύμμενα ὡς ἑμῶν, and consequently receive this attestation from him, that it did contain not merely the *Greekish*, but the *Hermaical and Egyptian Doctrine*.

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There are indeed some Objections made against this, as first from what we read in this Dialogue, concerning the *Purgation of the World* partly by *Water*, and partly by *Fire*; *Tunc ille Dominus & Pater Deus, Primipotens, & Unus Gubernator mundi, intuens in mores satæque hominum, voluntate sua (quæ est Dei Benignitas) vitiis resistens, & corruptelæ errorem revocans, malignitatem omnem vel Alluvione diluens, vel igne consumens, ad antiquam faciem mundum revocabit: When the World becomes thus Degenerate, then that Lord and Father, the Supreme God, and the only Governour of the World, beholding the manners and deeds of men, by his Will (which is his Benignity) always resisting vice, and restoring things from their Degeneracy, will either wash away the Malignity of the World by Water, or else consume it by Fire, and restore it to its ancient form again.* But since we find in *Julius Firmicus*, that there was a Tradition amongst the Egyptians, concerning the *Apocatastasis* of the World, *partim per κατὰ κλυδων, partim per ἐκπύρωσιν*, partly by *Inundation* and partly by *Conflagration*, this Objection can signifie nothing. Wherefore there is another Objection, that hath some more plausibility, from that Prophecy which we find in this *Asclepius*, concerning the overthrow of the Egyptian Paganism (ushered in with much Lamentation) in these words, *Tunc Terra ista, sanctissima sedes Delubrorum, Sepulchrorum erit mortuorumque plenissima; Then this Land of Egypt, formerly the most holy seat of the Religious Temples of the Gods, shall be every where full of the Sepulchers of Dead men.* The sence whereof is thus expressed by *St. Austin*, *Hoc videtur dolere, quod Memoriam Martyrum nostrorum, Templis eorum Delubrisque succederent; ut viz. qui hæc legunt, animo à nobis averso atque perverso, putent à Paganis Deos cultos fuisse in Templis, à nobis autem coli Mortuos in Sepulchris: He seems to lament this, that the Memorials of our Martyrs should succeed in the place of their Temples, that so they who read this with a perverse mind, might think that by the Pagans the Gods were worshipped in Temples, but by us (Christians) Dead men in Sepulchers.* Notwithstanding which, this very thing seems to have had its ac-

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complishment too soon after, as may be gather'd from these Passages of Theodoret, *καὶ ὅτε αὐτῶν τῶν καλεσμένων θεῶν, τὸ μνημὸν, ἐκ τῆς ἀνθρώπων ἐξήλειψαν (οἱ μάρτυρες) διανοίας.* Now the Martyrs have utterly abolished and blotted out of the minds of men, the memory of those who were formerly called Gods. And again, *τὰς γὰρ οἰκίας νεκρῶν ὁ δεσπότης, ἀντὶ τοῦτο τοῖς ὑμετέροις θεοῖς, καὶ τὰς μὲν φερόμεν ἀπέφινε τῆτοις, τὰ ἐκείνων ἀπένευμε γέρας, &c.* Our Lord hath now brought his Dead (that is his Martyrs) into the room and place (that is the Temples) of the Gods; whom he hath sent away empty, and bestowed their honour upon these his Martyrs. For now instead of the Festivals of Jupiter and Bacchus, are celebrated those of Peter and Paul, Thomas and Sergius, and other holy Martyrs. Wherefore this being so shrewd and plain a Description in the Asclepian Dialogue, of what really happened in the Christian World, it may seem suspicious, that it was rather a History, written after the Event, than a Prophecy before it, as it pretends to be. It very much resembling that complaint of Eunnapius Sardinianus in the Life of Aedesius, when the Christians had demolished the Temple of Serapis in Egypt, seizing upon its Riches and Treasure, That instead of the Gods, the Monks then gave Divine honour to certain vile and flagitious persons deceased, called by the name of Martyrs. Now if this be granted, this Book must needs be Counterfeit and supposititious. Nevertheless St. Austin entertained no such Suspicion, concerning this Asclepian Passage, as if it had been a History written after the Fact, that is, after the Sepulchers and Memorials of the Martyrs came to be so frequented; he supposing this Book to be unquestionably, of greater Antiquity. Wherefore he concludes it to be a Prophecy or Prediction made, *instinctu fallacis spiritus, by the Instinct or Suggestion of some Evil Spirit*; they sadly then presaging the ruine of their own Empire. Neither was this Asclepian Dialogue only ancients than St. Austin, but it is cited by Lactantius Firmianus also, under the name of *ὁ τέλει λόγος, the Perfect Oration*, as was said before, and that as a thing then reputed of great Antiquity. Wherefore in all probability this Asclepian Passage, was written before that described Event had its accomplishment. And indeed if Antoninus the Philosopher (as the forementioned Eunnapius writes) did predict the very same thing, that after his decease, that magnificent Temple of Serapis in Egypt, together with the rest, should be demolished, *καὶ τὰ ἱερὰ τόφους γένησθαι, and the Temples of the Gods turned into Sepulchres*; why might not this Egyptian or Trismegistick Writer, receive the like Inspiration or Tradition? Or at least make the same Conjecture.

But there is yet another Objection made against the Sincerity of this Asclepian Dialogue, from Lactantius his citing a Passage out of it, for the Second Person in the Trinity, the Son of God; Hermes in eo Libro (saith Lactantius) *qui ὁ τέλει λόγος inscribitur, his usus est verbis, ὁ κύριος καὶ ὁ πάντων ποιητής, ὃν θεὸν καλεῖν νενομίκαμεν, ἐπεὶ τὸ δόξεν ἐποίησε θεὸν, ὁρῶν καὶ αἰδῶν (αἰδῶν δὲ φημι ἔστι διὰ τὸ αἰδέσθαι αὐτὸν, περὶ γὰρ τότε ἐν ἡμῖν πότερον αὐτὸς αἰδοῖτο, ἀλλ' ὅτι ἐς αἰδοῖται ὑποπέμπεται καὶ ἐς νῦν) ἐπεὶ τῶτον ἐποίησε, πρῶτον, καὶ μόνον, καὶ ἕνα, καλὸς ἢ ἐφάνη αὐτῷ, καὶ πληρέσει πάντων τῶν ἀγαθῶν, ἡγάσθη καὶ πάνυ ἐφίλησεν ὡς ἴδιον τέκνον.*

Which

Colo. p. 588.

Which we find in *Apuleius* his Latin Translation thus rendered, *Dominus & omnium Conformator, quem rectè Deum dicimus, à se Secundum Deum fecit, qui videri & sentiri possit; quem Secundum [Deum] sensibilem ita dixerim, non ideo quod ipse sentiat (de hoc enim an ipse sentiat annon alio dicemus tempore) sed eo quod videntium sensus incurrit: Quoniam ergo hunc fecit ex se Primum, & à se Secundum, visusque est ei pulcher, utpote qui est omnium bonitate plenissimus, amavit eum ut Divinitatis suæ Prolem (for so it ought to be read, and not Patrem, it being τόνον in the Greek:)* *The Lord and Maker of all, whom we rightly call God, when he had made a Second God, Visible and Sensible (I say, sensible, not actively, because himself hath Sense, for concerning this, whether he have Sense or no, we shall speak elsewhere, but passively, because he incurs into our Senses) this being his First and Only Production, seemed both beautiful to him, and most full of all good, and therefore he loved him dearly as his own Offspring.* Which *Lactantius*, and after him *St. Austin*, understanding of the Perfect Word of God or Eternal λόγος, made use of it as a Testimony against the Pagans, for the Confirmation of Christianity, they taking it for granted that this Hermaick Book was genuinely Egyptian and did represent the Doctrine of the ancient *Hermes Trismegist*. But *Dionysius Petavius* and other later Writers, understanding this place in the same sence with *Lactantius* and *St. Austin*, have made a quite different use of it, namely, to infer from thence, that this Book was Spurious and Counterfeited by some Christian. To which we reply, First, that if this Hermaick Writer had acknowledged, an Eternal λόγος or Word of God and called it a Second God and the Son of God, he had done no more in this, than *Philo* the Jew did, who speaking of this same λόγος expressly calls it δεύτερον θεόν and πρωτόγονον υἱόν θεῶν, the Second God and the First Begotten Son of God. Notwithstanding which, those Writings of *Philo's* are not at all suspected. And *Origen* affirms that some of the Ancient Philosophers did the like, *Multi Philosophorum Veterum, Unum esse Deum qui cuncta creavit, dixerunt; atque in hoc consentiunt Legi. Aliquantum autem hoc adjiciunt, quod Deus cuncta per Verbum suum fecerit & regat, & Verbum Dei sit, quò cuncta moderentur; in hoc non solum Legi, sed & Evangelio quoque consona scribunt.* Many of the old Philosophers (that is all besides a few Atheistick ones) have said, that there is One God who created all things, and these agree with the Law: but some add further, that God made all things by his Word, and that it is the Word of God, by which all things are governed, and these write consonantly not only to the Law but also to the Gospel. But whether *Philo* derived this Doctrine from the Greek Philosophers, or from the Egyptians and *Hermes Trismegist*, he being an Alexandrian, may well be a Question. For *St. Cyril* doth indeed cite several Passages out of Hermaick Writings then extant, to this very purpose. We shall only set down one of them here; ὁ κόσμος ἐκ ἀρχῆς ἐπαινεῖται ὑπὸ τοῦ ὁμοῦ λόγου τῷ πάντων δεσπότῃ, ὅς μετ' αἰῶνα πρῶτον δυνάμει, ἀρχὴν, ἀπείραστος, ἐξ αἰῶνα προκείμενος, καὶ ὁπῆρται, καὶ ἀρχὴ τῆς δι' αὐτὸν δημιουργίας. ἐν ᾧ τῷ παντὶ πρῶτος καὶ τέλος καὶ γόνιμος γνήσιος υἱός. *The World hath a Governour set over it, that Word of the Lord of all, which was the Maker of it; this is the first Power after himself, Uncreated, Infinite, looking out from him, and*
ruling

In Gen. Hom.

14.

Con Ful. lib.

1. p. 33.

ruling over all things that were made by him; this is the Perfect and genuine Son of the first Omnipotent Being. Nevertheless the Author of the *τέλειος λόγος* or Asclepian Dialogue, in that forecited Passage of his, by his Second God, the Son of the First, meant no such thing at all, as the Christian Logos, or Second Person of the Trinity, but only the Visible World. Which is so plain from the words themselves, that it is a wonder how Lactantius and St. Austin could interpret them otherwise, he making therein a Question whether this Second God were [actively] Sensible or no. But the same is farther manifest from other places of that Dialogue, as this for example, *Æternitatis Dominus Deus Primus est, Secundus est Mundus*; The Lord of Eternity is the First God, but the Second God is the World. And again, *Summus qui dicitur Deus Rector Gubernatorque Sensibilis Dei, ejus qui in se complectitur omnem locum, omnemque rerum substantiam*; The Supreme God is the Governour of that Sensible God, which contains in it all place and all the Substance of things. And that this was indeed a part of the Hermaick or Egyptian Theology, that the Visible World Animated, was a Second God, and the Son of the First God, appears also from those Hermaick Books published by Ficinus, and vulgarly called *Pemander*, though that be only the First of them. There hath been one Passage already cited out of the Eighth Book, *δὲ ἄλλος θεὸς ὁ κόσμος*, The World is a Second God. After which followeth more to the same purpose, *πρῶτος γὰρ πάντων ὄντων, ἀΐδιος καὶ ἀχρόνιος, καὶ δημιουργὸς τῶν ὄλων θεός. δὲ ἄλλος ὁ ὡς εἶναι αὐτὸς ὑπὸ αὐτῷ γινόμενος, καὶ ὑπὸ αὐτῷ συνεχόμενος καὶ τρεφόμενος καὶ ἀθανάτιζόμενος, ὡς ὑπὸ ἰδίου πατρὸς. The First God is that Eternal Unmade Maker of all things; the Second is he that is made according to the Image of the First, which is contained, cherished or nourished and immortalized by him, as by his own Parent, by whom it is made an Immortal Animal. So again in the Ninth Book, *πατήρ ὁ θεὸς τῷ κόσμῳ, καὶ ὁ μὲν κόσμος υἱὸς τῷ θεῷ*, God is the Father of the World, and the World is the Son of God. And in the Twelfth, *ὁ ὅς σὺν πᾶσι κόσμος ἵστος ὁ μέγας θεὸς καὶ τῷ μέλλοντι εἶεναι*, This whole World is a Great God and the Image of a Greater.*

As for the other Hermetick or Trismegistick Books, published partly by Ficinus, and partly by Patricius, we cannot confidently condemn any of them for Christian Cheats or Impostures, save only the *Pemander*, and the Sermon in the Mount concerning Regeneration, the First and Thirteenth of Ficinus his Chapters or Books. Neither of which Books are cited by any of the Ancient Fathers, and therefore may be presumed not to have been extant in Iamblichus his time, but more lately forged; and that probably by one and the self same hand, since the Writer of the Latter (the Sermon in the Mount) makes mention of the Former (that is, the *Pemander*) in the close of it. For that which Casaubon objects against the Fourth of Ficinus his Books or Chapters (entituled the Crater) seems not very considerable, it being questionable, whether by the Crater, any such thing were there meant, as the Christian Baptisterion. Wherefore as for all the rest of those Hermaick Books, especially such of them as being cited by ancient Fathers, may be presumed to have been extant be-

fore *Jamblichus* his time ; we know no reason why we should not concur with that learned Philosopher in his Judgment concerning them, That though they often speak the Language of Philosophers, and were not written by *Hermes Trismegist* himself, yet they do really contain *ἑρμαϊκός*, *Hermaical Opinions*, or the *Egyptian Doctrine*. The Ninth of *Ficinus* his Books mentions the *Asclepian Dialogue*, under the Greek Title of *ὁ τέλειος λόγος*, pretending to have been written by the same hand ; *χρὲς δ' Ἀσκληπεί, τὸ τέλειον ἀποδεδομένα λόγον, νῦν δ' ἀναγκαῖον ἡγεῖσθαι ἀνάλαβον ἐκείνου, καὶ τὸ ὡς αἰσθητικὸς λόγον διεξελθεῖν*. The meaning of which place (not understood by the Translator) is this; *I lately published (O Asclepius) the Book entitled ὁ τέλειος λόγος (or the Perfect Oration) and now I judge it necessary, in pursuit of the same, to discours concerning sense*. Which Book, as well as the Perfect Oration, is cited by *Lactantius*. As is also the Tenth of *Ficinus*, called the *Clavis*, which does not only pretend to be of kin to the Ninth and consequently to the *Asclepius* likewise, but also to contain in it an Epitome of that Hermaick Book called *τὰ γενικά*, mentioned in *Ensebius* his *Chronicon*, *τὸ χρὲς λόγον, δ' Ἀσκληπεί, σοι ἀνέθηκεν, τὸ δ' ὁμιλεῖν δικαῖον ἔστι τὰς ἀναθεῖναι ἐπεί καὶ τῶν γενικῶν λόγων, τῇ πρὸς αὐτὸν λελαλημένων, ἔστιν ἑπιτομή*. My former Discourse was dedicated to thee (O Asclepius) but this to Tatiüs, it being an Epitome of those Genica that were delivered to him. Which *γενικά* are thus again afterwards mentioned in the same Book, *ἐκ ἡμετέρας ἐν τοῖς γενικοῖς, ὅτι ἀπὸ μιᾶς ψυχῆς τὸ πᾶν πᾶσι αἱ ψυχαὶ εἰσιν*; Have you not heard in the Genica, that all Souls are derived from one Soul of the Universe? Neither of which two places were understood by *Ficinus*. But doubtless this latter Hermaick Book, had something foisted into it, because there is a manifest contradiction found therein; forasmuch as that *Transmigration of Humane Souls into Brutes*, which in the former part thereof is asserted after the Egyptian way, *ὡς κατὰ δικὴν ψυχῆς κακῆς, as the just punishment of the wicked*, is afterwards cried down and condemned in it, as the greatest Error. And the Eleventh and Twelfth following Books, seem to us to be as Egyptian, as any of the rest; as also does that long Book entituled, *κβη κβςμς*, the Thirteenth in *Patricius*. Nay it is observable, that even those very Books themselves, that are so justly suspected and condemned for *Christian Forgeries*, have something of the Hermaical or Egyptian Philosophy, here and there interspersed in them. As for example, when in the *Pæmander* God is twice called *ἀρρενόθηνος*, *Male and Female together*, this seems to have been Egyptian (and derived from thence by *Orpheus*) according to that elegant Passage in the *Asclepian Dialogue* concerning God; *Hic ergo qui Solus est Omnia, utriusque Sexus fecunditate plenissimus, semper Voluntatis suæ pregnans, parit semper quicquid voluerit procreare*; He therefore who alone is All Things, and most full of the Fecundity of both Sexes, being always pregnant of his own Will, always produceth whatsoever he pleaseth. Again when Death is thus described in it, *ἡ δὲ δίδδου τοῦ σώματος εἰς ἀλλοίωσιν καὶ τὸ εἶδος, ὃ ἔχεις, εἰς ἀφανὲς γίνεσθαι*, to be nothing else but the Change of the Body, and the Form or Life passing into the Invisible : This agreeth with that in the Eleventh Book or Chapter, *τῷ μεταβολῶν δυνάτον εἶναι, διὰ τὸ τὸ μὲν σῶμα διαλυεσθαι, τὴν δὲ ζῶνιν εἰς τὸ ἀφανὲς χωρεῖν*, That Death is nothing but a Change, it being

being only the dissolution of the Body, and the Life or Soul's passing into the Invisible or Inconspicuous. In which Book it is also affirmed of the World, γινεσθαι μέρῳ αὐτῆς καὶ ἑκάστην ἡμέραν ἐν τῷ ἀφανεί, *That every day some part or other of it, goes into the Invisible, or into Hades, that is, does not utterly perish, but only disappears to our sight, it being either translated into some other Place, or changed into another Form.* And accordingly it is said of Animals, in the Twelfth Book, διαλύεται, ἔχ' ἵνα ἀποληται ἄλλ' ἵνα νέα γένηται, *That they are dissolved by Death, not that they might be destroyed, but made again anew.* As it is also there affirmed of the World, that it doth πάντα ποιεῖν ἐξ ἑαυτῆς ἀποποιεῖν, *make all things out of it self, and again unmake them into it self, & διαλύων πάντα ἀνανεοῖ, and that dissolving all things it doth perpetually renew them.* For that nothing in the whole World utterly perisheth, as it is often declared elsewhere in these *Trismegistick Writings*, so particularly in this Twelfth Book of *Ficinus*, σύμπας ὁ κόσμος ἀμετέσλητο, τὰ δὲ μέρη αὐτῆς πάντα μετέσλητο, ἔδεν δὲ φθορὴν ἢ ἀπομύρμυρον. *The whole World is unchangeable, only the parts of it being alterable; and this so, as that none of these neither utterly perisheth, or is absolutely destroyed; πῶς μέτεος τι δύναται φθελῶναι τὸ ἀφθάρτου, ἢ ἀπυλέσαι τι τῷ θεῷ; For how can any part of that be Corrupted, which is Incorruptible, or any thing of God perish or go to nothing?* All which, by *Casaubon's* lieve, we take to have been originally *Egyptian Doctrine*, and thence in part afterwards transplanted into Greece. Moreover when in the *Pæmander*, God is styled more than once, φῶς & ζωὴ, *Light and Life*, this seems to have been *Egyptian* also, because it was *Orphical*. In like manner the Appendix to the Sermon in the Mount, called ὑμνωδία κρυπτή, or the *Occult Cantion*, hath some strains of the *Egyptian Theology* in it, which will be afterwards mentioned.

The result of our present Discourse is this, that though some of the *Trismegistick Books*, were either wholly counterfeited, or else had certain supposititious Passages inserted into them by some Christian hand, yet there being others of them originally *Egyptian*, or which as to the substance of them, do contain *Hermaical* or *Egyptian Doctrines* (in all which *One Supreme Deity* is every where asserted) we may well conclude from hence, that the Egyptians had an acknowledgment amongst them of *One Supreme Deity*. And herein several of the Ancient Fathers have gone before us; as first of all *Justin Martyr*, Ἀμμων πολυκρυφον ἃ θεὸν ὀνομάζει, ἑρμῆς δὲ σαφῶς & φανερῶς λέγει, θεὸν νοῦσαι μὲν ἔστι χαλεπὸν φράσαι δὲ ἀδύνατον. *Ammon in his Books, calleth God Most Hidden, and Hermes plainly declareth, That it is hard to conceive God, but impossible to express him.* Neither doth it follow that this latter Passage is counterfeit, as *Casaubon* concludes, because there is something like it in *Plato's Timæus*, there being doubtless a very great agreement betwixt *Platonism* and the *Ancient Egyptian Doctrine*. Thus again *St. Cyprian*; *Hermes quoque Trismegistus Unum Deum loquitur, eumque ineffabilem & inestimabilem confitetur*, *Hermes Trismegist also acknowledgeth One God, confessing him to be ineffable and inestimable; which Passage is also cited by St. Austin.* *Latantius* likewise; *Thoth antiquissimus & instructissimus omni ge-*

De Idol. van:

Lib. 1. pag. 384

nerē Doctrinē, adēd ut ei multarum rerum & artium scientia Trismegisti cognomen imponeret; Hic scripsit Libros & quidem multos, ad cognitionem Divinarum rerum pertinentes, in quibus Majestatem Summi & Singularis Dei asserit, iisdemque nominibus appellat, quibus nos, Deum & Patrem. Ac nē quis nomen ejus requireret ἀνωνυμον esse dixit. Thoth (that is Hermes) the most ancient and most instructed in all kind of Learning (for which he was called Trismegist) wrote Books and those many, belonging to the Knowledge of Divine things, wherein he asserts the Majesty of One Supreme Deity, calling him by the same names that we do, God and Father; but (lest any one should require a Proper name of him) affirming him to be Anonymous. Lastly, St. Cyril hath much more to the same purpose also: And we must confess that we have the rather here insisted so much upon these Hermaick or Trismegistick Writings, that in this particular we might vindicate these Ancient Fathers, from the Imputation either of Fraud and Imposture, or of Simplicity and Folly.

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But that the Egyptians acknowledged, besides their *Many Gods*, *One Supreme and All-comprehending Deity*, needs not be proved from these Trismegistick Writings (concerning which we leave others to judge as they find Cause) it otherwise appearing, not only because Orpheus (who was an undoubted Asserter of *Monarchy*, or *One First Principle of All things*) is generally affirmed to have derived his Doctrine from the Egyptians; but also from plain and express Testimonies. For besides Apollonius Tyaneus his Affirmation concerning both Indians and Egyptians, before cited, Plutarch throughout his whole Book *De Iside & Osiride*, supposes the Egyptians thus to have asserted One Supreme Deity, they commonly calling him ὁ πρῶτος θεός, *the First God*. Thus in the beginning of that Book he tells us, that the End of all the Religious Rites and Mysteries, of that Egyptian Goddess *Isis*, was, ἡ τῷ πρώτῳ, καὶ κυρίῳ, καὶ νομῷ γινώσκεις, ὃν ἡ θεὸς παρεχάλει ζητεῖν παρ' αὐτῇ καὶ μετ' αὐτῆς οὐρα καὶ συνόντα, *the Knowledge of that First God, who is the Lord of all things, and only intelligible by the Mind, whom this Goddess exhorteth men to seek, in her Communion*. After which he declareth, that this *First God* of the Egyptians was accounted by them an *Obscure and Hidden Deity*, and accordingly he gives the reason why they made the Crocodile to be a Symbol of him,

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μόνος δὲ φαίνεται ἐν ὕδασι διατεμελὴς, τὰς ὀφθαλμοὺς ὑμνῶν λεῖον καὶ διαφανὴ μεμβράνην καλύπτειν, ἐκ τῷ μετώπῳ κατερχόμενον, ὥστε βλέπειν μὴ βλεπόμενον. ὃ τῷ πρώτῳ θεῷ συμβέβηκεν. *Because they say the Crocodile is the only Animal, which living in the water, hath his Eyes covered by a thin transparent membrane, falling down over them, by reason whereof it sees and is not seen, which is a thing that belongs to the First God, To see all things, himself being not seen*. Though Plutarch in that place gives also another reason why the Egyptians made the Crocodile a Symbol of the Deity; ὁ μὲν γὰρ ὁ κροκόδειλος αἰτίας πᾶσι ἀμοιβάζων ἔχουσι τιμῶν, ἀλλὰ μάλιστα λέγεται γινώσκειν μόνον μὲν ἀγλῶσθαι ἂν, φανῆς γὰρ ὁ θεὸς λόγῳ ἀπροσδοκῆς ἔστι, καὶ δι' ἀλόγους βίωντων κελύδους καὶ διὰ τὴν τῶν θνητῶν ἀγνοίαν. *Neither were the Egyptians without a plausible reason, for worshipping God symbolically in the Crocodile, that being said to be an Imitation of God, in that it is the only Animal without a Tongue. For the Divine*

vine λόγῳ or Reason, standing not in need of speech, and going on through a silent path of Justice in the World, does without noise righteously govern and dispense all humane affairs. In like manner Horus-Apollo in his Hieroglyphicks, tells us, that the Egyptians acknowledging a παντοκράτωρ and κοσμοκράτωρ, an Omnipotent Being that was the Governour of the whole World, did Symbolically represent him by a Serpent, ἐν μέτρῳ αὐτῆς οἶκον μέγαν δεικνύοντες ὁ γὰρ βασιλεὺς οἶκος αὐτῆς ἐν τῇ κόλμῳ, they picturing also a great House or Palace within its circumference, because the World is the Royal palace of the Deity. Which Writer also gives us another reason, why the Serpent was made to be the Hieroglyphick of the Deity; τὸ ὡς τροφῇ χεῖσθαι τὰς ἐαυτῆς σάματι, σημαίνει, τὸ πάντα ὅσα ἐκ τῆς θεᾶς προνοίας ἐν τῇ κόλμῳ χεῖσθαι, ταῦτα πάντα καὶ τὴν μέτρῳ εἰς αὐτὴν λαμβάνειν. Because the Serpent feeding as it were upon its own Body, doth aptly signifie, that all things generated in the World by Divine Providence, are again resolved into him. And Philo Byblius from Sanchuniathon, gives the same reason why the Serpent was Deified by Tant or the Egyptian Hermes, ἐπὶ ἀθάνατον καὶ εἰς ἑαυτὴν ἀναλύεται, because it is immortal and resolved into it self. Though sometimes the Egyptians added to the Serpent also a Hawk, thus complicating the Hieroglyphick of the Deity; according to that of a famous Egyptian Priest in Eusebius, τὸ πρῶτον ὃν θεοτάτον, ὅφρις ἔστι ἱεράκιος ἔχων κεφαλῇ, that the First and Divinest Being of all, is Symbolically represented, by a Serpent having the head of an Hawk. And that a Hawk was also sometimes used alone, for a Hieroglyphick of the Deity, appeareth from that of Plutarch, That in the Porch of an Egyptian Temple at Sais, were engraven these Three Hieroglyphicks, a Young man, an Old man, and an Hawk; to make up this Sentence, That both the Beginning and End of humane Life dependeth upon God, or Providence. But we have Two more remarkable Passages in the forementioned Horus Apollo, concerning the Egyptian Theology, which must not be pretermitted; the first this, παρ' αὐτοῖς τῆ παλῆς κόλμῳ τὸ διήκον ἔστι πνεῦμα, That according to them, there is a Spirit passing through the Whole World, to wit, God. And again δοκεῖ αὐτοῖς ἄλλα δεῖν μηδὲν ὕλῃς συνεσθῆναι, It seemeth to the Egyptians, that nothing at all consists without God. In the next place, Jamblichus was a person who had made it his business, to inform himself thoroughly, concerning the Theology of the Egyptians, and who undertakes to give an account thereof, in his Answer to Porphyrius his Epistle to Anebo an Egyptian Priest; whose Testimony therefore may well seem to deserve credit. And he first gives us a Summary account of their Theology after this manner, χωριστὸς, ἄχρημλύνῳ, μετέωρος, καὶ καθ' ἑαυτὴν ὑπερπλωμῆτος ἦν ἐν τῇ κόλμῳ δυνάμεων τε καὶ σιχείων, ὁ τῆ γλυέσεως καὶ φύσεως ὅλης, καὶ ἦν ἐν αὐτοῖς σιχείοις δυνάμεων πασῶν, αἰτίας θεός. ἅτε δὴ ὑπερέχων τῶν, αἴθερος, καὶ ἀσώματος, καὶ ὑπερφύης, ἀρχοντὸς τε καὶ ἀμέερος, ὁλος ἄξ' ἑαυτῆς καὶ ἐν ἑαυτῇ ἀναφανείς, προηγείται πάντων τῶν, καὶ ἐν ἑαυτῇ τὰ ὅλα ἐξείχεται, διότι μὲν συνέλιφε πάντα, καὶ μετὰ δίδου. That God, who is the Cause of Generation and the whole Nature, and of all the Powers in the Elements themselves, is Separate, Exempt, Elevated above, and expanded over, all the Powers and Elements in the World. For being above the World and transcending the same, Immaterial, and Incorporeal, Supernatural, Unmade, Indivisible, manifested wholly from himself,

Lib. 1. c. 2.

self, and in himself, he ruleth over all things and in himself containeth all things. And because he virtually comprehends all things, therefore does he impart and display the same from himself. According to which excellent Description of the Deity, it is plain that the Egyptians asserting One God that Comprehends All things, could not possibly suppose a Multitude of Self-existent Deities. In which place also the same *Jamblichus* tells us, that as the Egyptian Hieroglyphick for Material and Corporeal things, was Mud or floating Water, so they pictur'd God, *in Loto arbore sedentem super Lutum, sitting upon the Lote-tree above the Watery Mud, Quod innuit Dei eminentiam altissimam, qua sit ut nullo modo attingat Lutum ipsum. Demonstratque Dei imperium intellectuale, quia Loti arboris omnia sunt rotunda tam frondes quam fructus, &c.* Which signifies the transcendent Eminency of the Deity above the Matter, and its intellectual Empire over the World, because, both the Leaves and Fruit of that tree are Round, representing the Motion of intellect. Again he there adds also, that the Egyptians sometime pictured God sitting at the Helm of a Ship. But afterward in the same Book, he sums up the Queries, which *Porphyrus* had propounded to the Egyptian Priest, to be resolved concerning them, in this manner; βέλει σοι δηλωθῆναι, τί τὸ πρῶτον αἴτιον ἡγεῖσθαι εἶναι αἰγυπῆσι; πότερον νῦν ἢ ὑπὲρ νῦν; καὶ μόνον ἢ μετ' ἄλλου ἢ ἁλῶν; καὶ πότερον ἀσώματον ἢ σωματικόν, καὶ εἰ τῶν δημιουργῶν τὰ αὐτὰ, ἢ πρὸ τῶν δημιουργῶν; καὶ εἰ ἓξ ἐνὸς τὰ πάντα ἢ ἐκ πολλῶν; καὶ εἰ ὕλῃ ἴσασιν ἢ σώματα ποῖα πρῶτον; καὶ εἰ ἀγγέλλον ὕλῃ ἢ γεννητῷ; Thou desire to be resolved, What the Egyptians think to be the first Cause of all. Whether Intellect or something above Intellect? And that Whether alone or with some other? Whether Incorporeal or Corporeal? Whether the first Principle be the same with the Demiurgus and Architect of the World, or before him? Whether all things proceed from One or Many? Whether they suppose Matter, or Qualified Bodies, to be the first? and if they admit a First Matter, Whether they assert it to be Unmade or Made? In answer to which *Porphyrus* Queries, *Jamblichus* thus begins; καὶ πρῶτον μὲν, ὃ πρῶτον ἡρώτησας, ὅτι τὸς αἰεὶ πρὸ τοῦ ὄντος ὄντων καὶ τοῦ ὄλων ἀρχῶν, ὅτι δεῦς εἰς. πρῶτος, καὶ τὸ πρῶτος δεῦς καὶ βασιλέως, ἀκίνητος. ἐν μονότητι δ' εἰαυτῷ ἐνότητος μένων. ὅτι καὶ νοητὸν αὐτὰς ἐπιπλέκεται, ὅτι ἅμω π. I shall first reply to that you first demand, That, according to the Egyptians, before all Entities and Principles there is One God, who is in order of nature before (him that is commonly called) the first God and King; Immoveable; and always remaining in the solitariety of his own Unity, there being nothing Intelligible nor any thing else complicated with him, &c. In which words of *Jamblichus* and those others that there follow after, though there be some obscurity (and we may perhaps have occasion further to consider the meaning of them elsewhere) yet he plainly declares, that according to the Egyptians, the first Original of all things, was a perfect Unity above Intellect; but intimating withall, that besides this First Unity, they did admit of certain other Divine Hypostases (as a Perfect Intellect, and Mundane Soul) subordinate thereunto, and dependent on it, concerning which he thus writeth afterwards; τῷ πρὸ τῶν θεῶν, καὶ τῷ ἐν τῶν θεῶν ζωτικῷ δυνάμιν γινώσκοντι, καθάρεν τε νῦν ὑπὲρ τὸ κόσμον προτιθέασι. The Egyptians acknowledge, before the Heaven, and in the Heaven, a Living Power (or Soul) and again they place a pure Mind or Intellect above the World.

But

But that they did not acknowledge a Plurality of Coordinate & Independent Principles is further declared by him after this manner, *ὡς ἔστιν ἀνωθεν ἄχει τῇ τελευταίᾳ ἢ ὡς τῇ ἀρχῇ αἰγυπτίῳις πραγματεία, ἀφ' ἧνός ἀρχεται, καὶ πρὸς τὴν εἰς πλῆθος, τῇ πολλῶν αἰῶνι ἀφ' ἑνὸς διακυβεραμένην, καὶ πανταχὺ τὸ ἀόριστος φύσεως ὑπερατερμῆς ὑπὸ τινος ἀερισμῶς μέτρος, καὶ τὸ ἀνοστότεον ἐννοίας πόντων αἰτίας.* And thus the Egyptian Philosophy, from first to last, begins from Unity; and thence descends to Multitude; the Many being always governed by the One; and the Infinite or Undeterminate nature, every where mastered and conquered by some finite and determined measure; and all ultimately, by that highest Unity that is the first Cause of all things. Moreover in answer to the last Porphyrian Question concerning Matter; whether the Egyptians thought it to be Unmade and Self-existent or Made, Jamblichus thus replies, *ὕλῃ ἢ παρήχων ὁ θεὸς ἀπὸ ἐσιότητος ὑποχρεῖσθαι ὑλότητος.* That according to Hermes and the Egyptians, Matter was also Made or produced by God; ab Essentialitate succisa ac subscissa Materialitate, as Scutellinus turns it. Which Passage of Jamblichus, Proclus upon the *Timæus* (where he asserts that God was ἀρρήτος αἰτία τῆς ὕλης, the uneffable cause of Matter) takes notice of in this manner; *καὶ ἡ τῇ Αἰγυπτίῳι ἀρχαίᾳ τοῦ αὐτοῦ ὡς αὐτῆς φησιν. ὁ γὰρ τοῦ θεοῦ ἱαμβελίχου, ἰσχυρῶς, ὅτι καὶ ἑρμῆς ἐκ τῆς ἐσιότητος τῷ ὑλότητι ἀρχαίᾳ βεβαίως, καὶ διὰ καὶ εἰνός καὶ τῶν τε πλάτωνος τῷ τοιαύτῳ ὡς τῆς ὕλης δόξαν ἔχειν.* And the Tradition of the Egyptians agreeeth herewith, That Matter was not Unmade or Self-existent, but produced by the Deity: For the Divine Jamblichus hath recorded, that Hermes would have Materiality to have been produced from Essentiality (that is, the Passive Principle of Matter from that Active Principle of the Deity:) And it is very probable from hence, that Plato was also of the same opinion concerning Matter; viz. because he is supposed to have followed Hermes and the Egyptians. Which indeed is the more likely, if that be true which the same Proclus affirmeth concerning Orpheus, *ὡς καὶ Ὀρφεὺς καὶ τῶν τὸν λόγον ἀπὸ τῆς πρώτης τῇ νοητῇ ὑποστάσεως παράγει τῷ ὕλῃ.* That Orpheus also did after the same manner, deduce or derive Matter from the First Hypostasis of Intelligibles, that is, from the Supreme Deity. We shall conclude here in the last place with the Testimony of Damascius, in his Book of Principles writing after this manner concerning the Egyptians, *Αἰγυπτίῳις ἢ ὁ μὲν Εὐδήμου ἔστιν ἀνεπίστατος ἰσχυρῶς. οἱ δὲ Αἰγυπτίῳι καὶ ἡμεῖς φιλόσοφοι μηχανοῦντες, ἐξηγέμεθα αὐτῇ τῷ ἀλήθειαν περιεμμένον, διεξέχοντες ἐν Αἰγυπτίῳις δὴ πᾶσι λόγοις. ὡς εἰ καὶ αὐτὸς ἡ μὲν μία τῇ ὅλων ἀρχῇ συνδύει ἀγνωστον ὕμνεμα, καὶ τῶν τρεῖς ἀναφανέμενον ἔστιν.* Eudemus hath given us no exact account of the Egyptians, but the Egyptian Philosophers that have been in our times, have declared the hidden truth of their Theology, having found in certain Egyptian Writings, that there was according to them, One Principle of all things, praised under the name of the Unknown Darknes, and that thrice repeated: Which Unknown Darknes is a Description of that Supreme Deity, that is Incomprehensible.

But that the Egyptians amongst their Many Gods did acknowledge One Supreme, may sufficiently appear also, even from their vulgar Religion and Theology. In which they had first a Peculiar and Proper Name for him as such. For as the Greeks called the Supreme God

God *Ζεύς*, the Latins *Jupiter* or *Jovis*, so did the Egyptians call him *Hammon* or *Ammon* according to *Herodotus*, whose Testimony to this purpose hath been already cited, and confirmed by *Origen* who was an Egyptian born. Thus also *Plutarch* in his Book *de Iside*, τῶν πολλῶν νομιζόντων, ἰδίον παρ' Αἰγυπτίοις ὄνομα τῷ Διὶ εἶναι; ἢ Ἀμῶν, ὃ ὧς γινώσκουσιν ἡμεῖς Ἀμμωνα λέγομεν. *It is supposed by most, that the proper name of Zeus or Jupiter (that is, the Supreme Deity) amongst the Egyptians, is Amous, which we Greeks pronounce Hammon.* To the same purpose *Hesychius*, Ἀμῶν ὁ Ζεύς, Ἀετυπλῆς, *Ammons according to Aristotle is the same with Zeus.* Whence it came to pass that by the Latin Writers *Hammon* was vulgarly called *Jupiter Hammon*. Which *Hammon* was not only used as a proper name for the Supreme Deity by the Egyptians, but also by the Arabians and all the Africans, according to that of *Lucan*,

*Quamvis Æthiopum populis Arabumque beatis
Gentibus, atque Indis, unus sit Jupiter Ammon.*

Wherefore not only *Marmarica* (which is a part of *Africa*, wherein was that most famous Temple of this *Ammon*) was from thence denominated *Ammonia*, but even all *Africa*, as *Stephanus* informs us, was sometimes called *Ammonis*, from this God *Ammon*, who hath been therefore stiled *Ζεύς Λιβυκός*, the *Libyan Jupiter*.

Indeed it is very probable, that this word *Hammon* or *Ammon*, was at first derived from *Ham* or *Cham* the son of *Noah*, whose Posterity was chiefly seated in these African parts, and from whom *Egypt* was called, not only in the Scripture, the *Land of Ham*, but also by the Egyptians themselves, as *Plutarch* testifieth, *Χημεία* or *Chemia*, and as *St. Jerome*, *Ham*; and the *Coptites* also to this very day call it *Chemi*. Nevertheless this will not hinder, but that the Word *Hammon* for all that, might be used afterwards by the Egyptians, as a name for the Supreme God, because amongst the Greeks, *Ζεύς* in like manner, was supposed to have been at first the name of a Man or Hero, but yet afterwards applied to signify the Supreme God. And there might be such a mixture of *Herology* or *History*, together with *Theology* as well amongst the Egyptians, as there was amongst the Greeks. Nay some learned men conjecture, and not without probability, that the *Zeus* of the Greeks also was really the very same with that *Ham* or *Cham* the son of *Noah*, whom the Egyptians first worshipped as an Hero or Deified Man; there being several considerable agreements and correspondencies between the Poetick Fables of *Saturn* and *Jupiter*, and the true Scripture-story, of *Noah* and *Cham*; as there is likewise a great affinity betwixt the words themselves, for as *Cham* signifies *Heat* or *Fervour*, so is *Ζεύς* derived by the Greek Grammarians from *ζέω*. And thus will that forementioned Testimony of *Herodotus*, in some sense be verified, that the Greeks received the names of most of their Gods, even of *Ζεύς* himself, from the Egyptians.

Perhaps it may be granted also, that the Sun was sometime worshipped

Shipped by the Egyptians, under the Name of *Hammon*; it having been in like manner sometimes worshipped by the Greeks under the Name of *Zeus*. And the word very well agreeth herewith, *חם* in the Hebrew Language signifying not only Heat but the Sun; from whence *חמני* *Chamanim* also was derived. Nevertheless it will not follow from hence, that therefore the Visible Sun, was generally accounted by the Egyptians the *Supreme Deity*, no more than he was amongst the Greeks. But as we have often occasion to observe, there was in the Pagan Religion, a confused Jumble, of *Hero-logy*, *Physiology*, and *Theology* all together. And that the Notion of this Egyptian God *Ammon*, was neither confined by them to the Sun, nor yet to the whole Corporeal World or Nature of the Universe (as some have conceived) is evident from hence, because the Egyptians themselves, interpreted it, according to their own Language, to signify, That which was *Hidden and Obscure*, as both *Manetho* an ancient Egyptian Priest, and *Hecataeus* (who wrote concerning the Philosophy of the Egyptians) in *Plutarch* agree: *μανεθῶς μὲν ὁ Σεβεννίτης τὸ κεκρυμμένον οἶται, καὶ τὴν κρύψιν ὑπὸ ταύτης διλεῖσθαι τὸ φανῆς. Ἐκαταῖος δ' Ἀβδερίτης φησὶ τέττω καὶ πρὸς ἀλλήλους τὰ ἑήματα χερῶναι τὰς Αἰγυπτίους, ὅταν τινα προσκαλῶνται, προσκλητικῶς ᾧ ἔναι τὴν φωνὴν. διὸ τὸ πρῶτον θεὸν ὡς ἀφανῆ καὶ κεκρυμμένον ὄντα, προσκαλέμενοι καὶ ὡς ἀφανῆ, ἐμφανῆ γενέσθαι καὶ δῆλον αὐτοῖς, Ἀμὺν λέγουσι.* *Manetho Sebennites conceives the Word Amoun, to signify that which is Hidden. And Hecataeus affirmeth that the Egyptians Use this Word when they call any one to them that was distant or absent from them; Wherefore the First God, because he is Invisible and Hidden, they, as it were Inviting him to approach near, and to make himself Manifest and conspicuous to them, call him Amoun. And agreeably hereunto, Jamblichus gives us this account of the true Notion of this Egyptian God Ammon, ὁ δημιουργικὸς νῦς, καὶ τὸ ἀληθείας προσάτης, καὶ σοφία ἐκχέμενος μὲν ἐπὶ γένεσιν, καὶ τὴν ἀφανῆ τῶν κεκρυμμένων λόγων δύναμιν εἰς φῶς ἄγων, ἀμὺν καὶ τὴν Αἰγυπτίων γλώσσαν λέγεται.* *The Demiurgical Intellect, and President of Truth, as with Wisdom it proceedeth to Generation, and produceth into Light, the Secret and Invisible Powers of the hidden Reasons, is, according to the Egyptian Language, called Hammon. Wherefore we may conclude, that Hammon amongst the Egyptians, was not only the Name of the Supreme Deity, but also of such a one as was Hidden, Invisible and Incorporeal.*

And here it may be worth our observing, that this Egyptian *Hammon* was in all Probability taken notice of in Scripture, though vulgar Interpreters have not been aware thereof. For thus we understand that of *Jeremy* 46. 25. *The Lord of Hosts, the God of Israel saith, behold I will visit* *נֹחַ וְיוֹנָה* (that is, not the Multitude of Noe, but) *Ammon* (the God) of Noe, and Pharaoh and Egypt with her (other) Gods and Kings, and all that trust in him; I will deliver them into the hands of those that seek their lives, and into the hands of Nebuchadnezzar King of Babylon. For the understanding of which place, we must observe, that according to the Language of those ancient Pagans, when every Country or City, had their Peculiar and Proper names, for the Gods presiding over them or Worshipped by

them, the several Nations and Places, were themselves commonly denoted and signified, by the names of those their respective Gods. With which kind of Language, the Scripture it self also complieth; as when the Moabites are called in it, *the People of Chemosh*, Numbers 21. And when *the Gods of Damascus* are said to have smitten *Abaz*, because the Syrians smote him, 2 Chron. 28. Accordingly whereunto also, whatsoever was done or attempted against the several Nations or Countries, is said to have been done or attempted against their Gods. Thus *Moab's Captivity* is described, *Jeremy* 48. *Thou shalt be taken, and Chemosh shall go into captivity.* And the overthrow of *Babylon* is predicted after the same manner, in the Prophecy of *Isaiah* Cap. 46. *Bell boweth down, Nebo stoopeth, themselves are gone into captivity.* As also the same is threatened in that of *Jeremy*, C. 51. *I will visit Bell in Babylon, and will bring out of his mouth, that which he hath swallowed up, and the Nations shall not flow unto him any more, for the Wall of Babylon shall be broken down.* Now *Bell* according to *Herodotus*, was a name for the Supreme God amongst the Babylonians, as well as *Ammon* was amongst the Egyptians; who notwithstanding by both of them was worshipped after an Idolatrous manner. And therefore as in these latter places, by the Visiting and Punishing of *Bell*, is meant the visiting and punishing of the Babylonians; so in that former place of *Jeremy*, by the visiting of *Ammon*, and the Gods of *Egypt*, is understood, the visiting of the Egyptians themselves; accordingly as it is there also expressed. No was, it seems, the Metropolis of all *Egypt*; and therefore *Ammon* the Chief God of those Ancient Egyptians, and of that City, was called *Ammon of No*. As likewise the City *No*, is denominated from this God *Ammon* in the Scripture, and called both *No-Ammon*, and *Ammon-No*. The former in the Prophecy of *Nahum*, Cap. 3. *Art thou better than No-Ammon?* or that *No* in which the God *Ammon* is worshipped? Which is not to be understood of the Oracle of *Ammon* in *Marmarica*, as some have imagined (they taking *No* for an Appellative and so to signify Habitation;) it being unquestionably the Proper name of a City in *Egypt*. The Latter in that of *Ezekiel*, Cap. 30. *I will pour out my fury upon Sin, the strength of Egypt, and will cut off Hammon-No.* In which place as by *Sin* is meant *Pelusium*, so *Hammon-No*, by the Seventy, is interpreted *Diospolis*, the City of *Jupiter*; that is, the Egyptian *Jupiter*, *Hammon*. Which *Diospolis* was otherwise called the Egyptian *Thebes*, (anciently the Metropolis of all *Egypt*) but whose Proper name in the Egyptian Language, seems to have been *No*; which from the chief God there worshipped, was called both *No-Ammon* and *Hammon-No*; as that God himself was also denominated from the City, *Ammon of No*. And this is the rather probable, because *Plato* tells us expressly, that *Ammon* was anciently the Proper or Chief God of the Egyptian *Thebes* or *Diospolis*, where he speaks of *Thenth* or *Thoth* the Egyptian *Hermes*, in these words; βασιλέως δ' αὖ τότε ὄντος Αἰγυπτίας ὅλης θαμῆς, ὃς ἐπὶ τῷ μεσολύῳ πόλιν τῆς ἀνατολῆς, ὃν οἱ Ἑλλήνες Αἰγυπτίας οἰσεως καλεῖται καὶ τὸ δὲ ὄν Αμμωνα. *Thamus was then King over all Egypt, reigning in that great City (the Metropolis thereof) which the Greeks call the Egyptian Thebes, and whose God was Ammon.* But whereas the Prophet *Nahum* (who seems to have written after the completion of that judgment

judgment upon No, predicted both by *Jeremy* and *Ezekiel*) describes the place, as situate among the Rivers, and having the Sea for its Wall and Rampart; whence many Learned men have concluded, that this was rather to be understood of *Alexandria* than *Diospolis* (notwithstanding that *Alexandria* was not then in being, nor built till a long while after in *Alexander* the Great's time.) This may very well, as we conceive, be understood of *Egypt* in general, whose *Metropolis* this No was; that it was situate amongst the Rivers and had the Seas for its Wall and Rampart; the Red and Mediterranean. And thus much for the *Egyptian Jupiter*, or their Supreme Deity, called by them *Hammon*.

There is an excellent Monument of Egyptian Antiquity preserved by *Plutarch* and others, from whence it may be made yet further Evident, that the Egyptians did not suppose a Multitude of *Unmade Self-existent Deities*, but acknowledged *One Supreme, Universal and All-comprehending Numen*. And it is that Inscription upon the Temple at *Sais*, *Εγώ εἰμι πᾶν τὸ γένος, ἔ, ὄν, ἔ, ἐσόμενον, ἔ, ἃ ἐμὸν πέπλον ἔδ' εἰς πᾶ θνητὸς ἀπεκάλυψεν, I am all that Hath been, Is, and Shall be, and my Peplum or Veil, no mortal hath ever yet uncovered*; which though perhaps some would understand thus, as if that Deity therein described, were nothing but the *Senseless Matter* of the whole Corporeal Universe, according to that Opinion of *Charemon* before mentioned and confuted; yet it is plain, that this could not be the meaning of this Inscription: First, because the God here described, is not a mere *Congeries* of disunited Matter, or Aggregation of Divided Atoms, but it is some *One thing* which was *All*: According to that other Inscription upon an Altar dedicated to the Goddess *Isis*, which we shall also afterward make use of, *Tibi, Una, quæ es Omnia*; *To thee who being One, art All Things*. Again, in the Deity here described, there is both a Veil or Outside, and also something *Hidden and Recondite*; the sence seeming to be this, *I am all that Was, Is, and Shall be*; and the whole World is nothing but my self Veiled; but my naked and unveiled Brightness, no mortal could ever yet behold or comprehend: Which is just, as if the Sun should say, *I am all the Colours of the Rainbow* (whose mild and gentle light may easily be beheld) and they are nothing but my simple and Uniform Lustre, variously refracted and abated; but my immediate Splendour and the Brightness of my Face, no mortal can contemplate, without being either blinded or dazled by it. Wherefore this Description of the Deity, may seem not a little to resemble that Description which God makes of himself to *Moses*, *Thou shalt see my Back-parts, but my Face shall not be seen*. Where there is also something *Exterior* and Visible in the Deity, and something *Hidden and Recondite*, Invisible and Incomprehensible to Mortals. And *Philo* thus glosseth upon those words, *αὐταρκὲς ἔστι σοφῶ, τὸ ἀκλόητον ἔ, ὅσα μετὰ ἃ θεὸν γινῶναι, τίς ἢ ἡγεμονικὴν ἐξέλιαν ὁ βασιλόμηνος καὶ ἀεὶ δεῖσθαι, τὰς ἀεὶ λαυγῆς τῶ ἀκλίνων πρὸν ἰδεῖν πρὸς ἑαί. It is sufficient for a wise man to know God a Posteriori, or from his Effects; but whosoever will needs behold the naked Essence of the Deity, will be blinded with the transcendent Radiancy and Splendour of his Beams. Where, as according to *Philo*, the Works of God, as manifesting the Attributes*

Ἀφανὲς ἔμα ἢ ἰμφανὲς Proclus of this Egyptian God, that it was both Invisible and Manifest. In *Time*. P. 30.

P. 474. Pat.

the Temple of *Sais*, had likewise agreeably to its Inscription, such a *Peplum* or Veil cast over it, as *Minerva* or *Artemis* at *Athens* had; this Hieroglyphically to signifie, that the Deity was invifible and incomprehenfible to mortals, but had Veiled it felf in this Vifible Corporeal World, which is as it were the *Peplum*, the exterior variegated or embroidered Vefiment of the Deity. To all which Con-
In *Timæ.* p. 30.
 siderations may be added in the laft place, what *Proclus* hath recorded, that there was fomething more belonging to this Egyptian Inſcription, than what is mentioned by *Plutarch*; namely theſe words, *ἢ ὃν ἔτεκεν κάεπον, ἥλιος ἐξ ἧσέο, And the Sun was the fruit or off-ſpring which I produced*; from whence it is manifeft, that according to the Egyptians, the Sun was not the Supreme Deity, and that the God here deſcribed, was as *Proclus* alſo obſerveth, *δημιουργὸς θεός, A Demiurgical Deity* the Creator of the whole World, and of the Sun. Which Supreme Incorporeal Deity, was notwithstanding in their Theology, ſaid to be *All Things*, becauſe it diffuſed it ſelf thorough *All*.

Wherefore, whereas *Plutarch* cites this Paſſage out of *Hecataeus*, concerning the Egyptians, *τὸ πρῶτον θεὸν τῶ παντὶ τὸ αὐτὸ νομίζουσιν, That they take the Firſt God, and the Universe, for one and the Same thing*; the meaning of it cannot be, as if the *Firſt* or *Supreme God* of the Egyptians, were the Senſleſs Corporeal World, *Plutarch* himſelf in the very next words declaring him to be, *ἀφανὴς καὶ κεκρυμμένος, Inviſible and Hidden*; whom therefore the Egyptians, as inviting him to manifeſt himſelf to them, called *Hammon*; as he elſewhere affirmeth, *That the Egyptians Firſt God or Supreme Deity, did ſee all things, himſelf being not ſeen*. But the forementioned Paſſage muſt needs be underſtood thus, that according to the Egyptians, the *Firſt God*, and τὸ πᾶν or the *Universe*, were Synonymous expreſſions, often uſed to ſignifie the very ſame thing; becauſe the *Firſt Supreme Deity*, is that which contains *All Things*, and diffuſeth it ſelf through *All Things*. And this Doctrin was from the Egyptians derived to the Greeks, *Orpheus* declaring, *ἐν τῇ τοῦ πάντα, that all things were One*, and after him *Parmenides* and other Philoſophers, *ἐν εἶναι τὸ πᾶν, that One was the Universe or All*, and that τὸ πᾶν was ἀκίνητον, *that the Universe was Immovable*, they meaning nothing elſe hereby, but that the *Firſt Supreme Deity*, was both *One and All things, and Immovable*. And thus much is plainly intimated by *Ariſtotle* in theſe words, *εἰσὶ δὲ τινες οἱ ὧς τὸ πάντος ὡς ἀνμᾶς ἓως φύσεως ἀπεφηνάτο. There are ſome who pronounced concerning the whole Universe, as being but One Nature*; that is, who called the Supreme Deity τὸ πᾶν or the *Universe*, becauſe that virtually contained All things in it.

Metaph. L. i.

Nevertheless τὸ πᾶν or the *Universe*, was frequently taken by the Pagan Theologers alſo, as we have already intimated, in a more comprehensive ſence, for the Deity, together with all the extent of its Fecundity, God as diſplaying himſelf in the World; or, for *God and the World* both together; the Latter being look'd upon, as nothing but an *Emanation* or *Efflux* from the Former. And thus
 was

was the word taken by *Empedocles* in *Plutarch*, when he affirmed, *ὅτι πᾶν εἶναι τὸ κόσμον, ἀλλ' ὀλίγον τι τῷ παντὶ μέρει*, *That the World was not the Universe, but only a small part thereof*. And according to this fence was the God *Pan* understood both by the *Arcadians* and other *Greeks*, not for the mere *Corporeal World* as *Senseless* and *Inanimate*, nor as endued with a *Plastick Nature* only (though this was partly included in the *Notion of Pan* also) but as proceeding from a *Rational and Intellectual Principle*, diffusing it self through All; or for the whole *System of Things*, *God and the World* together, as one Deity. For that the *Arcadick Pan*, was not the *Corporeal World* alone, but chiefly the *Intellectual Ruler and Governour* of the same, appears from this *Testimony of Macrobius*; *Hunc Deum Arcades colunt, appellantes τὸ ὕλης κέλευρον, non sylvarum Dominum, sed universæ substantiæ Materialis Dominatorem*: *The Arcadians worship this God Pan (as their most ancient and honourable God) calling him the Lord of Hyle, that is, not the Lord of the Woods, but the Lord or Dominator over all Material Substance*. And thus does *Phornutius* likewise describe the *Pan* of the other *Greeks*; not as the mere *Corporeal World*, *Senseless* and *Inanimate*, but as having a *Rational and Intellectual Principle* for the Head of it, and presiding over it, that is, for *God and the World* both together, as one *System*; the *World* being but the *Efflux and Emanation* of the Deity. *The lower parts of Pan* (saith he) *were Rough and Goatish, because of the asperity of the Earth, but his upper parts of a Humane Form, because the Ether being Rational and Intellectual, is the Hegemonick of the World*: Adding hereunto, that *Pan* was feigned to be *Lustful or Lascivious*, because of the *Multitude of Spermatick Reasons* contained in the *World*, and the *continual Mixtures and Generations of things*; to be clothed with the *Skin of a Libbard*, because of the *bespangled Heavens*, and the *beautiful variety of things in the World*; to live in a *Desart*, because of the *Singularity of the World*; and *Lastly*, to be a good *Demon*, by reason of the *προσωπὸς αὐτοῦ λόγος*, *that supreme Mind, Reason and Understanding, that governs all in it*. *Pan* therefore was not the mere *Corporeal World* *Senseless* and *Inanimate*, but the Deity as displaying it self therein, and pervading All things. Agreeably to which *Diodorus Siculus* determines, that *πᾶν* and *ζῶς* were but two several Names for one and the same Deity, (as it is well known that the whole *Universe* was frequently called by the *Pagans Jupiter* also, as well as *Pan*.) And *Socrates* himself in *Plato* directs his Prayer in a most devout and serious manner, to this *Pan*, that is, not the *Corporeal World* or *Senseless Matter*, but an *Intellectual Principle* Ruling over all, or the *Supreme Deity* diffusing it self through All; he therefore distinguishing him from the *Inferiour Gods*, *ὦ φίλε πᾶν, καὶ ἄλλοι ὅσοι τῇδε θεοί, δέιπτε μοι καλῶ γενέσθαι τάνδ' ὄντων, τὰ ἔξωθεν ἢ ὅσα ἔχω τοῖς ἐσὶν εἶναι μοι φίλια*. *O Good (or Gracious) Pan; and ye other Gods, who preside over this place; Grant that I may be Beautiful or Fair within, and that those External things, which I have, may be such as may best agree with a right Internal disposition of mind, and that I may account him to be rich that is wise and just*: The matter of which prayer, though it be excellent, yet is it *Paganically* directed to *Pan* (that is the *Supreme God*) and the *Inferiour Gods* both together. Thus we see that as well

CAP. IV. Demons *Lament the Death of Great Pan.* 345

well according to the Greeks, as the Egyptians, the First or Supreme God, and τὸ πᾶν or the Universe, were really the same thing.

And here we cannot but by the way take notice of that famous and remarkable Story of *Plutarch's* in his defect of Oracles, concerning *Demons lamenting the Death of the Great Pan*. In the time of *Tiberius* (saith he) certain persons embarquing from *Asia* for *Italy*, towards the Evening sailed by the *Echinades*, where being becalmed, they heard from thence a loud voice calling one *Thamons* an Egyptian Mariner amongst them, and after the third time commanding him when he came to the *Palodes*, to declare That the *Great Pan* was dead. He with the advice of his company resolved, that if they had a quick gale when they came to the *Palodes*, he would pass by silently, but if they should find themselves there becalmed, he would then perform what the voice had commanded: But when the ship arrived thither, there neither was any Gale of Wind nor agitation of Water. Whereupon *Thamons* looking out of the hinder Deck, towards the *Palodes*, pronounced these words with a loud voice, ὁ μέγας Πάν τεθνήκε, *The Great Pan is dead*, which he had no sooner done, but he was answered, with a Quire of many voices, making a great Howling and Lamentation, not without a certain mixture of Admiration. *Plutarch*, who gives much credit to this Relation, adds how Sollicitous *Tiberius* the Emperour was, first concerning the truth thereof, and afterwards, when he had satisfied himself therein, concerning the Interpretation; he making great Enquiry amongst his Learned men, who this *Pan* should be. But the only use which that Philosopher makes of this Story is this, to prove that Demons having Bodies as well as men, (though of a different kind from them and much more longeve) yet were notwithstanding Mortal: he endeavouring from thence to salve that *Phenomenon* of the *Defect of Oracles*, because the Demons who had formerly haunted those places were now dead. But this being an idle Fancy of *Plutarch's*, it is much more probably concluded, by Christian Writers; that this thing coming to pass in the Reign of *Tiberius* when our Saviour Christ was crucified, was no other than a Lamentation of Evil Demons (not without a mixture of Admiration) upon account of our Saviours Death, happening at that very time: They not mourning out of Love for him that was dead, but as sadly presaging evil to themselves from thence, as that which would threaten danger to their Kingdom of Darkness, and a Period to that Tyranny and Domination which they had so long exercised over Mankind; according to such Passages of Scripture as these, *Now is the Prince of this World judged*; and *Having spoiled Principalities and Powers* (by his Death upon the Cross) *He triumphed over them in it*. Now our Saviour Christ could not be called *Pan*, according to that Notion of the word, as taken for nothing but the *Corporeal World* devoid of all manner of Life, or else as endued only with a *Plastick Nature*; but this Appellation might very well agree to him, as *Pan* was taken for the λόγος προεστὶς τῷ κόσμῳ, that Reason and Understanding by which all things were made, and by which they are all governed, or for φρόνησις διὰ πάντων διηγουσα, that Divine Wisdom which diffuseth it self through all things

things. Moreover Pan being used not so much for the naked and abstract Deity, as the Deity as it were embodied in this Visible Corporeal World, might therefore the better signifie, *God manifested in the Flesh*, and cloathed with a Particular Humane Body (in which respect alone, he was capable of dying.) Neither indeed was there any other Name, in all the Theology of the Pagans, that could so well besit our Saviour Christ as this.

We have now made it manifest, that according to the ancient *Egyptian Theology*, (from whence the Greekish and European was derived) there was One Intellectual Deity, One Mind or Wisdom, which as it did produce all things from it self, so doth *ὁ ἐν ᾧ τὸ ὅλον*, contain and comprehend the whole, and is it self in a manner *All things*. We think fit in the next place to observe, how this Point of the *Old Egyptian Theology*, viz. God's being *All Things*, is every where insisted upon throughout the *Hermaick* or *Trismegistick Writings*. We shall begin with the *Asclepian Dialogue* or the *τελεσιλογία*, translated into Latin by *Apuleius*; in the Entrance of which, the Writer having declared, *Omnia Unius esse, & Unum esse Omnia*, that all things were of One, and that One was All things, he afterwards adds this explication thereof, *Nonne hoc dixi, Omnia Unum esse, & Unum Omnia, utpote quia in Creatore fuerint omnia, antequam creasset omnia? Nec immerito Unus est dictus Omnia, cujus membra sunt Omnia. Hujus itaque qui est Unus Omnia, vel ipse est Creator omnium, in tota hac disputatione curato meminisse*: Have we not already declared, that All things are One, and One All things? forasmuch as All things existed in the Creator, before they were made; Neither is he improperly said to be All things, whose Members all things are. Be thou therefore mindful in this whole disputation, of him who is One and All things, or was the Creator of All. And thus afterwards does he declare, that all Created things were in the Deity before they were made, *Idcirco non erant quando nata non erant, sed in eo jam tunc erant unde nasci habuerunt*, they did not properly then exist before they were made, and yet at that very time, were they in him from whom they were afterwards produced. Again, he writes thus concerning God, *non spero totius Majestatis Effectorem, omnium rerum Patrem vel Dominum, uno posse quamvis è multis composito nomine nuncupari. Hunc voca potius omni nomine, siquidem sit Unus & Omnia; ut necesse sit aut Omnia ipsius nomine, aut ipsum omnium nomine nuncupari. Hic ergo Solus Omnia, &c.* I cannot hope sufficiently to express, the Author of Majesty, and the Father and Lord of all things, by any One Name, though compounded of never so many names. Call him therefore by every Name, forasmuch as he is One and All things, so that of necessity, either All things must be called by His name, or he by the Names of All things. And when he had spoken of the mutability of Created things he adds, *Solus Deus ipse In se, & A se, & Circum se, totus est plenus atque perfectus, isque sua firma stabilitas est; nec alicujus impulsu, nec loco moveri potest, cum in eo sint Omnia, & in omnibus ipse est Solus*: God alone in himself, and from himself, and about himself, is altogether perfect; and himself is his own stability. Neither can he be moved or changed, by the impulse of any thing, since All things are in him, and he alone is in All things.

things. Lastly, to omit other places, *Hic Sensibilis Mundus, receptaculum est omnium sensibilibus specierum, qualitatum, vel corporum; quæ omnia sine Deo vegetari non possunt: Omnia enim Deus, & à Deo Omnia; & sine hoc, nec Fuit aliquid, nec Est, nec Erit; Omnia enim ab eo, & in ipso, & per ipsum*——*Si totum animadverteres, vera ratione perdisces; Mundum ipsum Sensibilem, & quæ in eo sunt omnia, à Superiore illo Mundo, quasi Vestimento esse contexta: This Sensible World, is the Receptacle of all Forms, Qualities, and Bodies, all which cannot be vegetated and quickned without God; for God is All Things, and All things are from God, and all things the Effect of his Will; and without God, there neither Was any thing, nor Is, nor Shall be; but all things are from him, and in him, and by him*——*And if you will consider things after a right manner, you shall learn, that this sensible World, and all the things therein, are covered all over, with that superiour World (or Deity) as it were with a Garment. As for the other Trismegistick Books of Ficinus his Edition, the Third of them called ἱερεὺς λόγῳ, is thus concluded, τὸ γὰρ θεῖον ἢ πᾶσα κοσμητικὴ σύνταξις, φύσις ἀναδεύμενη· ἐν γὰρ ταῖς θεαῖς καὶ ἡ φύσις συγκαθίσταται· The Divinity is the whole Mundane Compages, or Constitution: for Nature is also placed in the Deity. In the Fifth Book written upon this Argument, ὅτι ἀφανὴς θεὸς φανερώτατός ἐστι, That the Invisible God is most manifest, we read thus; εἰδέναι γὰρ θεὸν ἐν παντί ἐσκεύη, ὃ ἐκ εἶναι αὐτός, εἶναι αὐτός, καὶ τὰ ὅντα καὶ μὴ ὄντα· τὰ μὲν γὰρ ὄντα ἐφανερώσῃ· τὰ δὲ μὴ ὄντα ἐκ ἐαυτοῦ· For there is nothing in the whole World, which he is not, He is both the things that are, and the things that are not; for the things that are, He hath manifested, but the things that are not, He contains within himself. And again, εἴτε ὁ ἀσώματος καὶ ὁ πολυσώματος· μάλλον ἢ πάντες σώματος· εἰδέναι θεὸν ὅτι εἴτε ἐκ θεοῦ· πάντα γὰρ ἃ ἐστὶ, καὶ εἴτός ἐστι· καὶ διὰ τὸ αὐτὸς ὁ νόματος ἐκ πάντων, ὅτι ἐνός ἐστι πάντες· καὶ διὰ τὸ ὁνομα ἐκ ἑαυτοῦ, ὅτι πάντων ἐστι πατήρ· He is both Incorporeal and Omnicorporeal, for there is nothing of any Body, which he is not; He is all things that are, and therefore he hath all Names, because all things are from one Father; and therefore he hath no Name, because he is the Father of all things. And in the close of the same Book, ὑπὲρ τίνος σε ὑμνήσω, ὑπὲρ ὧν ἐποίησας, ἢ ὑπὲρ ὧν ἐκποίησας; ὑπὲρ ὧν ἐφανερώσας, ἢ ὑπὲρ ὧν ἐκρυψας; διὰ τί καὶ ὑμνήσω σε; ὡς ἐμαυτὸς ὦν; ὡς ἔχων τί ἴδιον, ὡς ἄλλος ὦν; σὺ εἰ γὰρ ὁ ἐάνω· σὺ εἰ ὁ ἀν ποῖω· σὺ εἰ ὁ ἀν λέγω· σὺ γὰρ πάντα εἶ, τὸ ἄλλο εἰδέναι θεὸν ὅτι μὴ εἶ· σὺ πᾶν τὸ γλυκύμενον, σὺ τὸ μὴ γλυκύμενον· For what shall I praise thee? for those things which thou hast made? or for those things which thou hast not made? for those things which thou hast manifested; or for those things which thou hast hidden and concealed within thy self? And for what cause shall I praise thee? because I am my own, as having something proper, and distinct from thee? Thou art whatsoever I am, thou art whatsoever I do, or say, for thou art All things, and there is nothing which thou art not; thou art that which is made, and thou art that which is unmade. Where it is observable, that before things were Made, God is said κρύπτειν, to Hide them within himself; but when they are made, φανερῶν, to Manifest and reveil them from himself. Book the Eighth, νόησον ὅτι ὁ μὲν κόσμος ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ ἐν τοῖς θεοῖς, ἀρχὴ καὶ τέλος καὶ σῶσις πάντων ὁ θεός· Understand that the whole World is from God, and in God; for God is the Beginning, Comprehension*

and Constitution of all things. Book the Ninth, μάλλον ἢ λέγω ὅτι ἐν αὐτοῖς αὐτὰ ἔχει, ἀλλὰ τὸ ἀληθὲς ἀποφαίνομαι, αὐτὸς ἀπαντὰ ὄντων· ἐν ἑξῶθεν αὐτὰ προσλαμβάνων, ἔξω ἢ ἐπιδιδός· *I would not say, that God Hath all things, but rather declare the truth, and say that he Is All things; not as receiving them from without, but as sending them forth from himself.* Again afterwards in the same Book, καὶ ἐν ἔσσι ποτε χρεῖν· ὅτε ἀπολειφθήσεται πᾶσι ὄντων· ὅταν ἢ λέγω πᾶσι ὄντων, λέγω τῷ Θεῷ· τὰ γὰρ ὄντα ὁ Θεὸς ἔχει, καὶ ὅτε αὐτῷ ἔδεν ἐκτός, ὅτε αὐτὸς ἔδενός· *There shall never be a time, when any thing that is, shall cease to be, for when I say any thing that Is, I say any thing of God; for God hath all things in him and there is neither any thing without God, nor God without any thing.* Book the Tenth, τί γὰρ ὄντι θεός, καὶ πατήρ, καὶ τὸ ἀγαθόν, ἢ τὸ πᾶν εἶναι ἐν ἑπὶ ὄντων· ἀλλὰ ὑπαρξίς αὐτῇ πᾶσι ὄντων; *What is God, but the very Being of all things that yet are not, and the Subsistence of things that are.* And again, ὁ Θεός, καὶ πατήρ καὶ τὸ ἀγαθόν, τὰ εἶναι τὰ πάντα, God is both the Father and Good, because he is All things. Book the Eleventh, αὐτεργὴς γὰρ ὧν αἰεὶ ὄντι ἐν τῷ ἔργῳ, αὐτὸς ὧν ὁ ποιεῖ· εἰ γὰρ χωρεῖται αὐτῷ, πάντα μὴ συμπεσῆναι, πάντα ἢ τετινῆσθαι ἀνάγκη· *God acting immediately from himself, is always in his own work, Himself being that which he makes; for if that were never so little separated from him, all would of necessity fall to nothing and die.* Again, πάντα ὄντι ἐν τῷ θεῷ, ἔχον ὡς ἐν τόπῳ κείμενα, *All things are in God, but not as lying in a place.* And further, since our own Soul can by Cogitation and Phancy, become what it will, and where it will, any thing, or in any place, τῷτον ἐν τῷ Τερόπον νόησον τὸ Θεόν, ὡς αὐτὸ νοήματα πάντα ἐν ἑαυτῷ ἔχον, τὸ κέκον αὐτὸ ὅλον· *You may consider God in the same manner, as containing the whole World within himself, as his own Conceptions and Cogitations.* And in the Close of that Chapter, that which is also thence cited by St. Cyril, is to the same purpose, ἀόρατος ὁ Θεός; διφήμεσον καὶ τίς αὐτῷ φανερώτερος· δι' αὐτὸ τῷτο πάντα ἐποίησεν, ἵνα διὰ πάντων αὐτὸ βλέπῃς· τῷτο ὄντι τὸ ἀγαθόν τῷ Θεῷ· τῷτο ἢ αὐτῷ ἀρετῇ, τὸ αὐτὸ φαίνεσθαι διὰ πάντων· *Is God Invisible? speak worthily of him, for who is more manifest than he? for this very reason did he make all things, that thou mightest see him through all things; This is the Virtue and Goodness of the Deity, to be seen through all things. The Mind is seen in thinking, but God in Working or Making.* Book the Twelfth, ἡκουσα τῷ ἀγαθῷ δαίμονι λέγου· (ἐκεῖνος γὰρ μόνος, ὡς ταυ- νον, ἀληθῶς ὡς πρώτογονος θεός, τὰ πάντα καλῶν, δέξας λόγους ἐφθέγγετο) ἡκουσα γὰρ αὐτῷ ποτὲ λέγουτος, ὅτι ἐν ὄντι τὰ πάντα· *I have heard the good Demon (for he alone, as the first begotten God, beholding all things, spake Divine Words) I have heard him sometimes saying, that One is All things.* Again in the same Chapter, ὁ ἢ σύμπας κόσμος ἔστος ἡνωμένος ἐκείνῳ, καὶ συσώζων τὴν τάξιν, καὶ βάλῃσιν τῷ πατρί, πληρωμαὶ ὄντι τῷ ζωῆς· καὶ ἔδεν ὄντι ἐν τῷτῳ διὰ παντός τῷ αἰῶνος, ὅτε τῷ παντός, ὅτε τῷ μέρους, ὁ ἐξὶ ζῆ, νεκρὸν γὰρ ἔδεν ἐν, ὅτε γέγονεν, ὅτε ἐσιν, ὅτε ἐσσι ἐν κόσμῳ· *This whole World is intimately united to him, and observing the order and will of its Father, hath the fulness of Life in it, and there is nothing in it through Eternity (neither Whole nor Part) which does not live; for there neither is, nor hath been, nor shall be, any thing Dead in the world.* The meaning is, that all things vitally depend upon the Deity, who is said in Scripture, to quicken and enliven all things.

τὸ ἐστὶν ὁ Θεός, τὸ πᾶν· ἂν ὃ τὰ πᾶν, ὅθεν ἐστὶν ὁ μῆξεν· ὅθεν ἔτε μέγας, ἔτε τόπος, ἔτε ποιότης, ἔτε χῆμα, ἔτε χρένος, ὡς ἔστι· πᾶν γὰρ ἔστι, τὸ ὃ πᾶν διὰ πάντων, καὶ ὡς πᾶν. *This is God, the Universe or All. And in this Universe there is nothing which he is not : Wherefore there is neither Magnitude nor Place nor Quality nor Figure nor Time about God, for he is All or the Whole, (but those things belong to Parts.)* And the Arcane Caution, though that Thirteenth Book to which it is subjoyned be supposititious, yet harps much upon this Point of the Egyptian Theology, *That God is All* : ὑμνεῖν μέλλω τὸν κτίσεως κέρον, καὶ τὸ πᾶν, καὶ τὸ ἐν· *I am about to praise the Lord of the Creation, the All and the One.* And again, *All the Powers that are in me, praise the One and the All.* Book the Fifteenth, εἰάν τις ἐπιχειρήσῃ τὸ πᾶν καὶ ἐν χωρίσας, τὸ πᾶν τῷ ἐνός λύσας ἀπολέσθαι τὸ πᾶν, πάντα γὰρ ἐν εἶναι δεῖ· *If any one go about to separate the All from the One, he will destroy the All, or the Universe, for All ought to be One.* Book the Sixteenth, ἀρξομαι τῷ λόγῳ εἶπεν, τὸν Θεὸν ἐπικαλεσάμενος, καὶ τῷ ὅλῳν δεσπότῳ, καὶ ποιητῳ, καὶ πατέρῳ, καὶ ὡς ἑσθλόν, καὶ πάντα ὅσα τὸ ἐνός, καὶ ἐνός ὄντα τὰ πάντα· τὸ πάντων γὰρ τὸ πλήρωμα, ἐν ἐστὶ, καὶ ἐν ἐνί· *I will begin with a Prayer to him, who is the Lord and Maker and Father and Bound of all things ; and who being All things, is One, and being One is All things ; for the fulness of All things is One and in One.* And again, μόρια τῷ Θεῷ πάντα ἐστὶν· εἰ ὃ πάντα μόρια, πάντα ἄρα ὁ Θεός· πάντα ἔν ποιῶν, ἐαυτὸν ποιεῖ· *All things are Parts of God, but if all things be Parts of God, then God is All things ; Wherefore He making All things, doth, as it were, make himself.*

Now by all this we see, how well these Trismegistick Books, agree with that *Ancient Egyptian Inscription*, in the Temple of *Sais*, *That God is all that Was, Is, and Shall be.* Wherefore the Egyptian Theology thus undoubtedly asserting, *One God that was All things* ; it is altogether impossible that it should acknowledge a *Multitude of Self-existent, and Independent Deities.*

Hitherto we have taken notice of Two several Egyptian Names, for One and the same *Supreme Deity* ; *Hammon* and *Neith* ; but we shall find that besides these, the Supreme God was sometimes worshipped by the Egyptians under other Names and Notions also ; as of *Isis*, *Osiris* and *Sarapis*. For first, though *Isis* have been taken by some for the *Moon*, by others for the whole *Earth*, by others for *Ceres* or *Corn*, by others for the *Land of Egypt*, (which things in what sense they were Deified by the Egyptians, will be elsewhere declared) yet was she undoubtedly taken also sometimes, for an *Universal and All-comprehending Numen*. For *Plutarch* affirms, that *Isis* and *Neith*, were really one and the same God among the Egyptians, and therefore the Temple of *Neith* or *Minerva* at *Sais*, where the forementioned Inscription was found, is called by him, *the Temple of Isis* ; so that *Isis* as well as *Neith* or *Minerva* among the Egyptians, was there described, as That God, who is *All that Was, Is, and Shall be*, and whose Veil no Mortal hath ever uncovered ; that is, not a particular God, but an *Universal and All-comprehending Numen*. And this may be yet further confirmed, from that *Ancient Inscription* and *Dedication* to the Goddess *Isis*, still extant at *Capua*.

TIBI.
UNA. QUÆ.
E S. OMNIA.
DEA. ISIS.

Metam. l. 12.

Where the Goddess *Isis* is plainly declared to be ἐν ἡ, πάντα, *One and All things*, that is, a *Universal and All-comprehending Deity*. And with this agreeth also that Oration of this Goddess *Isis* in *Apuleius*; *En adsum tuis, commota, Luci, precibus, rerum Natura Parens, elementorum omnium Domina, seculorum Progenies initialis: Summa numinum, Regina marium, Prima Cælitum, Deorum Dearumque Facies uniformis; quæ cæli luminosa culmina, maris salubria flamina, inferorum deplorata silentia, nutibus meis dispenso. Cujus Numen unicum multiformi specie, ritu vario, nomine multijugo totus veneratur orbis: Behold here am I, moved by thy Prayers, Lucius, that Nature which was the Parent of things; the Mistress of all the Elements; the Beginning and Original of Ages; the Sum of all the Divine Powers; the Queen of the Seas; the First of the Celestial Inhabitants; the Uniform Face of Gods and Goddesses; which with my becks dispense the Luminous Heights of the Heavens, the wholesome Blasts of the Sea, and the deplorable silences of Hell; whose only Divine Power, the whole World worships and adores, in a Multiform manner, and under Different Rites and Names.* From which words it is plain, that this Goddess *Isis*, was not the meer *Animated Moon* (which was rather a Symbol of her) but that she was an *Universal Deity*, comprehensive of the whole Nature of things; the *One Supreme God*, worshipped by the Pagans, under several Names, and with different Rites. And this is the plain meaning of those last words *Numen Unicum, &c.* that the whole World worshippeth one and the same Supreme God, in a multiform manner, with various Rites, and under many different Names. For besides the Several Names of the other Pagans there mentioned, the Egyptians worshipped it, under the Names of *Hammon, Neith*, and others that shall be afterwards declared. And thus was *Isis* again worshipped and invoc'd, as the *unicum Numen*, or only Divine power, by *Apuleius* himself, in these following Words; *Tu sancta & humani generis Hospitatrix perpetua, dulcem matris affectionem miseris tribuis, fatorum inextricabiliter contorta retractas liria, fortune tempestates mitigas, & stellarum noxios meatus cohibes: Te Superi colunt, observant Inferi. Tu rotas orbem, lumnas solem, regis mundum, calcas Tartarum. Tibi respondent sydera, gaudent numina, serviunt elementa: Tuo nutu spirant flamina, &c.* Thou holy and perpetual Saviour of Mankind that art always bountiful in cherishing Mortals, and dost manifest the dear affections of a Mother to them in their Calamities, thou extricatest the involved threads of Fate, mitigatest the tempests of Fortune, and restrainest the noxious Influences of the Stars: the Celestial Gods worship thee, the Infernal Powers obey thee; thou rollest round the Heavens, enlightenest the Sun, governest the World, treadest upon Tartarus or Hell; the Stars obey thee, the Elements serve thee, at thy beck the winds blow, &c. Where *Isis* is plainly supposed to be an *Universal Numen* and supreme Monarch of the World. Neither may this hinder,

CHAP. IV. Osiris and Serapis the Supreme Numen. 411

hinder, that she was called a Goddess as *Neith* also was; these Pagans making their Deities to be indifferently of either Sex, Male or Female. But much more was *Osiris* taken for the Supreme Deity, whose name was sometimes said, to have signified in the Egyptian Language, πολυφθαλμος, that which had many Eyes, sometimes κρητος ενεργει, & αγαθοποιον, an active and beneficent Force; (and whose Hieroglyphick was an Eye and a Scepter;) the former signifying Providence and Wisdom, and the Latter Power and Majesty (as *Plutarch* tells us) Who also is thus described in *Apuleius*, *Deus Deorum magnorum potior, & majorum summus, & Summorum Maximus, & Maximorum Regnator, Osiris: That God who is the chiefest of the Greater Gods, and the Greatest of the Chiefest, and which Reigneth over the Greatest.* Wherefore the same *Apuleius* also tells us, that *Isis* and *Osiris* were really one and the same Supreme Numen, though considered under different Notions and Worshipped with different Rites, in these words, *Quaunque connexa imo vero unica, ratio Numinis, Religionisque esset, tamen Teleæ discrimen esse maximum; though Isis and Osiris be really One and the same Divine Power, yet are their Rites and Ceremonies very different.* The proper notion of *Osiris*, being thus declared by *Plutarch*, το πρωτον & υψηλωτατον παντων, ο τ' αγαθω ταυτον εστι, that First and Highest of all Beings, which is the same with Good. Agreeably whereunto, *Jamblichus* affirmeth, αγαθων ποιητικος αν' οσις κελειται, that God as the Cause of all Good is call'd *Osiris* by the Egyptians. Lastly, as for *Sarapis*, though *Origen* tells us, that this was a new upstart Deity, set up by *Ptolemy* in *Alexandria*: yet this God in his Oracle to *Nicocrion* the King of *Cyprus*, declares himself also to be a Universal Numen, comprehending the whole World, in these words, στεφνιος κορυμος κεφαλη, &c. to this Sence; The Starry Heaven is my Head, the Sea my Belly, my Ears are in the Ether, and the bright Light of the Sun is my clear piercing Eye. And doubtless he was worshipped by many under this Notion. For as *Philarchus* wrote thus concerning him, Σαραπισ ονομα τω το παν κορυμνιος, That *Sarapis* was the Name of that God, which orders and governs the whole World; so doth *Plutarch* himself conclude, that *Osiris* and *Sarapis*, were αμφο ενος δεος & μιας δυνάμεως, both of them Names of One God, and the same Divine Power. Accordingly whereunto *Diodorus Siculus* determines, that these Three, *Hammon*, *Osiris* and *Sarapis*, were but different names for one and the same Deity, or Supreme God. Notwithstanding which, *Porphyrus* it seems, had a very ill conceit of that Power which manifested it self in the Temple of this God *Sarapis*, above all the other Pagan Gods, he suspecting it to be no other than the very Prince of evil Demons or Devils, τας δη πονηρας δαιμονας εν εαυτη υπο τ' Σαραπιν υποηδωμεν, εδ' οα τω συμβολων μονον αναπειδεντες, &c. We do not vainly or without ground suspect and conjecture, that the evil Demons, are under *Sarapis* as their Prince and Head: this appearing (saith he) not only from those Rites of Appeasment used in the Worship of this God, but also from the Symbol of him, which was a Three-headed Dog, signifying that Evil Demon, which ruleth in those Three Elements, Water, Earth, and Air. Neither indeed can it be doubted, but that it was an Evil Demon or Devil, that delivered Oracles in this Temple of *Sarapis* as well as elsewhere among the Pagans, however he affected to be worshipped as the Supreme God.

Euseb. Præp. L. 4. cap. 23.

Besides

Præp. L. 3.
c. 11. p. 115.

Besides all this, *Ensebius* himself from *Porphyrus* informs us, that the Egyptians acknowledged *One Intellectual Demiurgus*, or Maker of the World, under the name of *Cneph*, whom they worshipped in a Statue of Humane Form, and a blackish Sky-coloured Complexion; holding in his hand a Girdle and a Scepter, and wearing upon his Head a Princely Plume, and thrusting forth an Egg out of his Mouth. The reason of which Hieroglyphick is thus given, ὅτι λόγος διὰ τοῦ στόματος καὶ κεκευμένον, καὶ ὁ φανὸς καὶ ὅτι ζωοποιὸς, καὶ ὅτι βασιλεύς, καὶ ὅτι νοεῖας κινεῖται. διὸ καὶ τὸ πᾶν φύσις ἐν τῇ κεφαλῇ κείται. *Because that Wisdom and Reason, by which the World was made, is not easie to be found out but hidden and obscure. And because this is the Fountain of Life and King of all things; and because it is Intellectually moved, signified by the Feathers upon his head. Moreover by the Egg thrust out of the Mouth of this God, was meant the World, created by the Eternal λόγος, and from this Cneph, was said to be Generated or Produced Another God, whom the Egyptians call Phtha and the Greeks Vulcan; of which Phtha more afterwards.* That the Egyptians were the most eminent Asserters of the *Cosmogonia* or *Temporary Beginning* of the World, hath been already declared; for which cause the Scholiast upon *Ptolemy* thus perstringeth them, ὡς ἡμᾶς εἰάδαται λέγειν ἡρόδοτος Αἰγυπτίους λόγους, *The Egyptians were wont to talk perpetually of the Genesis or Generation of the World.* And *Asclepius* an ancient Egyptian Writer in his *Myriogenesis*, affirms that according to the Egyptian Tradition, the Sun was made in *Libra*. But that the Egyptians did not suppose the world to have been made by Chance, as *Epicurus* and other Atheistical Philosophers did, but by an Intellectual Demiurgus called by them *Cneph* is evident from this Testimony of *Porphyrus*. Which *Cneph* was look'd upon by them as an *Unmade and Eternal Deity*, and for this very cause the Inhabitants of *Thebais* refused to worship any other God besides him, as *Plutarch* informs us in these words, εἰς ἣν τοῖς γροφῶν τῶν πιαμμένων ζώων, τὸς μὲν ἄλλας συντεταγμένα τελεῖν, μόνους ὅ μὴ διδόναι τὸς θεοῦς κατὰ τοὺς νόμους, ὡς θνητῶν θεῶν εἰδέναι νομίζοντες, ἀλλὰ ὅν καλῶσιν αὐτοὶ κνήφ, ἀρχαῖον οὐτὰ καὶ ἀθάνατον. *Whilst the other Egyptians paid their proportion of Tax imposed upon them, for the nourishment of those sacred Animals, worshipped by them, the Inhabitants of Thebais only refused, because they would acknowledge no Mortal God, and worshipped him only whom they call Cneph, an Unmade and Eternal Deity.*

Scal Emend.
Temp. l. 5. de
condit. mundi.

De Is. & Osir.

Having now made it undeniably manifest, that the Egyptians had an acknowledgement amongst them of *One Supreme Universal and Unmade Deity*, we shall conclude this whole Discourse with the Two following Observations; First that a great part of the *Egyptian Polytheism*, was really nothing else but the Worshipping of *One* and the same *Supreme God*, under many different Names and Notions, as of *Hammon*, *Neith*, *Isis*, *Osiris*, *Sarapis*, *Kneph*, to which may be added *Phtha*, and those other names in *Jamblichus*, of *Eicton* and *Emeph*. And that the Pagans universally over the whole world did the like, was affirmed also by *Apuleius*, in that fore-cited Passage of his, *Numen Unicum, multiformi specie, ritu vario, nomine multijugo,*

totus veneratur orbis, the Whole World worshipping one only Supreme Numen in a multiform manner, under different names and with different Rites. Which different names for one and the same Supreme God, might therefore be mistaken by some of the sottish Vulgar amongst the Pagans, as well as they have been by learned men of these later times, for so many distinct *Unmade* and *Self-existent Deities*.

Nevertheless here may well be a Question started, whether amongst those several Egyptian Names of God, some might not signify distinct *Divine Hypostases* Subordinate; and particularly, whether there were not some Footsteps of a *Trinity*, to be found in the old *Egyptian Theology*? For since *Orpheus*, *Pythagoras* and *Plato*, who all of them asserted a *Trinity of Divine Hypostases*, unquestionably derived much of their Doctrine from the Egyptians, it may reasonably be suspected, that these Egyptians did the like before them. And indeed *Athanasius Kircherus* makes no doubt at all hereof, but tells us that in the Pamphylian Obelisk, that First Hieroglyphick of a *Winged Globe*, with a *Serpent coming out of it*, was the Egyptian Hieroglyphick of a *Triform Deity*, or *Trinity of Divine Hypostases*; he confirming the same, from the Testimony of *Abenephius* an Arabian Writer, and a Chaldaick Fragment imputed to *Sanchuniathon*; the Globe being said to signify, the First Incomprehensible Deity without Beginning or End, Self-existent; the Serpent the Divine Wisdom and Creative Virtue; and lastly the Wings, that Active Spirit, that cherisheth, quickneth, and enliveneth all things. How far credit is to be given to this, we leave others to judge; but the clearest footsteps that we can find any where of an *Egyptian Trinity* is in *Jamblichus* his Book, written concerning their Mysteries; which whole place therefore is worth the setting down, κατ' ἄλλω ἢ τῷ προτάξει [ἑρμῆς] θεὸν τὸν ἡμῖν, τῷ ἐπικρατῶν θεῶν ἡγούμενον, ὃν φησὶν εἶναι αὐτὸν ἐαυτὸν νοῦντα, καὶ τὰς νοῦς εἰς ἑαυτὸν ὑπερέφοντα. τὸς δὲ ἐν ἡμέρας, καὶ ὅφισι, τὸ πρῶτον μόνον προτάξει, ὃν καὶ εἰκλῶν ἐπονομάζει, καὶ ὡς τὸ πρῶτον ὅτι νοῦν καὶ τὸ πρῶτον νοῦν, ὃ δὲ καὶ διὰ σιγῆς μόνος διεσπάζεται. ἐπὶ δὲ τούτοις—ὁ δημιουργικὸς νοῦς καὶ τὴν ἀληθείαν προτάτης, καὶ σοφίαν ἐρχόμενον μὲν ὅτι ἡρώσειν, καὶ τὴν ἀφανὴ τῷ κεκρυμμένων λόγων δύναμιν εἰς φῶς ἄγων, ἁμῶν καὶ τὴν τῷ αἰγυπτίων γλώσσῃ λέγεται, συντελῶν δὲ ἀφ' οὗδ' ἕκαστα καὶ τεχνικῶς μετ' ἀληθείας φθὰ, ἑλλωες δὲ εἰς ἡφαιστον μεταλαμβάνει τὴν φθὰ, τὰ τεχνικῶς μόνον προσάλλοιτες, ἀρχαῶν δὲ ποιητικὸς ὧν ὅσοις κέκληται, καὶ ἄλλας δι' ἄλλας δυνάμεις τε καὶ ἐργείας ἐπανομίας ἔχει. According to another order or method, *Hermes* places the God *Emeph**, as the Prince* or *Cneph*. and Ruler over all the Celestial Gods, whom he affirmeth to be a Mind understanding himself and converting his Cogitations or Intellections into himself. Before which *Emeph**, he placeth One Indivisible, whom he* or *Cneph*. calleth *Eicton*, in which is the first Intelligible, and which is worshipped only by silence. After which Two, *Eicton* and *Emeph**, the Demiurgick* or *Cneph*. Mind and President of truth as with wisdom it proceedeth to Generations, and bringeth forth the hidden Powers of the occult Reasons into light, it is called in the Egyptian Language *Ammon*; as it Artificially effects all things with truth, *Phtha* (which *Phtha* the Greeks attending only to the Artificialness thereof call *Hephestus* or *Vulcan*) as it is productive of Good, *Osiris*, besides other names that it hath according to its other Powers

Powers and Energies. In which Passage of *Jamblichus* we have plainly *Three Divine Hypostases*, or universal Principles Subordinate, according to the *Hermaick Theology* ; First an *Indivisible Unity* called *Eiðon*, Secondly a *Perfect Mind* converting its Intellections into it self, called *Emeph* or *Hemphtha*, and Thirdly the immediate *Principle of Generation*, called by several names, according to its several Powers, as *Phtha*, *Ammon*, *Osiris* and the like : So that these Three Names with others, according to *Jamblichus*, did in the Egyptian Theology, signifie, one and the same Third Divine *Hypostasis*. How well these Three Divine *Hypostases* of the Egyptians, agree with the Pythagorick or Platonick Trinity, of First, τὸ ἐν or τὰ γεννῶν, *Unity and Goodness* it self, Secondly, νῦς, *Mind*, and Thirdly ψυχή, *Soul*, I need not here declare. Only we shall call to mind what hath been already intimated, that that Reason or Wisdom which was the *Demiurgus* of the World, and is properly the Second of the forementioned *Hypostases*, was called also amongst the Egyptians, by another name, *Cneph* ; from whom was said to have been produced or begotten the God *Phtha*, the Third *Hypostasis* of the *Egyptian Trinity* ; so that *Cneph* and *Emeph* are all one. Wherefore we have here plainly an *Egyptian Trinity of Divine Hypostases Subordinate*, *Eiðon*, *Emeph* (or *Cneph*) and *Phtha*. VVe know not what to add more to this of *Jamblichus*, concerning an *Egyptian Trinity*, unless we should insist upon those Passages which have been cited by some of the Fathers to this purpose out of *Hermaick* or *Trismegistick Books*, whereof there was one before set down out of *St. Cyril* ; or unless we should again call to mind, that Citation out of *Damascius*, μία τῆς ὅλων ἀρχὴ σκότος ἀγνώσκειν ὑμᾶς μόνον καὶ τὸ τοῖς ἀναφανέμενον ἔσται, that according to the Egyptians, there is *One Principle of all things praised under the name of the Unknown Darknes*, and this *Thrice repeated*. Agreeably to which *Augustinus Steuchus* produces another Passage out of the same Philosophick VWriter ; that the Egyptians made, πρῶτῳ ἀρχῇ σκότος ὑπὲρ πάντων νόησιν, σκότος ἀγνώσκειν, τοῖς τὸ ἐπιφανεῖς οὐκ ἔσται, the *First Principle of all, to be Darknes above all Knowledge and Understanding (or Unknown Darknes)* they *Thrice repeating the same*. VVhich the forementioned *Steuchus* takes to be a clear acknowledgement of a *Trinity of Divine Hypostases* in the *Egyptian Theology*.

Our *Second Observation* is this, That the *Egyptian Theology* as well as the *Orphick* (which was derived from it) asserting *One Incorporeal Deity*, that is *All Things* ; as it is evident, that it could not admit a *Multitude of Self-existent and Independent Deities*, so did the seeming Polytheism of these Egyptians proceed also in great measure from this Principle of theirs not rightly understood ; they being led thereby, in a certain sence, θεοποιεῖν to Personate and Deifie the Several *Parts of the World*, and *Things of Nature*, bestowing the Names of *Gods and Goddeses* upon them. Not that they therefore worshipped the *Inanimate Parts* of the VWorld as such, Much less Things not *Substantial* but meer *Accidents*, for so many Real, Distinct, Personal Deities ; but because conceiving that *God* who was *All things*, ought to be Worshipped in *All things* (such especially as were most Beneficial to Mankind) they did, according to that *Aesclepien* and *Trismegistick Doctrine*

Doctrine before-mentioned, Call God by the Name of every thing, or Every thing by the Name of God. And that the wiser of them very well understood that it was really One and the same Simple Deity, that was thus worshipped amongst them by piece-meal, in the several Parts of the World, and Things of Nature, and under different Names and Notions, with different Ceremonies, is thus declared by Plutarch, ΕΜΜΩΙΝΟΝ ἢ ἰσὶς ἔστι, καὶ ὁ τυφῶν πολέμου τῇ θεῷ, καὶ δι' ἀγνοίας καὶ ἀπείτῳ πετυφωμένῳ, καὶ διασπῶν καὶ ἀφανίζων τ' ἱερὸν λόγον, ὃν ἡ θεὸς συνέγει καὶ συντίθει, καὶ ἀποδοιδάσκει τοῖς τελευκόμενοις δειώσεως. Isis is a Greek Word, which signifies Knowledge; and Typhon is the Enemy to this Goddess; who being puffed up by Ignorance and Error, doth Distract and Disceip the Holy Doctrine (of the Simple Deity) which Isis collects together again, and makes up into One, and thus delivers it to those who are initiated into her sacred Mysteries, in order to Deification. In which words, Plutarch intimates, that the Egyptian Fable, of Osiris being Mangled and Cut in pieces by Typhon, did Allegorically signify the Disceip and Distraction of the Simple Deity, by reason of the Weakness and Ignorance of vulgar minds (not able to comprehend it altogether at once) into several Names and Partial Notions, which yet True Knowledge and Understanding, that is, Isis, makes up whole again and unites into One.

XIX. It is well known that the Poets, though they were the Prophets of the Pagans, and pretending to a kind of Divine Inspiration, did otherwise embue the minds of the Vulgar, with a certain Sense of Religion, and the Notions of Morality, yet these notwithstanding were the grand Depravers and Adulterators of the Pagan Theology. For this they were guilty of upon several Accounts. As First, Their attributing to the Gods, in their Fables concerning them, all manner of Humane Imperfections, Passions and Vices. Which abuse of theirs, the wiser of the Pagans were in all ages highly sensible of and offended with, as partly appears from these Free Passages vented upon the Stage,

—καὶ γὰρ ὅστις ἐν βροτῶν
κακὸς πέφυκε, ζυμῶσιν οἱ θεοί·
πᾶς ἐν δίκαιον, τὰς νόμους ὑμᾶς βροτοῖς
Γεγάστας, αὐτὸς ἀνομίαν ὀφλισκάνειν;

Eurp. in Iōne;

— Si quis est mortalium
Qui scelera patrat, exigunt pœnam Dei:
At nonne iniquum est, vos, suas leges quibus
Gens debet hominum, jure nullo vivere?

To this sence: Since mortal men are punished by the Gods for transgressing their Laws, is it not unjust, that ye Gods who write these Laws, should your selves live without Law? And again,

—οὐκ ἐστ' ἀνθρώπους κακὸς
λέγειν δίκαιον, εἰ τὰ τῶν θεῶν κακὰ
μιμῶμεθ', ἀλλὰ τὰς διδάσκειν νόμους τὰδε:

—Nulla nos posthac notet
Censura, siquando ista quæ superos decent
Imitatur homines. Culpa ad auctores redit.

Let men no longer be blamed for imitating the Evil Actions of the Gods; for they can only be justly blamed, who teach men to do such things by their Examples.

Secondly, the Poets were further guilty of Depraving the Religion and Theology of the Pagans, by their so frequently Personating and Deifying all the Things of Nature, and Parts of the World, and calling them by the Names of those Gods, that were suppos'd to preside over them; that is, of the several Divine Powers manifested in them. This *Plutarch* taxes the Poets with, where giving directions for young mens reading of their VVritings, he thus seasonably cautions against the danger of it, τὸ ὃ ἀναγκαῖον, καὶ χρησιμεύον, εἰ μάλ' ἢ ἄλλοι μὲν ἐκ τῶν ποιημάτων ἀφελιθῆσθαι καὶ μὴ βλαβῆσθαι, τὸ γινώσκον πᾶς τοῖς τῶν θεῶν ὀνόμασιν οἱ ποιῆσαι χρῆσθαι. — χρῆσθαι δὲ τοῖς τῶν θεῶν ὀνόμασι οἱ ποιῆσαι, ποτὲ μὲν αὐτῶν ἐκείνων ἐφαπτόμενοι τῇ ἐννοίᾳ, ποτὲ δὲ δυνάμεις τινὰς, ἐν οἷς θεοὶ διατῆρές εἰσι καὶ καθηγούμενες, ὁμωνύμως προσαρροῦντες. It is very profitable and necessary if we would receive good from the Writings of the Poets and not hurt; that we should understand how they use the names of the Gods in different senses. Wherefore the Poets sometimes use the names of the Gods properly, as intending to signifie thereby the Gods themselves, and sometimes again they use them Improperly and Equivocally, for those Powers which the Gods are the Givers and Dispensers of, or the Things which they Preside over. As for example, *Vulcane* is sometimes used by the Poets, for that God or Divine Power which presides over Fire and the Arts that operate by Fire, and sometimes again the word is taken by them for Fire it self. So *Mars* in like manner, is sometimes used for the God which presides over Military Affairs, and sometimes again it signifies nothing else but VVar. An instance whereof is there given by *Plutarch* out of *Sophocles*.

τυφλὸς γὰρ, ὡ γυναικας, εἰδ' ὅρῳ Ἄρης,
 εὐδὸς περσώπῳ, πάντα τυρβάζει κακὰ.

Mars (O Mulieres) cæcus hirsuto suis
Velut ore frendens, cuncta commiscet mala.

And we might give this other instance of the same from *Virgil*,

—Furit toto Mars impius orbe.

For the God of War, that is, the Divine Providence that presides over Military Affairs, could not be called Impious or Wicked, but it is War it self that is there so styled.

Indeed we shall afterwards make it appear, that the first Original of this business, proceeded from a certain Philosophick Opinion amongst

amongst the Pagans, *That God was diffused throughout the whole World,* and was himself in a manner All Things; and therefore ought to be Worshipped in All Things; but the Poets were principally the men, who carried it on thus far, by Personating the several Inanimate Parts of the World and Things of Nature, to make such a Multitude of *distinct Gods and Goddesses of them.* Which Humour, though it were chiefly indulged by them, *ἡμετέρας ἑνέκεν, only for the delight and pleasure of the Reader,* besides gratifying their own Poetick Phancies; yet was it a matter of Dangerous Consequence, as the same *Plutarch* gravely and soberly advizes, in his Book *de Iside*, it begetting in some gross and irrational *Superstition* (that is, in our Christian Language, *Idolatry*) and carrying others on to downright *Impiety and Atheism.* But this will be afterwards also again insisted on.

Wherefore in the next place, we shall observe that the Poets did also otherwise deprave the Theology of the Pagans, so as to make it look somewhat more *Aristocratically*, and this principally Two manner of wayes; First by their speaking so much of the Gods in General and without Distinction, and attributing the Government of the Whole World to them in Common, so as if it were managed and carried on, *Communi Consilio Deorum,* by a *Common Council and Republick of Gods*, wherein all things were determined by a *Majority of Votes*, and as if their *Jupiter* or Supreme God were no more amongst them than a Speaker of a *House of Lords or Commons*, or the Chairman of a Committee. In which they did indeed attribute more to their Inferiour Deities, than according to their own Principles they ought.

And Secondly (which is the *Last Depravation* of the *Pagan Theology* by these Poets) by their making those that were really nothing else but several Names and Notions of one and the same Supreme Deity, according to its several Powers manifested in the World, or the different Effects produced by it; to be so many really distinct Persons and Gods; insomuch as sometimes to be at odds and variance with one another and even with *Jupiter* himself. This *St. Basil* seems to take notice of, in his Oration, *How Young men may be profited by the Writings of the Greeks,* *πολύτων ὃ ἡμεῖς ὡς ἑὸν τι διαλεγόμενοις (ποιηταῖς) προσέξομεν, καὶ μάλιστα ὅταν, ὡς ὡς πολλῶν τε αὐτῶν διεξίωξι, καὶ τῶν ὁδὴ διανοούτων.* But least of all will we give credit to the Poets, where they discourse concerning the Gods, and speak of them as *Many (Distinct and Independent) Persons,* and that not agreeing amongst themselves neither, but siding several ways, and perpetually quarrelling with one another.

Notwithstanding all which Extravagancies and Miscarriages of the Poets, we shall now make it plainly to appear, that they really asserted, not a Multitude of *Self-existent and Independent Deities*; but *One only Unmade Deity*, and all the other, Generated or Created Gods. This hath been already proved concerning *Orpheus* from such Fragments of the Orphick Poems, as have been owned and attested by Pagan Writers: but it would be further evident, might we

give credit to any of those other Orphick Verses, that are found cited by Christians and Jews only (and we cannot reasonably conclude all these to be counterfeit and supposititious) amongst which we have this for one,

ἓς ἐς αὐτοῦ θεῶς, ἐνὸς ἕκτονα πάντα τέτυκται,

There is One only Unmade God, and all other Gods and Things, are the Off-spring of this One. Moreover when God in the same Orphick Fragments, is stiled μήτερ-πάτωρ, both Father and Mother of all things (accordingly as it was observed before) that both the Orphick and Egyptian Theology, made the Supreme Deity especially, to be ἀρσεννόθυλον, Hermaphroditical, or Male and Female together; This, as Clemens Alexandrinus rightly interprets the meaning of it, was to signifie, τῷ ἑκ μὴ ὄντων ᾠέσει, the Production of things out of nothing or from the Deity alone, without any Preexistent or Self-existent Matter.

But we shall pass from Orpheus to Homer. Now it is certain that Homer's Gods, were not all Eternal, Unmade and Self-existent, he plainly declaring the contrary concerning the Gods in general; that they had a Genesis, that is, a Temporary Production, as in that forecited Verse of his

Ὠκεανὸν τε θεῶν ᾠέσει, &c.

The Ocean from whence the Gods were Generated, Where by Gods are meant all the Animated parts of the world superiour to men, but principally (as Eustathius observes) the Stars, θεῶν ἀντὶ ἀστέρων, Gods (saith he) are here put for Stars. And as the same Philologer further adds, the Gods or Stars, do by a Synecdoche signifie All Things, or the Whole World, ἀντὶ τοῦ πάντων ὡς ἀπὸ μέρους, a Part being put for the Whole, accordingly as the same Poet elsewhere declares his sence, speaking likewise of the Ocean,

ὅς ᾠέσει πάντας τετυκται,

Which was the Original of all things, or from whence (not only the Gods but also) all other things were Generated. Wherefore the full meaning of Homer was this, That the Gods or Stars, together with this whole Visible World, had a Temporary Production, and were at first made out of the Ocean, that is, out of the Watry Chaos. So that Homer's Theogonia as well as Hesiod's, was one and the same thing with the Cosmogonia, his Generation of Gods, the same with the Generation or Creation of the World, both of them having in all probability derived it from the Mosaick Cabala, or Tradition. And Eustathius tells us, that, according to the Ancients, Homer's ἀσπερσις, described Il. σ. was ἀνύμω καὶ κοσμογενέας, an obscure signification of the Cosmogonia or Cosmogonia.

Nevertheless though οἱ θεοὶ or the Gods in general, be by Homer, thus

thus generated from the Ocean or Watry *Chaos*, yet this is to be understood only of the *Inferiour Gods*, and He is supposed to be distinguished from them, who in the same Poet is frequently called, ὁ Θεὸς κατ' ἐξοχὴν, *God by way of eminency* (to whom he plainly ascribes Omnipotence) and Ζεὺς or *Jupiter*, whom he stileth κατετίσιν ἅπαντων, *the most powerful of all*, and πρῶτα θεῶν, *the First and Chiefest of the Gods*, and ὑπέρτατον θεῶν and κρείοντων, *the Highest of Gods and Governours*, and whom he affirmeth infinitely to transcend the Gods, *Il. θ.*

Τόσων ἐγὼ θεῶν εἰ μὴ ἐμὶ θεῶν, εἰ μὴ ἐμὶ ἀνθρώπων.

And to reign as well over Gods as Men, *Il. α.*

ὥς τε θεοῖσι καὶ ἀνθρώποισιν ἀνάσσει.

Lastly, whom he maketh to be πατήρ θεῶν, *the Father of the Gods as well as Men*, that is, nothing less than the Creatour of them and the whole World. He therefore who thus produced the Gods and Stars, out of the Ocean or Watry *Chaos*, must needs be excluded out of that number of Gods, so as not to have been himself Generated or made out of it. Thus have we before observed, that οἱ θεοί, or *the Gods* in general, are frequently taken, both by *Homer* and other Greek Writers, in way of distinction from ὁ Θεός or *Jupiter*, that is, for the *Inferiour Gods* only.

It is true indeed that others of the Pagan Gods besides *Jupiter*, were by the Latins in their solemn Rites and Prayers, stiled *Patres*, *Fathers*; and as *Jupiter* is nothing else but *Jovis Pater*, contracted into one word, so was *Mars* called by them *Marspiter*, and *Saturnus*, *Janus*, *Neptunus* and *Liber* had the like addition also made to their names, *Saturnuspater*, *Januspater*, *Neptunuspater*, *Liberpater*; and not only so, but even their very *Heroes* also (as for example, *Quirinus*) had this honourable title of *Father* bestowed on them, All which appeareth from those Verses of *Lucilius*,

*Ut nemo sit nostrum quin aut Pater Optimus Divum,
Aut Neptunus Pater, Liber, Saturnus Pater, Mars,
Janus, Quirinus Pater nomen dicatur ad unum*

Notwithstanding which, here is a great difference to be observed, that though those other Gods were called *Fathers*, yet none of them was ever called, either by the Greeks, πατήρ θεῶν, or by the Latins, *Pater Optimus Divum*, save only Ζεὺς or *Jupiter*, the Supreme Deity.

And that *Homer* was thus generally understood by the Pagans themselves to have asserted a *Divine Monarchy*, or One Supreme Deity ruling over All, may further appear from these following Citations. *Plutarch* in his *Platonick Questions*, καὶ ξενокράτης διὰ ὑπέρτατον καλεῖ, πρῶτον δ' ὁμοῦ καὶ ἡν ἀρχόντων ἀρχοῦντα θεόν, ὑπέρτατον κρείοντων προσεῖπε. *Zenocrates* called *Jupiter*, *Hypaton*, or *the Highest*, but before him *Homer* stiled that God, who is the Prince of all Princes, ὑπέρτατον κρείοντων, *the Highest*

- P. 373. *Highest of Rulers or Governours.* Again the same *Plutarch de Iside & Osiride*, τὸν ὃ ὅπερ ἐν αὐτῷ πάλιν ὁφθαλμῷ καὶ σκήπτρῳ γράφεται, ὡς τὸ μὲν τῷ περὶ οὐρανὸν ἐμφαίνει, τὸ δὲ τῷ δυνάμει· ὡς Ὅμηρος τὸ ἀρχοῦν καὶ βασιλεύοντα πόλιν καὶ τὴν ὑπὸ αὐτοῦ καὶ μήτρωα καλῶν, εἰκοι τὰ μὲν ὑπὸ αὐτοῦ τὸ κρατὸς αὐτοῦ, τὰ δὲ μήτρωα τῷ δυνάμει καὶ τῷ φρονέειν σημαίνειν. *The Egyptians when they described Osiris by those Hieroglyphicks of an Eye and a Scepter, did by the former of them signifie Providence, and by the latter Power; as Homer when he calls that Ζεὺς or Jupiter, who ruleth and reigneth over all things, ὑπὸ αὐτοῦ and μήτρωα, seems by the word ὑπὸ αὐτοῦ, to denote his Power and Sovereignty, but by μήτρωα his Wisdom and Knowledge.* To *Plutarch* may be added *Proclus*, who upon *Plato's Timæus*, having proved that according to that Philosopher, there was τὸ κόσμος πάντος εἷς καὶ ὅλος δημιουργός, *One only Maker of the whole World*, affirms the same likewise of that Divine Poet *Homer* (as he there stiles him) ὅς καὶ διὰ πόλιν ποιήσεως ὑπὸ αὐτοῦ κρείονταν καὶ πάντας ἀνδρῶν καὶ θεῶν αὐτῷ ἀνυμνεῖ, καὶ πᾶσι δυνάμει τοῖς δημιουργοῖς νοήματα. *That he also throughout all his Poësie, praises Jupiter, as the Highest of all Rulers, and the Father both of Gods and Men, and attributes all Demiurgical Notions to him.* Whereupon he concludes in this manner, ἔγωγε τοῖνυν σύμπασαν τῷ Ἑλλήνων θεολογίαν ἀπεφύναρχον, τὰ δὲ τῷ ὅλῳ δημιουργίαν ἀπονέμεσθαι. *And thus we have made it manifest, that all the Greekish Theology, universally ascribes to Ζεὺς or Jupiter, the Making of all things.* Lastly, *Aristotle* himself confirmeth the same with his Testimony, where he writes of the Paternal Authority after this manner, ἢ τῷ τέκνων ἀρχὴ βασιλική· διὸ καλῶς Ὅμηρος τὸ δῖα προσήγαγεν εἰπών,

De Rep. L. 1.
c. 12

———— Πατὴρ ἀνδρῶν τε θεῶν τε,

τὸ βασιλέα τῶν πάντων· φύσιν γὰρ τὸ βασιλέα διαφέρειν μὴ δὲ, τὰ γὰρ ἄνθρωποι εἶναι τὸ αὐτῷ· ὅθεν πέπνευσε τὸ πρεσβύτερον πρὸς τὸ νεώτερον, καὶ ὁ γυνήσκας πρὸς τὸ τέκνον. *The Paternal Power or Authority over Children, is a Kingly Authority: Wherefore Homer when he intended to set forth Jupiter's Kingly Power over all, very well called him the Father of Men and Gods.* For he that is a King by Nature, ought both to differ from those that he reigneth over, and also to be of the same kind with them; as the Senior is to the Junior, and he that Begetteth to his Off-spring. Where *Aristotle's* sence seems to be this, That *Jupiter* had therefore a Natural and not acquired Kingly Power over all the Gods, because they were all his Off-spring and Begotten by him, as well as Men. In which Passage therefore *Aristotle* plainly acquits and frees *Homer* from all suspicion of Atheism.

As for *Hesiod*, if we had not already sufficiently prov'd from his *Theogonia*, that all his Gods (that is his Inferiour Deities) were Generated and Made, as well as Men, it might be made unquestionably evident, from this Verse of his in his *Opera*,

ὅς ὁμόθεν γεγάασιν θεοὶ ἄνθρωποι,

When the Gods and Mortal men, were both together, alike made or Generated

nerated. Where the word ὁμόθεν is thus interpreted by the Greek Scholiasts, ἀπὸ τοῦ αὐτῆς ἑίδους and ἐκ τῆς αὐτῆς ῥύσας, i. e. *The Gods and Men, were both alike made from the same Root or Stock.* And though it followeth immediatly after,

Χρῦσεν μὲν πρώτιστα ῥῥῖον μέρῳπων ἀνθρώπων
'Αθάνατοι ποίησαν, ὀλύμπια δώματ' ἔχοντες.

That first of all a Golden Age of men was made by the Immortal Gods; Yet Moschopolus there notes, 'Αθάνατοι ποίησαν, ὁ Ζῆς μὲν ἐποίησεν, ὡς ἀπὸ τοῦ ἄλλων φάνερον γίνεται. λέγει δὲ πάντας τὰς θεάς, τὸ τῆς ἐνὸς ἔργον ἔπ' ἅπας τὰς ὁμοειδέας ἀναφέρων. The Immortal Gods made; the true meaning (saith he) is, that Jupiter alone made, this First golden Age of Men; as may be proved from other places in the same Poet; and though he speak of the Gods in general yet doth he but transfer that, which was the work of One upon all of the like kind. And there are several other Instances, of this Poets using θεοὶ for θεός, Gods for God. But it is possible that Hesiod's meaning might be the same with Plato's, that though the Inferiour Mundane Gods were all made at first by the Supreme God; as well as Men, yet they being made something sooner than Men, did afterwards contribute also to the Making of men.

But Hesiod's *Theogonia* or *Generation of Gods*, is not to be understood universally neither, but only of the *Inferiour Gods*, that Ζῆς or *Jupiter* being to be excepted out of the number of them, whom the same Hesiod as well as *Homer*, makes to be the *Father of Gods*; as also the *King of them*, in these words,

Αὐτὸς δὲ πάντων βασιλεύς καὶ κτίσων ὤντων
'Αθανάτων.

And attributes the Creation of all things to him, as *Proclus* writeth upon this place,

"Ὅν τε διὰ βροτοὶ ἀνδρες ὄμωας, &c.

By whom all Mortal men are, δι' ὃν πάντα, καὶ ἐκ αὐτομάτως. πάντα τὰ διὰ τῆς ἡρεσσαναπλάτης, by whom all things are, and not by chance; the Poet by a Synecdoche, here ascribing the making of all to Jupiter. Wherefore Hesiod's Theogonia is to be understood of the Inferiour Gods only, and not of Ζῆς or Jupiter, who was the Father and Maker of them (though out of a Watery Chaos) and himself therefore αὐτοφυής, self-existent or Unmade.

In like manner, that *Pindar's* Gods were not *Eternal*, but *Made or Generated*, is plainly declared by him in these words,

"Ἐν ἀνδρῶν, ἐν θεῶν ῥῥῖον, ἐκ
μιᾶς δὲ πνέουμένη
ματὲρ ἀμφοτέρω.

Nem. Od. 6.

*Unum Hominum, Unum Deorum genus,
Et ex Una spiramus
Matre utrique.*

There is one kind both of Gods and Men, and we both breath from the same Mother, or spring from the same Original. Where by the common Mother both of Gods and Men, the Scholiast understands the Earth and Chaos, taking the Gods here for the Inferiour Deities only, and principally the Stars.

This of *Pindar's* therefore is to be understood, of all the other Gods, That they were made as well as men out of the Earth or *Chaos*, but not of that Supreme Deity, whom the same *Pindar* elsewhere calls, θεῶν κρείττων, *the most Powerful of the Gods*, and ὁ πάντων κύριον, *the Lord of all things*, and παντὶ ἄπαιον, *the Cause of every thing*, and ἀρεστέχην θεόν, *that God who is the best Artificer*, or was the *Framer of the whole World*, and as *Clemens Alexandrinus* tells us, τὸ πᾶν, *or the Universe*. Which God also, according to *Pindar*, *Cheiron* instructed *Achilles* to worship principally, above all the other Gods.

Pind. Od. 6.

——— μάλιστα μὲν κρενίδαν
βαρυόπαν, σεσπᾶν κεραυνῶν τε πρύτανιν,
θεῶν σέβειν·

The sence of which words is thus declared by the Scholiast, ἐξαίρετος ὁ μεγαλόφωνον ἀσεσπᾶν καὶ κεραυνῶν δεσπότην ὁ δία, ὡς καὶ τὰς ἄλλας θεὸς τιμᾶν καὶ σέβειν· *That he should honour and worship the Loud-sounding Jupiter, the Lord of Thunder and Lightning, transcendently above all the other Gods*. Which by the way confutes the Opinion of those who contend, that the *Supreme God*, as such, was not at all Worshipped by the Pagans.

However this is certain concerning these Three, *Homer*, *Hesiod* and *Pindar*; that they must of necessity either have been all absolute Atheists, in acknowledging no *Eternal Deity* at all, but making senseless *Chaos*, Night and the Ocean, the Original of all their Gods without exception, and therefore of *Jupiter* himself too, that King and Father of them, or else assert One only *Eternal Unmade Self-existent Deity*; so as that all the other Gods were Generated or Created by that One. Which latter doubtless was their genuine sence; and the only reason why *Aristotle* and *Plato* might possibly sometime have a suspicion of the contrary, seems to have been this, their not understanding that *Mosaick Cabbala*, which both *Hesiod* and *Homer* followed, of the World's, that is, both Heaven and Earth's, being made at first out of a Watery *Chaos*; for thus is the Tradition declared by *St. Peter*, *Ep. 2. Ch. 3.*

There might be several remarkable Passages to the same purpose, produced out of those two Tragick Poets, *Æschylus* and *Sophocles*; which yet because they have been already cited, by *Justin Martyr*,
Clemens

Clemens Alexandrinus, and others; to avoid unnecessary tediousness, we shall here pass by. Only we think fit to observe concerning that one famous Passage of *Sophocles*,

Εἷς ταῖς ἀληθείαισιν, εἷς ὅτιν θεός,
Ὅς ἔργον τ' ἔτελλε καὶ γαῖαν μακροῖν,
Πόντον τε χεῖρσιν οἶσ' ἡμᾶς, κἀνέμων βίαν, &c.

Unus profecto, Unus est tantum Deus,
Cæli solique machinam qui condidit,
Vadumque Ponti cærulæ, & vim Spiritus, &c.

There is in truth, One only God, who made Heaven and Earth, the Sea, Air and Winds, &c. After which followeth also, something against Image-worship; That though this be such as might well become a Christian, and be no where now to be found in those extant Tragedies of this Poet (many whereof have been lost) yet the sincerity thereof, cannot reasonably be at all suspected by us, it having been cited by so many of the Ancient Fathers in their Writings against the Pagans, as particularly, *Justin Martyr*, *Athenagoras*, *Clemens Alexandrinus*, *Justin Martyr*, *Eusebius*, *Cyril* and *Theodoret*; of which number, *Clemens* tells us, that it was attested likewise, by that ancient Pagan Historiographer *Hecateus*. But there are so many Places to our purpose, in *Euripides*, that we cannot omit them all; In his *Supplices* we have this, wherein all mens Absolute Dependence upon *Jupiter*, or one Supreme Deity, is fully acknowledged,

ὦ Ζεῦ, τί δ' ὄντα τὸς παλαιώτερος βροτῶν
Φρονεῖν λέγῃσι; ὃ δ' ἔκζητήμηθα,
Δραμὴν τε τοιαύτην, ἂν σὺ τυγχάνῃς δέλων.

Miseros quid Homines, O Deum Rex & Pater,
Sapere arbitramur? Pendet è nutu tuo
Res nostra, facimusque illa quæ visum tibi.

We have also this excellent Prayer to the Supreme Governour of Heaven and Earth, cited out of the same Tragedian,

Σοὶ τῷ πάντων μεδόντι χολῶ,
Πέλαγον τε φέρω Ζεὺς ἄτ' Αἰθ'ρας
Ὀνομαζόμενον σέργεις.
Σὺ δ' εἰ τε θεοῖς τοῖς ἑρμίνδαῖς,
Σκῆπτρον τὸ Διὸς μέλα χειρίζων,
Χρυσὴν δ' Αἰθ' μετέχεις ἀρχῆς.
Πέμψον μὲν φῶς ψυχαῖς ἀνέρων
τοῖς βροτοῖσιν ἄλλος προμαθεῖν
ἵδδεν ἔβλασεν, τίς εἶσα κακῶν,
τίνι δ' ἂν μακάρων δὲ δυσσμενέας
εὐρεῖν μόχθων ἀνάπαυλιν.

Tibi (Cunctorum Domino) Vinum,
M m

Salsamque

*Salsamque Molam fero, seu Ditis,
 Tu, sive Jovis nomine gaudes :
 Tu namque Deos Superos inter,
 Sceptrum tractas Sublime Jovis ;
 Idem Regnum Terestre tenes.
 Tu Lucem animis infunde Virum,
 Qui scire volunt, quo sata Mentis
 Lucta sit ortu, Quæ Causa Mali ;
 Cui Cælicolũm rite litando
 Requiem sit habere laborum.*

Where we may observe that *Ζῆς* and "*Ἄδης*", *Jupiter* and *Pluto*, are both of them supposed to be Names, equally belonging to One and the same Supreme God. And the Sum of the Prayer is this, *That God would infuse Light into the Souls of men, whereby they might be enabled to know, What is the Root, from whence all their Evils spring, and by what means they may avoid them.*

Lastly, there is another Devotional Passage, cited out of *Euripides*, which contains also a clear acknowledgment of One Self-existent Being, that comprehends and governs the whole World,

Σὲ τ' αὐτοφυῆ, τ' ἐν αἰθέριῳ
 Ῥόμῳ, πάντων φύσιν ἐμπλέξαντ',
 Ὅν περὶ μὲν φῶς, πέρι δ' ὀφθαλμοῖς
 Νῦξ αἰολόχῳ· ἀκραιτὸν τ' ἄστρων
 Ὀχλὸν εἰδιλεχᾶς ἀμφιχορδαῖ.

*Thou Self-sprung Being, that do'st All Enfold,
 And in thine Arms, Heav'n's Whirling Fabrick hold !
 Who art Encircled with resplendent Light,
 And yet ly'st Mantled o're in Shady Night !
 About whom, the Exultant Starry Fires,
 Dance nimbly round, in Everlasting Gyres.*

For this sence of the Second and Third Verses, which we think the Words will bear, and which agrees with that Orphick Passage

— — — περὶ γὰρ νέφε' ἐστ' ἐμῶν,

That God being in himself a most bright and dazeling Light, is respectively to us, and by reason of the Weakness of our Understanding, covered over with a Thick Cloud ; as also with that in the Scripture, Clouds and Darknes are round about him ; I say, this sence, we chose rather to follow, as more Rich and August, than that other Vulgar one, though Grammatically and Poetically good also ; That Successive Day and Night, together with a Numberless Multitude of Stars, perpetually dance round about the Deity.

Aristophanes in the very beginning of his *Plutus* distinguisheth betwixt *Ζῆς* and *θεοί*, *Jupiter* and the Gods,

ὧς ἀρχαλέον περὶ γὰρ ὃν θεὸς καὶ θεοί, &c.

And we have this clear Testimony of *Terpander* cited by *Clemens Alexandrinus*, θεὸς πάντων ἀρχή, θεὸς πάντων ἀρχηγός, *Thou Jupiter who art the Original of all things, Thou Jupiter who art the Governour of all.* And these following Verses are attributed to *Menander*.

Τὸν οὐτ' αὖ πάντων κυβερνον ὑπερκότατον
καὶ πατέρα, τὸτον διατέλει τιμᾶν μένον,
Ἀρχοῶν τοιούτων δὲρέτω καὶ κλισίῳ.

*Rerum universarum Imperatorem & Patrem,
Solum perpetuo colere suppliciter decet,
Artificem tantæ & Largitorem copiæ.*

Where men are exhorted to Worship the Supreme God only, as the sole Author of all Good, or at least transcendently above all the other Gods. There are also Two remarkable Testimonies, one of *Hermesianax* an ancient Greek Poet, and another of *Aratus*, to the same purpose; which shall both be reserved for other places.

Wherefore we pass from the Greek to the Latin Poets, where *Ennius* first appears, deriving the Gods in General (who were all the Inferiour Deities) from *Erebus* and Night, as supposing them all to have been *Made* or *Generated* out of *Chaos*, nevertheless acknowledging One who was

— *Divûmque Hominumque Pater, Rex,*

both *Father and King of Gods and Men*, that is, the Maker or Creator of the whole World, who therefore made those Gods together with the World out of *Chaos*, himself being *Unmade*.

Plautus in like manner sometimes distinguisheth betwixt *Jupiter* and the *Gods*, and plainly acknowledgeth One Omniscient Deity,

Est profecto Deus, qui quæ nos gerimus, auditque & videt.

*Cap. AB. 1.
Sc. 2.*

Which Passage very much resembles that of *Manlius Torquatus* in *Livy*, *Est Cæleste Numen, Es Magne Jupiter*; a strong Asseveration of One Supreme and Universal Deity. And the same *Plautus* in his *Rudens* clearly asserts one Supreme Monarch and Emperor over All, whom the Inferiour Gods are subservient to,

*Qui Gentes omnes Mariæque & Terras movet,
Ejus sum Civis civitate Cælitum;
Qui est Imperator Divûm atque Hominum Jupiter,
Is nos per gentes alium aliâ disparat,
Hominum qui facta, mores, pietatem & fidem
Noscamus.*

M m 2

Qui

*Qui falsas lites falsis testimoniis
 Petunt, quique in jure abjurant pecuniam,
 Eorum referimus nomina exscripta ad Jovem.
 Cotidie Ille scit, quis hic querat malum.
 Iterum Ille eam rem judicatam judicat.
 Bonos in aliis tabulis exscriptos habet.
 Atque hoc scelesti illi in animum inducunt suum
 Jovem se placare posse donis, hostiis ;
 Sed operam & sumptum perdunt, quia
 Nihil Ei acceptum est à perjuris supplicii.*

Where *Jupiter* the Supreme Monarch of Gods and Men, is said to appoint other Inferiour Gods under him, over all the parts of the Earth, to observe the Actions, Manners and Behaviours of men every where ; and to return the names both of bad and good to him. Which *Jupiter* judges over again all unjust Judgments, rendring a righteous retribution to all. And though wicked men conceit that he may be bribed with sacrifices, yet no worship is acceptable to him from the Perjurious. Notwithstanding which, this Poet afterwards jumbles the Supreme and Inferiour Gods all together, after the usual manner, under that one general name of Gods, because they are all supposed to be Co-governours of the World ;

*Facilius, siqui pius est, à Diis supplicans,
 Quam qui scelestus est, inveniet veniam sibi.*

*Pan. Act. 5.
 Sc. 4.*

Again the same Poet elsewhere brings in *Hanno* the Carthaginian, with this form of Prayer addressing himself to *Jupiter* or the Supreme God,

*Jupiter, qui genus colis alisque Hominum, per quem vivimus
 Vitale ævum ; quem penes spes, vitæque sunt Hominum Omnium,
 Da diem hunc sospitem, quæso, rebus meis agundis.*

In the next place, we have these Verses of *Valerius Soranus*, an ancient and eminent Poet, full to the purpose, recorded by *Varro*,

*Jupiter Omnipotens, Regum Rex ipse Deumque,
 Progenitor Genitrixque Deum ; Deus UNUS & OMNIS.*

To this sence: *Omnipotent Jupiter, the King of Kings and Gods, and the Progenitor and Genitrix, the both Father and Mother of those Gods ; One God and all Gods.* Where the Supreme and Omnipotent Deity is stiled *Progenitor & Genitrix Deorum*, after the same manner as he was called in the Orphick Theology *μῆτερον τε καὶ ἀρχέγονόν τε θεὸς*, that expression denoting the Gods and all other Things, to have been produced from him alone, and without any prexistent matter. Moreover according to the tenour of this Ethnick Theology, that *One God was All Gods and Every God*, the Pagans supposed, that when ever any Inferiour Deity was worshipped by them, the Supreme was therein also at once worshipped and honoured.

Though

Though the sense of *Ovid* hath been sufficiently declared before, yet we cannot well omit some other Passages of his, as that grateful and sensible acknowledgment,

*Quod loquor & spiro, Cælumque & lumina Solis
Aspicio (possumne ingratus & immemor esse ?)
Ipse dedit.*

And this in the Third of his *Metamorph.*

*Ille Pater Rectorque Deum, cui Dextra trifurcis
Ignibus armata est, qui Nutu concutit Orbem.*

Virgil's Theology also may sufficiently appear from his frequent acknowledgment of an Omnipotent Deity, and from those Verses of his before cited out of *Æn.* 6. wherein he plainly asserts One God to be the Original of all things, at least as a Soul of the World; *Servius Honoratus* there paraphrasing thus, *Deus est quidam Divinus Spiritus, qui per quatuor fusus elementa, gignit universa*, God is a certain Spirit, which infused through the Four Elements, begetteth all things. Nevertheless, we shall add from him this also of *Venus* her Prayer to *Jupiter*, *Æn.* 1.

——— *O qui res Hominumque Deumque,
Æternis regis imperiis, & fulmine terres !*

Which *Venus* again, *Æn.* 10. bespeaks the same *Jupiter* after this manner,

O Pater, O Hominum Divumque Æterna Potestas !

Where we have this Annotation of *Servius*, *Divumque Æterna Potestas, propter aliorum Numinum discretionem*, *Jupiter* is here called the Eternal Power of the Gods, to distinguish him from all the other Gods that were not Eternal, but Made or Generated from him.

Neither ought *Horace* to be left out, in whom we read to the same purpose, *Lib.* 1. *Od.* 12.

*Quid prius dicam solitis Parentis
Laudibus ? Qui res Hominum & Deorum,
Qui Mare & Terras, variisque mundum
Temperat horis.*

*Unde nil majus generatur ipso,
Nec viget quicquam simile aut secundum;
Proximos illi tamen occupavit*

Pallas honores.

And again, *Lib.* 3. *Od.* 4.

Qui Terram inertem, qui mare Temperat

Ventosum

*Ventosum, & Urbes, Regnaque Tristia ;
Divosque, Mortalesque turmas,
Imperio regit UNUS æquo.*

Where from those words of *Horace*, *Solitis Parentis Laudibus*, it appears that the One *Supreme Deity*, the *Parent* and *Maker* of all things, was then wont to be celebrated by the Pagans as such, above all the other Gods. And whereas those Pagans vulgarly ascribed the Government of the Seas particularly to *Neptune*, of the Earth and *Hades* or *Inferi* (which are here called *Tristia Regna*) to *Pluto*, these being here attributed by *Horace* to One and the same *Supreme* and *Universal Deity*, it may well be concluded from thence, that *Jupiter*, *Neptune*, and *Pluto*, were but Three several Names or Notions, of One *Supreme Numen*, whose sovereignty notwithstanding was chiefly signified by *Jupiter*. Which same is to be said of *Pallas* or *Minerva* too, that signifying the *Eternal Wisdom*, that it was but another name of God also, though look'd upon as inferior to that of *Jupiter* and next in dignity to it: unless we should conclude it to be a Second *Divine Hypostasis*, according to the Doctrine of the *Pythagoreans* and *Platonists* (probably not unknown to *Horace*) as also to that *Scripture Cabbala*, *I was set up from everlasting, or ever the Earth was, when there were no Depths, I was brought forth, &c.* But of this more afterward.

Lastly, we shall conclude with *Manilius* who lived in the same *Augustean age*, and was a zealous opposer of that *Atheistical Hypothesis* of *Epicurus* and *Lucretius*, as appears from these Verses of his,

*Quis credat tantas operum sine Numine Moles,
Ex Minimis cæcoque creatum fœdere mundum?*

Wherefore he also plainly asserts One *Supreme Deity* the *Framer* and *Governour* of the whole *World* in this manner, *Lib. 2.*

*Namque canam tacitâ Naturam mente potentem,
Insusumque Deum Cælo, Terrisque, Frætoque,
Ingentem æquali moderantem fœdere molem,
Totumque alterno consensu vivere mundum,
Et rationis agi motu ; quum SPIRITUS UNUS
Per cunctas habitet partes, atque irriget Orbem,
Omnia pervolitans, Corpusq; Animale figuret, &c.*

And again,

*Hoc opus immensi constructum corpore mundi,
Vis Animæ Divina regit, Sacroque Meatu,
Conspirat Deus, & tacita ratione gubernat.*

And, *Lib. 4.*

—— *Faciem Cæli non invidet Orbi
Ipse Deus, vultusque suos, corpusque recludit,*

Semper

*Semper volvendo, seq; ipsum inculcat & offert ;
Ut bene cognosci possit, monstretque videndo
Qualis eat, doceatque suas attendere Leges.,
Ipse vocat nostros animos ad Sydera Mundus,
Nec patitur, quia non condit, sua Jura latere.*

Where notwithstanding, we confess, that the whole *Animated World*, or rather the *Soul* thereof, is, according to the Stoical Doctrine, made by *Manilius* to be the Supreme *Numen*.

XX. We now pass from the *Poets* of the Pagans to their *Philosophers*. A Modern Writer concerning the *Religion of the Gentiles*, affirmeth this to have been the Opinion of very eminent Philosophers, That even all the *Minor Gods of the Pagans*, did exist of themselves from *Eternity Unmade*, they giving many reasons for the same. But how far from truth this is, will (as we conceive) appear sufficiently, from the Sequel of this Discourse. And we cannot conclude otherwise but that this Learned Writer, did mistake that Opinion of *Aristotle* and the latter *Platonists*, concerning the *Eternity of the World and Gods*, as if they had therefore asserted the *Self-existence* of them; the contrary whereunto hath been already manifested. Wherefore we shall now make it unquestionably evident by a Particular Enumeration, That the Generality of the Pagan Philosophers who were Theists, however they acknowledged a Multiplicity of Gods, yet asserted *One only Self-existent Deity*, or a *Universal Numen*, by whom the World and all those other Gods were Made. There being only some few *Ditheists* to be excepted, (such as *Plutarch* and *Atticus*) who out of a certain Softness and Tenderness of Nature, that they might free the *One Good God*, from the Imputation of Evils, would needs set up besides him, an *Evil Soul* or *Demon* also in the World *Self-existent*, to bear all the blame of them.

And indeed *Epicurus* is the only Person that we can find, amongst the reputed Philosophers; who though pretending to acknowledge Gods, yet professedly opposed *Monarchy*, and verbally asserted a Multitude of *Eternal Unmade Self-existent Deities*: but such, as had nothing at all to do either with the Making or Governing of the World. The reason whereof was, because he would by no means admit the World to have been made by any Mind or Understanding: Wherefore he concluded,

Naturam Rerum, haud Divinâ Mente Coortam,

Lucret. l. 3.

That there was no God the *δημιουργος* or *Framer of the World*. But nevertheless that he might decline the *Odium* of being accounted an Atheist, he pretended to assert a *Multitude of Gods Unmade and Incorruptible*, such as were unconcerned in the *Fabrick of the World*. Wherein first it is evident, that he was not serious and sincere, because he really admitting no other Principles of things in his Philosophy, besides *Atoms* and *Vacuum*, agreeably thereunto, could acknowledge no other Gods, than such as were compounded out of
Atoms

Lib. 4. cont. C.
p. 169.

Atoms, and therefore Corruptible. And thus does *Origen* declare the Doctrine of *Epicurus*, not indeed as he pretended to hold it, but as according to the tenor of his Principles, he must have held it, had he really asserted any Gods at all, οἱ τῶν Ἐπικύρου θεῶν, σύνθετοι δὲ ἀτόμων τυγχάνοντες, ἢ τὸ ὅσον ἐπὶ τῇ οὐλοῦ ἀναλυτοῖ, πραγματεύονται τοῖς φθοροποιῶν ἀτομοῖς ἀποσείεσθαι, *Epicurus his Gods being compounded of Atoms, and therefore by their very constitution Corruptible, are in continual labour and toil, struggling with their Corruptive Principles.* Nevertheless if *Epicurus* had in good earnest asserted such a *Commonwealth of Gods*, as were neither Made out of Atoms, nor yet Corruptible; so long as he denied the World to have been Made by any Mind or Wisdom (as we have already declared) he ought not to be reckoned amongst the *Theists* but *Atheists*.

Thales the Milesian was one of the most Ancient Greek Philosophers, who that he admitted a *Plurality of Gods* in some sence, is evident from that saying of his cited by *Aristotle*, πάντα θεῶν πληρῶν, *All things are full of Gods.* But that notwithstanding he asserted *One Supreme* and only *Unmade* or *Self-existent Deity*, is also manifest from that other Apothegm of his in *Laertius*, πρεσβύτατον πάντων ὁ θεός, ἀ-χρονῆτον γὰρ· *God is the Oldest of all things, because he is Unmade.* From whence it may be concluded, that all *Thales* his other Gods were Generated, and the Offspring of *One* sole *Unmade Deity*.

Pherecydes Syrus was *Thales* his contemporary, of whom *Aristotle* in his *Metaphysics* hath recorded, that he affirmed τὸ ἀρχόντων πρῶτον αἰεῖον, that the *First Principle* from whence all other things were Generated, was the *Best* or an *Absolutely Perfect Being*; So as that in the *Scale of Nature* things did not ascend upwards from the most *Imperfect* to the more *Perfect* Beings, but on the contrary descend downwards, from the most *Perfect*, to the less *Perfect*. Moreover *Laertius* informs us, that this was the Beginning of one of *Pherecydes* his Books, χρόνος μὲν καὶ χρόνος εἰς αἰὲν, καὶ χρόνος ὧν· *Jupiter, and Time, and the Earth always were.* Where notwithstanding in the following words, he makes the Earth to be dependent upon *Jupiter*. Though some reading χρόνος here instead of χρόνος, seem to understand him thus; that *Jupiter* and *Saturn*, really one and the same Numen, was always from *Eternity*. However there is in these words an acknowledgment of *One* Single and *Eternal Deity*.

Pythagoras was the most eminent of all the ancient Philosophers, who that he was a Polytheist as well as the other Pagans, may be concluded from that Beginning of the *Golden Verses* (though not written by him)

Ἀθανάτους μὲν πρῶτα θεὸς νόμος, ὡς δὴ κενεῖται,
τίμα καὶ σέβας ὅμιον· ἐπειδ' ἦρως ἀγαυός·
τὸς τε καὶ αἰθονίους σέβας δαίμονας, ἔνομα ἔχον.

Wherein men are exhorted in the first place to worship the *Immortal Gods*, and that accordingly as they were appointed by Law, after them the *Heroes*, and last of all the *Terrestrial Demons*. And accordingly

cordingly *Laertius* gives this account of *Pythagoras* his Piety, τιμάς θεοῖς δ' εἶν νομίζεν καὶ ἡρώων, μὴ τοῖς ἴσας. *That he conceived men ought to worship, both the Gods, and the Heroes; though not with equal honour.* And who these Gods of *Pythagoras* were, the same Writer also declareth, ἡλίον τε καὶ σελήνην καὶ τὰς ἄλλας ἀστέρας, εἶναι θεούς. *That they were in part at least, the Sun, and Moon, and Stars.*

Notwithstanding which, that *Pythagoras* acknowledged One Supreme and Universal *Numen*, which therefore was the Original of all those other Gods, may partly appear from that Prayer in the Golden Verses, which, whether written by *Philolaus* or *Lyfys* or some other Follower of *Pythagoras*, were undoubtedly ancient and agreeable to his Doctrine.

Ζεῦ πάτερ, ἢ πολλῶν τε κακῶν λύσθας ἅπαντας·
εἰ πάρι δ' εἴξαις οἶόν τ' ἀλμυρὸν χερῶνται·

Salmaf. Præf.
in Tab. Ceb.
Arab.

Jupiter alme, malis jubeas vel solvier omnes:
Omnibus utantur vel quonam demone monstra.

Upon which *Hierocles* thus writeth, ὁ ποιητὴς καὶ πατήρ, τῷδε τῷ παντός ἐσθ' ὡς τοῖς περὶ ἀρχαίοις τὰ τῷ Διὶ καὶ Ζεῷ, ὁνόματι σπερνύμεν· δι' ὃν γὰρ τὸ εἶναι, καὶ τὸ ζῆν, τοῖς πάρι ὑπάρχει, τῶν δικαίων ἀπὸ τῆς ἐνεργείας ὀνομάζεσθαι. *It was the manner of the Pythagoreans to honour the Maker and Father of this whole Universe, with the name of Dis and Zen, it being just, that he who giveth Being and Life to all, should be denominated from thence: And again afterwards, τὸ τῷ Διὶ ὄνομα σύμβολόν ἐστι, καὶ εἰκὼν ἐμφανὴς διμυρμηκῆς ὁρίας, τὰ τὸς πρώτους θεοὺς τοῖς περὶ ἡμᾶς τὰ ὀνόματα διὰ σοφίας καθολικῶς, ὥς περὶ τινος ἀγαλματοποιὸς ἀρεῖας, διὰ τῆς ὀνομασίας, ὡς δι' εἰκόνων, ἐμφανίσαι αὐτῇ τὰς δυνάμεις.* *This very name Zeus, is a convenient symbol or image of the Demiurgical Nature. And they who first gave names to things, were by reason of a certain wonderful Wisdom of theirs, a kind of excellent Statuaries; they by those several Names, as Images, lively representing the natures of things.* Moreover that this Pythagorick Prayer was directed to the Supreme *Numen* and King of Gods, *Jamblichus* thus declares in his *Protrepticks*, ἐν δὲ ταῖς μὲν μὲν αἰεὶς ἐν δὲ κλησὶς εἰς τὴν δέαν δὴ δαιμονίαν ἢ μεμυρμένη ταῖς ἀρχαῖς καὶ ἀνακλήσει τῷ θεῷ, καὶ μάλιστα τῷ βασιλεῖ αὐτῇ Διὶ. *Here is an excellent exhortation of these Golden Verses, to the pursuit of Divine Felicity, mingled together with Prayers and the Invocation of the Gods, but especially of that Jupiter who is the King of them.* Moreover the same might further appear from those Pythagorick Fragments that are still extant, as that of *Ocellus Lucanus*, and others who were Moralists, in which as Gods are sometimes spoken of plurally, so also is God often singularly used, for that Supreme Deity which containeth the whole.

But this will be most of all manifest, from what hath been recorded concerning the Pythagorick Philosophy and its making a Monad the First Principle. It is true indeed that the Writer *de Platonicis Philosophorum*, doth affirm, *Pythagoras* to have asserted Two Substantial

Lib. i. cap. 3.

stantial Principles Self-existent, a Monad and a Dyad; by the former of which as God is confessed to have been meant, so the latter of them is declared with some uncertainty, it being in one place interpreted to be a Demon, or a Principle of Evil, Πυθαγόρας τῆς ἀρχῶν τῶ μὲν μονάδα θεόν, καὶ τὰγαθόν, ἥτις ἔστιν ἡ τῆς ἐνός φύσις, αὐτὸς ὁ νῦν· τῶ δ' ἀβυσσὸν δυάδα δαίμονα, καὶ τὸ κακόν, &c. Pythagoras his First Principle is God and Good, which is the Nature of Unity, and a perfect Mind; but his other Principle of Duality, is a Demon or Evil: But in another place expounded to be Matter, πολλὴν τῶ μονάδα καὶ τῶ ἀβυσσὸν δυάδα ἐν ταῖς ἀρχαῖς· σπασθῆναι δ' αὐτὰς τῆς ἀρχῶν ἢ μὲν ἐπὶ τὸ ποιητικὸν αἴτιον καὶ εἰδικόν, (ὅθεν ἔστι νῦν ὁ θεός) ἢ δ' ἐπὶ τὸ παθητικόν τε καὶ ὑλικόν (ὅθεν ἔστιν ὁ ὄρατος κόσμος·) Pythagoras his Principles, were a Monad and Infinite Duality: The former of them an Active Principle, Mind or God; the latter Passive and Matter. And Plutarch in some other Writings of his declares that the First Matter did not exist alone by it self Dead and Inanimate, but acted with an irrational Soul; and that both these together made up that wicked Demon of his. And doubtless, this Book De Placitis Philosophorum, was either written by Plutarch himself, or else by some Disciple and Follower of his according to his Principles. Wherefore this accompt which is therein given of the Pythagorick Doctrine, was probably infected with that private Conceit of Plutarch's; That God and a wicked Demon, or else Matter together with an Irrational Soul, Self-existent, were the First Principles of the Universe. Though we do acknowledge, that others also besides Plutarch, have supposed Pythagoras to have made Two Self-existent Principles, God and Matter, but not animate, nor informed, as Plutarch supposed, with any Irrational or wicked Soul.

P. 203.

Notwithstanding which, it may well be made a Question, Whether Pythagoras by his Dyad, meant Matter or no; because Malchus or Porphyrius, in the Life of Pythagoras, thus interprets those Two Pythagorick Principles, of Unity and Duality; τὸ αἴτιον τὸ συμπνοίας καὶ τὸ συμπάθειας, καὶ τὸ σωτηρίας καὶ ὅλων τῶ κατὰ ταῦτα καὶ ὁ σώματος ἐχούσης, ἐν προσεγγέδουσαν, καὶ γὰρ τὸ ἐν τοῖς κατὰ μέρος ἐν ταῖς τελευταῖς, ἡνωμένων τοῖς μέρεσι καὶ σύμπαν, κατὰ μέτρας τῶ πρώτης αἰτίας· καὶ δ' ἐπετέθη καὶ ἀνισότης καὶ παντός τῶ μερισμοῦ καὶ ἐν μεταβολῇ καὶ ἄλλοτε ἄλλως ἐχούσης δυοειδῆ λόγον καὶ δυάδα προσεγγέδουσαν· The Cause of that Sympathy, Harmony, and Agreement, which is in things, and of the conservation of the Whole, which is always the same and like it self, was by Pythagoras called Unity or a Monade (that Unity which is in the things themselves being but a participation of the First Cause:) But the reason of Alterity, Inequality and unconstant Irregularity in things was by him called a Dyad. Thus according to Porphyrius, by the Pythagorick Dyad, is not so much meant Matter, as the Infinite and Indeterminate Nature, and the Passive Capability of Things. So that the Monade and Dyad of Pythagoras, seem to have been the same with Plato's πᾶν and ἄπειρον, his Finite and Infinite in his Philebus; the Former of which Two only is Substantial, that First most simple Being, the cause of all Unity and the Measure of all things.

However

However if *Pythagoras* his *Dyad* be to be understood of a Substantial Matter, it will not therefore follow, that he supposed Matter to be Self-existent and Independent upon the Deity, since according to the best and most ancient Writers, his *Dyad* was no Primary but a Secondary Thing only, and derived from his *Monad*, the sole Original of all things. Thus *Diogenes Laertius* tells us, that *Alexander* who wrote the Successions of Philosophers, affirmed he had found in the *Pythagorick Commentaries*, ἀρχὴ μὲν τῆς ἀπάντων, μονάδα· ἐκ δὲ τῆς μονάδος, ἀβέριστον δυνάδα, ὡς ἀνὴρ ὅλῳ τῇ μονάδι αὐτῷ ὄντι ὑποσθῆναι. That a *Monade* was the Principle of all things, but that from this *Monade* was derived infinite Duality, as Matter for the *Monade* to work upon, as the Active Cause. With which agreeth *Hermias*, affirming this to be one of the greatest of all the *Pythagorick Mysteries*, that a *Monade* was the sole Principle of all things. Accordingly whereunto *Clemens Alexandrinus*, cites this Passage out of *Thearidas* an ancient *Pythagorean* in his Book concerning Nature, Ἄ ἀρχὴ τῆς ὄντων, ἀρχὴ μὲν ὅπως ἀληθινὰ, μία· κείνα γὰρ ἐν ἀρχῇ τε, ὅτε ἐν ἡ μόνον, The true Principle of all things was only One; for this was in the beginning One and Alone. Which words also seem to imply the World to have had a Novity of Existence or beginning of Duration. And indeed, however *Ocellus Lucanus* write, yet that *Pythagoras* himself, did not hold the Eternity of the World, may be concluded from what *Porphyrus* records of him, where he gives an Account of that his superstitious abstinence from Beans, ὅτι τῆς πρώτης ἀρχῆς ἡ ψυχῆς ταραχομένης, καὶ πολλῶν ἁμῶς συννευμένων καὶ συσπυρομένων καὶ συσπυρομένων ἐν τῇ γῇ, κατ' ὀλίγον ψυχῆς καὶ διανοῆς συνῆν, ζῶων τε ὅμοις ψυχομένων, καὶ φυτῶν ἀναδιδρομένων, τότε δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς σπινθῆρος, ἀνθρώπους συστῆναι καὶ κυάμους βλαστῆναι. That at the beginning, things being confounded and mingled together, the Generation and Secretion of them afterwards proceeded by degrees, Animals and Plants appearing; at which time also from the same putrified Matter, sprung up both Men and Beans.

Pythagoras is generally reported to have held a Trinity of Divine Hypostases: and therefore when *St. Cyril* affirmeth *Pythagoras* to have called God ψυχῶν τῶν ὅλων κύριον, ἡ πάντων κίνησις, the Animation of the whole Heavens, and the Motion of all things; adding that God was not, as some supposed, ἐκτὸς τῆς διανοουμένης, ἀλλ' ἐν αὐτῇ, ὅλῳ ἐν ὅλῳ, without the Fabrick of the World, but whole in the whole, this seems properly to be understood, of that Third Divine Hypostasis of the *Pythagorick Trinity*, namely the Eternal Psyche. Again when God is called in *Plutarch* according to *Pythagoras*, αὐτὸς ὁ νῦς, Mind it self, this seems to be meant properly of his Second Hypostasis; the Supreme Deity according to him being something above Mind or Intellect. In like manner when in *Cicero*, *Pythagoras* his Opinion concerning the Deity is thus represented, Deum esse animum, per naturam rerum omnium intentum & commentem, ex quo Animi nostri carperentur, That God was a Mind passing through the whole Nature of things, from whom our Souls were, as it were, decerped or cut out. And again, Ex universa mente Divina, delibatos esse animos nostros; this in all probability was to be understood also ei-

Met. L. i. c. 6.

ther of the *Third* or *Second* Divine *Hypostasis*, and not of the *First*, which was properly called by him, τὸ ἐν and μὴν, a *Unity* and *Monade*, and also as *Plutarch* tells us, τὸ ἀγαθόν, *Goodness it self*. *Aristotle* plainly affirmeth that some of the ancient Theologers amongst the Pagans made ἔρως or *Love*, to be the *First Principle* of all things, that is, the *Supreme Deity*; and we have already shewed, that *Orpheus* was one of these. For when ἔρως πολυτρεπής and πολὺμυτις, *Delightful Love*, and that which is not blind, but full of *Wisdom* and *Counsel*, is made by him to be αὐτοτελής and περσεύτατον, *Self-perfect* and the *Oldest of all Things*, it is plain that he supposed it to be nothing less than the *Supreme Deity*. Wherefore since *Pythagoras* is generally affirmed, to have followed the *Orphick Principles*, we may from hence presume that he did it in this also. Though it be very true, that *Plato* who called the *Supreme Deity* τὰ ἀγαθόν, as well as *Pythagoras*, did dissent from the *Orphick Theology* in this, and would not acknowledge *Love* for a name of the *Supreme Deity*; as when in his *Symposium* in the person of *Agatho* he speaks thus: φάσκει πολλὰ ἄλλα ὁμολογᾶν, τὸ τοῦ ἁγίου ὁμολογᾶν, ὡς ἔρως κρείων καὶ ἰαπετὸς ἀρχαιότιμος· ὅτιν· ἀλλὰ φημι νεώτατον αὐτὸ εἶναι θεῶν, καὶ αἰεὶ νέον· Though I should readily grant to *Phædrus* many other things, yet I cannot consent to him in this, that *Love* was Older than *Saturn* and *Japet*, but on the contrary I do affirm him to be the *Youngest* of the *Gods*; as he is always youthful. They who made *Love* Older than *Saturn* as well as *Japhet*, supposed it to be the *Supreme Deity*; wherefore *Plato* here on the contrary affirms *Love* not to be the *Supreme Deity* or *Creator of all*, but a *Creature*; a *Certain Junior God*, or indeed as he afterwards adds, not so much a *God* as a *Dæmon*; it being a thing which plainly implies Imperfection in it. *Love* (saith he) is a *Philosopher*, whereas θεῶν οὐδεὶς φιλοσοφεῖ, οὐδ' ἐπιθυμεῖ σοφὸς γινώσκειν, ἔτι γὰρ, no *God* philosophizeth, nor desires to be made wise, because he is so already. Agreeably with which Doctrine of his, *Plotinus* determines that *Love* is peculiar to that middle rank of Beings, called *Souls*, πάντα ψυχῇ ἀφεσθῆναι· καὶ τὸ τοῦ αὐτοῦ εἶναι καὶ τὰ τῆς ἀφεσθῆναις γενέσθαι, καὶ ὁ ἔρως ὁ μετ' αὐτῆς γινώσκων· ἔρως δὲ καὶ φύσιν ἔχουσα ψυχῇ θεῶν, ἐρωθῆναι ἡλῶσθαι, ὡς παρθένης καλὴν πρὸς καλὸν ἀνδρα· ὅταν δὲ εἰς γυναικὶν ἐλθῶσιν, οὐκ ἀνδρῶν ἀπατηθῶν, ἀλλ' ἄλλων ἀρετὰ μὴ θνητῶν ἐρωτᾶ, ἐρημικὰ πατέρας ὑπερβῆναι, &c. Every Soul is a *Venus*, which is also intimated by *Venus* her *Nativity*, and *Loves* being begotten with her; wherefore the Soul being in its right natural state, *Loves* *God* desiring to be united with him, which is a pure, heavenly and virgin *Love*; but when it descends to *Generation*, being courted with these *Amorous* allurements here below, and deceived by them, it changeth that its *Divine* and *Heavenly Love*, for another *Mortal* one; but if it again shake off these lascivious and wanton *Loves*, and keep it self chaste from them, returning back to its own *Father*, and *Original*, it will be rightly affected as it ought. But the reason of this difference betwixt the *Orpheists* and *Plato*, that the former made *Love* to be the *Oldest* of all the *Gods*, but the latter to be a *Junior God* or *Dæmon*, proceeded only from an *Equivocation* in the word *Love*. For *Plato's* *Love* was the *Daughter of Penia*, that is, *Poverty* and *Indigency*, together with a mixture of πόρος or *Riches*, and being so as it were compounded of *Plenty* and *Poverty*, was in plain language, no other than the *Love of Desire*,

Desire, which as *Aristotle* affirmeth is μετὰ λύπης, accompanied with *Grief and Pain*. But that *Orphick* and *Pythagorick Love*, was nothing else but πλεον and ὑπερβολή, *Infinite Riches and Plenty*, a *Love of Redundancy and Overflowing Fulness*, delighting to communicate it self, which was therefore said to be, the *Oldest of all things and most Perfect*, that is, the *Supreme Deity*; according to which notion also in the *Scripture* it self, *God* seems to be called *Love*, though the word be not there, ἔρως but ἀγάπη. But to say the *Truth*, *Parmenides* his *Love* (however made a *Principle* somewhere by *Aristotle*) seems to be neither exactly the same with the *Orphick*, nor yet with the *Platonick Love*, it being not the *Supreme Deity*, and yet the *First of the Created Gods*; which appears from *Simplicius* his connecting these Two Verses of his together in this manner,

Ἐν ᾧ μέσῳ τῶν δαίμων ὅς πάντα κυβερνᾷ,



ταύτῳ δὲ θεῶν αἰτίαν ἔναί φησι, λέγων,

Πρώτιστον μὲν ἔρωτα θεῶν μνηστῆρο πάντων.

In the midst of these Elements is that God which governeth all things; and whom Parmenides affirmeth to be the cause of Gods, writing thus; God first of all created Love, before the other Gods. Wherefore by this *Love of Parmenides*, is understood nothing else, but the *Lower Soul of the World*, together with a *Plastick Nature*, which though it be the *Original of Motion and Activity* in this *Corporeal World*, yet is it but a *Secondary or Created God*. Before whose *Production*, *Necessity* is said by those *Ethnick Theologers* to have reigned; the true meaning whereof seems to be this, that before that *Divine Spirit* moved upon the *Waters* and brought things into an *orderly System*, there was nothing but the *Necessity of Material Motions*, unguided by any *orderly Wisdom or Method for Good* (that is, by *Love*) in that confused and floating *Chaos*.

But *Pythagoras* it seemeth, did not only call the *Supreme Deity* a *Monad*, but also a *Tetrad* or *Tetractys*, for it is generally affirmed, that *Pythagoras* himself was wont to swear hereby; though *Porphyrius* and *Jamblichus*, and others write, that the *Disciples of Pythagoras* swore by *Pythagoras*, who had delivered to them the *Doctrine or Cabala* of this *Tetractys*. Which *Tetractys* also in the *Golden Verses*, is called πηρὶ ἀενάου φύσεως, the *Fountain of the Eternal Nature*, an expression that cannot properly belong to any thing but the *Supreme Deity*. And thus *Hierocles*, ἢ ἔστιν εἰπεῖν ὃ μὴ τὸ τέλει οὐκ ἔστιν, ὡς εἰς ἑνὶ καὶ ἀρχῇ ἡγετῆται. ἔστι γὰρ, ὡς ἐφαμὲν, διμυρεῖς τῷ ὅλῳ, καὶ αἰτία ἡ τέρας, θεὸς νοῦδος, αἴτιον τὸ σεβνίς, καὶ αἰοαντὸς θεός. There is nothing in the whole World, which doth not depend upon the *Tetractys*, as its *Root and Principle*. For the *Tetrad* is, as we have already said, the *Maker of all things*; the *Intelligible God*, the *Cause of the Heavenly and Sensible God*, that is of the *Animated World or Heaven*. Now the *Latter Pythagoreans* and *Platonists*, endeavour to give *Reasons*, why *God* should be called *Tetras* or *Tetractys*, from certain *Mysteries* in that *Number Four*, as for example,

First,

First, because the Tetrad is δυνάμεις δεκάς , the Power of the Decad, it virtually containing the whole Decade in it, which is all Numbers or Beings; but the bottom of this Mystery is no more than this, that One, Two, Three, and Four, added all together, make up Ten. Again, because the Tetrad is an Arithmetical Mediety, betwixt the Monad and the Hebdomad, which Monad and Hebdomad are said to agree in this, that as the Monad is Ingenit or Unmade, it being the Original and Fountain of all Numbers, so is the Hebdomad said to be, not only παρ' ἑνὶ  but ἀμήτωρ, a Motherless as well as Virgin Number. Wherefore the Tetrad lying in the middle betwixt the Ingenit Monad, and the Motherless Virgin Hebdomad; and it being both begotten and begetting, say they, must needs be a very Mysterious number and fitly represent the Deity. Whereas indeed it was therefore unfit to represent the Deity, because it is begotten by the Multiplication of another Number; as the Hebdomade therefore doth not very fitly symbolize with it neither; because it is barren or begets nothing at all within the Decad, for which cause it is called a Virgin. Again it is further added, that the Tetrad fitly resembles that which is Solid, because as a Point answers to a Monad, and a Line to a Dyad, and a Superficies to a Triad (the first and most simple figure being a Triangle) so the Tetrad properly represents the Solid, the first Pyramid being found in it. But upon this consideration, the Tetrade could not be so fit a Symbol of the Incorporeal Deity neither as of the Corporeal World. Wherefore these things being all so trifling, slight and phantastical, and it being really absurd for Pythagoras to call his Monade a Tetrade; the late conjecture of some Learned men amongst us, seems to be much more probable, that Pythagoras his Tetractys was really nothing else but the Tetragrammaton, or that proper name of the Supreme God amongst the Hebrews, consisting of Four Letters or Consonants. Neither ought it to be wondered at, that Pythagoras (who besides his travelling into Egypt, Persia, and Chaldea, and his sojourning at Sidon, is affirmed by Josephus, Porphyrius and others, to have conversed with the Hebrews also) should be so well acquainted with the Hebrew Tetragrammaton, since it was not unknown to the Hetrurians and Latins, their Jove being certainly nothing else. And indeed it is the opinion of some Philologers, that even in the Golden Verses themselves, notwithstanding the seeming repugnancy of the Syntax, it is not Pythagoras that is sworn by, but this Tetractys or Tetragrammaton, that is, Jova or Jehovah, the Name of God, being put for God himself, according to that received Doctrine of the Hebrews יהוה וישמו שמו ויהוה, That God and his Name are all one; as if the meaning of those words

Ναὶ μὲν τ' ἀμείβεα ψυχᾷ ὡς ἀδύνα Τετραγίτου
πάσαν ἀενάαν φύσιν. —

were this; By the Tetragammaton or Jovah, who hath communicated [himself, or] The Fountain of the Eternal Nature, to our Humane Souls; for these according to the Pythagorick Doctrine, were said to be *ex Mente Divina carptæ & delibata*, i. e. nothing but Derivative Streams from that first Fountain of the Divine Mind.

Wherefore

Wherefore we shall now sum up all concerning *Pythagoras* in this Conclusion of *St. Cyril's*, ἰδὲ δὴ σαφῶς, ἓνα τε εἶναι λέγει τὸ τῶν ὅλων θεόν, καὶ πάντων ἀρχὴν ἐξαίτιον τε τῶν αὐτῶν δυνάμεων, φασίγεα καὶ ψυχῶν, ἵπτοι Cant. Full. l. i. ζωοποιήσιν τῶν ὅλων καὶ κυβηλῶν πάντων κίνησιν· παρῆνται δὲ τὰ πάντα παρ' αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν ἐκ τῆς μηδ' οὐσίας εἰς τὸ εἶναι κίνησιν λαχύντα φέρεται. Behold we see, clearly, that *Pythagoras* held there was One God of the whole Universe, the Principle and Cause of all things, the Illuminator, Animator and Quickener of the Whole, and Original of Motion; from whom all things were derived, and brought out of Non-entity into Being.

Next to *Pythagoras* in order of time, was *Xenophanes* the Colophonian, the Head of the Eleatick Sect of Philosophers, who that he was an Asserter both of *Many Gods* and *One God*, sufficiently appears from that Verse of his before cited, and attested both by *Clemens Alexandrinus*, and *Sextus* the Philosopher,

Εἷς θεὸς ἐν τε θεοῖσι καὶ ἀνθρώποισι μέγιστος,

There is One God, the Greatest both amongst Gods and Men. Concerning which greatest God, this other Verse of *Xenophanes* is also vouched,

Καὶ ἀπάνδρθε πονοῖ νόος, φρενὶ πάντα κροταίνει.

That he moveth the whole world without any labour or toil, merely by Mind. Besides which, *Cicero* and others tell us, that this *Xenophanes* philosophizing concerning the Supreme Deity, was wont to call it ἐν καὶ πᾶν, One and All, as being One most Simple Being that virtually containeth all things. But *Xenophanes* his Theosophy, or Divine Philosophy, is most fully declared by *Simplicius* out of *Theophrastus* in this manner, μίαν δὲ τὴν ἀρχὴν, ἥτοι ἐν τῷ ὄν καὶ πᾶν, καὶ ὅτι πεπερασμένον ἔτε In Aristot. Phys. F. 5. 36. ἀπειρον, ὅτι κινητὸν ὅτι ἡρεμῶν, ξενοφάνῳ τὸ κολοφώνιον τὸ Παρμενίδους διδάσκαλον ὑποτίθεσθαι φησιν ὁ σεόφραστος· ὁμολογῶν ἑτέρως εἶναι μᾶλλον ἢ τὸ ὡς ἐφύσεως ἰσοελας, τὴν μνημὴν τὴν τῶν δόξης· τὸ γὰρ ἐν τῷ πᾶν, τὸ θεὸν ἔλεγον ὁ ξενοφάνης· ὃν ἓνα μὲν δαίμνησιν ἐκ τῶν πάντων κροταῖσιν εἶναι· πλειόνων γὰρ φησιν ὄντων, ὁμοίως ἀνάγκη ὑπάρχειν πᾶσι τὸ κροταῖν· τὸ δὲ πάντων κροταῖσιν καὶ ἄρουν, θεός· ἀρχὴν δὲ δαίμνησιν— καὶ ὅτι ὁ ἀπειρον ὅτι πεπερασμένον εἶναι· διότι ἀπειρον μὲν τὸ μὴ ὄν, ὡς ὅτι ἀρχὴν ἔχον μήτε μέσον μήτε τέλος· περαίνειν δὲ πρὸς ἄλληλα τὰ πλείω· ὡς ἀπλησίως δὲ καὶ τὴν κίνησιν ἀφαίρει καὶ τὴν ἡρεμίαν· ἀκίνητον μὲν, &c. *Theophrastus* affirmeth, that *Xenophanes* the Colophonian *Parmenides* his Master, made One Principle of all things, he calling it One and All, and determining it to be neither Finite nor Infinite (in a certain sence) and neither Moving nor Resting. Which *Theophrastus* also declares, that *Xenophanes* in this, did not write as a Natural Philosopher or Physiologer, but as a Metaphysician or Theologer only; *Xenophanes* his One and All, being nothing else but God. Whom he proved to be One solitary Being from hence, because God is the Best and Most Powerful of all things, and there being many degrees of Entity, there must needs be something Supreme to rule over all. Which Best and most Powerful Being can be but One. He also did demonstrate

monstrate it to be Unmade, as likewise to be neither Finite nor Infinite (in a certain sence;) as he removed both Motion and Rest from God. Wherefore when he saith that God always remaineth or resteth the same, he understands not this, of that Rest which is opposite to Motion, and which belongs to such things as may be moved; but of a certain other Rest which is both above that Motion and its Contrary. From whence it is evident, that Xenophanes supposed (as Sextus the Philosopher also affirmeth) God to be Incorporeal, a Being unlike to all other things, and therefore of which no Image could be made. And now we understand, that Aristotle dealt not ingenuously with Xenophanes, when from that expression of his, that God was σφαιροειδής, or Spheryform, he would infer, that Xenophanes made God to be a Body, and nothing else but the Round Corporeal World Animated; which yet was repugnant also to another Physical Hypothesis of this same Xenophanes, ἀπείρας ἡλίας εἶναι καὶ σελήνας, that there were Infinite Suns and Moons; by which Moons he understood Planets, affirming them to be all habitable Earths, as Cicero tells us. Wherefore as Simplicius resolves, God was said to be σφαιροειδής, or Spheryform, by Xenophanes, only in this sence, as being παντοχόθεν ὁμοίῳ, every way like and uniform. However it is plain that Xenophanes asserting One God who was All or the Universe, could not acknowledge a Multitude of Partial Self-existent Deities.

Heraclitus was no Clear but a Confounded Philosopher (he being neither a Good Naturalist nor Metaphysician) and therefore it is very hard or rather impossible, to reconcile his Several Opinions with one another. Which is a thing the less to be wondred at, because amongst the rest of his Opinions, this also is said to have been One; That Contradictories may be true; and his writings were accordingly as Plato intimates, stuff with Unintelligible Mysterious Non-sence. For First he is affirmed to have acknowledged no other Substance besides Body, and to have maintained, That All things did Flow, and nothing Stand, or remain the same; and yet in his Epistles (according to the common opinion of Philosophers at that time) doth he suppose the Præ & Post-existence of Humane Souls in these words, *τὰ καὶ ἡ ψυχὴ μαντεύεται ἀπολυσὲν ἑαυτῆς ἢ δι ποτὶ ἐκ τῆ δισμότη-
eis tōtis · καὶ σοφὸς τῷ σώματι ἐκλύσσει, ἀναμνησκέσθαι τὰ πάτρια
χωρία, ἐνθεν κατελθόντα· ὥς ἐβόλλετο ῥέον σώμα τελευτῆς τῷ το, ὃ δὲ καὶ, &c.*
My soul seemeth to vaticinate and presage its approaching dismissal and freedom from this its prison; and looking out as it were through the cracks and cranies of this body, to remember those its native Regions or Countries, from whence descending, it was cloathed with this Flowing Mortal Body; which is made up and constipated of Flegm, Choler, Serum, Blood, Nerves, Bones and Flesh. And not only so, but he also there acknowledgeth the Souls Immortality, which Stoicks, allowing its Permanency after Death, for some time at least, and to the next Conflagration, did deny, *δύσεται τὸ σῶμα εἰς τὸ εἰμαρμένον, ἀλλὰ ἡ ψυ-
χὴ δύσεται· ἀλλὰ ἀθάνατον ἔσται χρεῖμα, εἰς ἔργον ἀναπήσεται μετέσθαι·
δέξονται δὲ με αἰθέριοι δόμοι, καὶ πολιτεύσονται ἐν ἐν ἀνθρώποις ἀλλ' ἐν θεοῖς.*
This Body shall be fatally changed to something else, but my Soul shall not die or perish, but being an Immortal thing, shall fly away mounting upwards to Heaven; those Ethereal Houses shall receive me, and I shall no longer

longer converse with men but Gods. Again though Heraclitus asserted the Fatal Necessity of all things, yet notwithstanding was he a strict Moralist, and upon this accompt highly esteemed by the Stoicks, who followed him in this and other things; and he makes no small pretence to it himself, in his Epistle to *Hermodorus*, *ἡ ἐμοί γε πολλοὶ καὶ δυσχερὲς αἰὲς ἀλλοὶ κατάρθωνται • νενίκηκα ἡδονὰς, νενίκηκα χρήματα, νενίκηκα φιλοτιμίαν, κατεπάλαισα δ' ἡλίαν, κατεπάλαισα κολακείαν • ἐν ἀντιλήγῃ μοι φόβος, ἐν ἀντιλήγῃ μοι μέθυ • φοβέταιί με λύπη, φοβέταιί με ὀργή • καὶ τῶν αὐτῶν καὶ αὐτὸς ἐσφάναμαι, ἐμαυτὰς ὀπιτάσων, ὅχ' ὑπ' Εὐρυθείας •* I have also had my difficult Labours and Conflicts as well as Hercules; I have conquer'd Pleasures, I have conquer'd Riches, I have conquer'd Ambition; I have subdued Cowardise and Flattery; neither Fear nor Intemperance can control me; Grief and Anger are afraid of me, and fly away from me. These are the Victories for which I am crowned, not by Eurystheus, but as being made Master of myself. Lastly though Heraclitus made Fire to be the First Principle of all things and hath some odd Passages imputed to him, yet notwithstanding was he a devout Religionist, he supposing that Fiery Matter of the whole Universe, *Animantem esse & Deum*, to be an Animal and God. And as he acknowledged Many Gods, according to that which Aristotle recordeth of him, That when some passing by had espied him sitting in a smoaky Cottage, he bespake them after this manner, *Introite, nam & hic Dii sunt*, Come in, I pray, for here there are Gods also, he supposing all places to be full of Gods, Demons and Souls; so was he an undoubted Asserter of One Supreme Numen, that governs all things, and that such as could neither be represented by Images, nor confined to Temples. For after he had been accused of Impiety by Euthycles, he writes to *Hermodorus* in this manner, *ἀλλ' ὦ ἀμαρτῆς ἀνθρώποι διδάξατε πρῶτον ἡμᾶς τί ἔστιν ὁ θεός, πῶς δ' ἔστιν ὁ θεός; ἐν τοῖς ναοῖς ἀπικνεύεται σμῆνος; ἀσπεθείς γε, οἱ ἐν σκοτῇ τὸ θεὸν ἰδρύετε—ἀπαλόδωτοι, ἐν ἴσῃ ὅτι ἐν θεῷ • χερσὶ μὴ, ὅδε ἐξ ἀρχῆς βάσιν ἔχει ὅδε ἔχει ἕνα ὀρέζον • ἀλλ' ὅλον ὁ νόστος αὐτὰς ναός ἔστι, ζωοῖς καὶ φυτοῖς καὶ ἄστροις πεποικιλμένον •* But O you unwise and unlearned! teach us first what God is, that so you may be believed in accusing me of Impiety: Tell us where God is? Is he shut up within the Walls of Temples? Is this your Piety to place God in the dark, or to make him a Stony God? O you unskilful! know ye not, that God is not made with hands, and hath no basis or fulcrum to stand upon, nor can be inclosed within the Walls of any Temple; the whole World, variegated with Plants, Animals and Stars, being his Temple. And again, *ἀρ' ἐν εἰμὶ ἀσπεθῆς, εὐθύνης, ὃς μόνον οἶδαι θεόν; ἐάν ᾧ μὴ ἰδρευσθῇ θεὸς βωμὸς, ἐν ἔστι θεός; ἐάν ᾧ ἰδρευσθῇ μὴ θεός, θεός ἔστιν; ὥςτε λίθοι θεῶν μάρτυρες • ἔργα δ' αἱ μαρτυρεῖν, οἷα ἡλῖς • νύξ αὐτὰς καὶ ἡμέρα μαρτυρεῖσιν; ὥςτε αὐτὰς μάρτυρες, γῆ ὅλη κατεπορεῖσθαι, μάρτυς • σελήνης ὁ κύκλος, ἐκείνης ἔργον, ὅς ἐστιν μαρτυρεῖται •* Am I Impious, O Euthycles, who alone know what God is? Is there no God without Altars? or are Stones the only witnesses of him? No, his own Works give testimony to him, and principally the Sun; Night and Day bear witness of him; the Earth bringing forth fruits, declares him; the Circle of the Moon, that was made by him, is a Heavenly Testimony of him.

In the next place *Anaxagoras* the Clazomenian Philosopher comes

to be considered, whose Predecessors of the *Ionick Order* (after *Thales*) as *Anaximander*, *Anaximenes* and *Hippo*, were (as hath been already observed) *Materialists* and *Atheists*; they acknowledging no other Substance besides Body, and resolving all things into the Motions, Passions, and Affections of it. Whence was that cautious advice given by *Jamblichus*, *πρῶτον τι τὴν Ἰταλικὴν φιλοσοφίαν τὴν τὰ ἀσώματα καθ' αὐτὰ θεωροῦσαν, ἢ τὴν Ἰονικὴν τὴν τὰ σώματα προηγούμενης ὁπτισκομένης*. Prefer the *Italick Philosophy*, which contemplates *Incorporeal Substances* by themselves, before the *Ionick*, which principally considers *Bodies*. And *Anaxagoras* was the first of these *Ionicks* who went out of that Road, for seeing a necessity of some other Cause, besides the *Material* (*Matter* being not able, so much as to move it self, and much less if it could, by Fortuitous Motion, to bring it self into an Orderly System and Compages;) he therefore introduced *Mind* into the *Cosmopœia*, as the Principal Cause of the Universe; which *Mind* is the same with *God*. Thus *Themistius*, speaking of *Anaxagoras*, *νῦν δὲ δεῖν πρῶτον ἐπαγαγεῖν τὴν νομοποιίαν, καὶ τὰ πάντα ἀνάσσειν τὸ φύσει τῶν σωμάτων*. He was the first (that is, amongst the *Ionick Philosophers*) who brought in *Mind* and *God*, to the *Cosmopœia*, and did not derive all things from *Senseless Bodies*. And to the same purpose *Plutarch* in the *Life of Pericles*, *τοῖς ὅλοις πρῶτος ἐτύχων ὁδὸν ἀνάγκην, διανομοῦσθαι ἀρχὴν, ἀλλὰ νῦν ἐπέστη καὶ τὰ ἐν ἡμεῖς, καὶ ἀκρίβειαν*, The other *Ionick Philosophers* before *Anaxagoras*, made *Fortune* and blind *Necessity*, that is, the *Fortuitous* and *Necessary Motions* of the *Matter*, to be the only *Original* of the *World*, but *Anaxagoras* was the first who affirmed a pure and sincere *Mind* to preside over all. *Anaxagoras* therefore supposed Two Substantial Self-existent Principles of the Universe, one an *Infinite Mind* or *God*, the other an *Infinite Homoiomery* of *Matter*, or *Infinite Atoms*; not *Unqualified*, such as those of *Empedocles* and *Democritus*, which was the most Ancient and Genuine *Atomology*; but *Similar*, such as were severally endued with all manner of *Qualities* and *Forms*, which *Physiology* of his therefore was a spurious kind of *Atomism*. *Anaxagoras* indeed, did not suppose *God* to have created *Matter* out of nothing, but that he was *καὶ αὐτὸς ἀρχὴν*, the Principle of its Motion, and also *τὸ δὲ καὶ καλῶς αἰτεῖα*, the Regulator of this motion for *Good*, and consequently the Cause of all the Order, Pulchritude, and Harmony of the *World*: for which reason this Divine Principle, was called also by him, not only *Mind* but *Good*; it being that which acteth the Sake of *Good*. Wherefore according to *Anaxagoras*, First, the *World* was not *Eternal* but had a Beginning in time, and before the *World* was made, there was from *Eternity* an *Infinite Congeries* of *Similar* and *Qualified Atoms*, Self-existent, without either *Order* or *Motion*; Secondly, The *World* was not afterwards made by *Chance*, but by *Mind* or *God*, first moving the *Matter*, and then directing the Motion of it so, as to bring it into this orderly System and Compages. So that νῦν was νομοποιῖς, *Mind the first Maker of the World*, and νῦν βασιλεύς ἐγενετο καὶ γῆς, *Mind, that which still governs the same, the King and Sovereign Monarch of Heaven and Earth*. Thirdly, *Anaxagoras* his *Mind* and *God*, was purely *Incorporeal*; to which purpose his words recorded by *Simplicius* are very remarkable, *νῦν μὲν καὶ ὁδὸν καὶ χεῖματι· ἀλλὰ μόνον αὐτὸς ἐφ' ἑαυτῷ ἐστίν, εἰ μὴ γὰρ ἐφ' ἑαυτῷ*

Symb. 36. p.
159.

Orat. 15.

In Arist.
1. 1. 1. Fol.
33. c. 2.

ἦν;

ἦν, ἀλλὰ πῶς ἐμέμνητο ἅλως, μετέειχεν ἂν ἀπάντων χρημάτων, εἰ ἐμέμνητο πῶς·
 ἐν παντί γὰρ πάντως μοῖρα ἐνέσιν· ὡς δὲ ἐν τοῖς πρῶτον ἐμοὶ λέλεκται; καὶ ἀ-
 νεώλυεν αὐτὶ τὰ συμμεμυγμένα, ἅπερ μηδενὸς χρημάτων μερατῶν ὁμοίως, ὡς καὶ
 μόνον εἶναι ἐφ' ἑαυτῆς· ὅτι γὰρ λεπτότατον τε πάντων χρημάτων, καὶ καθαρώ-
 τατον· καὶ γνώριον γὰρ ἐν παντί πᾶσαν ἴχει· καὶ ἰχέει μέγιστον· *Mind is*
mingled with nothing, but is alone by it self and separate, for if it
were not by it self secrete from Matter, but mingled therewith, it would
then partake of all things, because there is something of all in every
thing; which things mingled together with it would hinder it, so that it
could not master or conquer any thing, as if alone by it self; for Mind is
the most subtil of all things, and the most Pure, and has the know-
ledge of all things, together with an absolute Power over all. Lastly,
Anaxagoras did not suppose a Multitude of Unmade Minds, coexist-
ent from Eternity, as so many partial Causes and Governours of
the World, but only One Infinite Mind or God, ruling over All.

Indeed it may well be made a Question, whether or no besides this Supreme and Universal Deity, *Anaxagoras* did acknowledge any of those other Inferiour Gods, then Worshipped by the Pagans? because it is certain, that though he asserted Infinite Mind to be the Maker and Governour of the whole World, yet he was accused by the Athenians for Atheism, and besides a Mult^o impos'd upon him, Banished for the same; the true ground whereof was no other than this, because he affirmed the Sun to be nothing but a Mass of Fire, and the Moon an Earth, having Mountains and Valleys, Cities and Houses in it; and probably concluded the same of all the other *Stars* and *Planets*, that they were either *Fires*, as the Sun, or *Habitable Earths*, as the Moon; wherein, supposing them not to be Animated, he did consequently deny them to be *Gods*. Which his Ungodding of the Sun, Moon and Stars was, then look'd upon by the Vulgar as nothing less than absolute Atheism, they being very prone to think, that if there were not Many Understanding Beings Superiour to Men, and if the Sun, Moon, and Stars were not such, and therefore in their Language Gods; there was no God at all. Neither was it the Vulgar only who condemn'd *Anaxagoras* for this, but even those Two grave Philosophers *Socrates* and *Plato* did the like; the First in his *Apology* made to the Athenians, where he calls this opinion of *Anaxagoras* Absurd; the Second in his *Book of Laws*, where he complains of this Doctrine as a great In-let into Atheism, in this manner: ἐμὲ καὶ ὧς ὅταν περὶ μὲν λέγωμεν ὡς εἰσὶ θεοὶ, ταῦτα αὐτὰ προσφέρειος, ἡλίον τε καὶ σελήνην, καὶ ἄστρα καὶ γῆν ὡς θεοὺς καὶ θεῖα ὄντα, ὑπὸ τῶν σφῶν τῶντων ἀναπεπεισμένοι ἀνέ-
 γοιεν, ὡς γῆν τε καὶ λίθους ὄντα αὐτά, καὶ ἔδδεν τῶν ἀνθρωπείων πραγμάτων φρον-
 τίζειν δυνάμειρα· *When You and I, endeavouring by Arguments to prove*
that there are Gods, speak of the Sun and Moon, Stars and Earth, as
Gods and Divine Things, our young men presently, being principled by
these new Philosophers, will reply; that these are nothing but Earth and
Stones (Senseless and Inanimate Bodies) which therefore cannot mind nor
take notice of any Humane affairs. Where we may observe these Two
things, First, that nothing was accounted truly and properly a God a-
mongst the Pagans, but only what was endued with Life and Under-
standing. Secondly, that the taking away of those Inferiour Gods of the

De Leg. L. 10
P. 886.

the Pagans, the Sun, Moon, and Stars, by denying them to be *Animated*, or to have Life and Understanding in them, was according to Plato's Judgment, then the most ready and effectual way to introduce Absolute Atheism.

P. 97. Steph.

Moreover it is true, that though this *Anaxagoras* were a professed Theist, he asserting an *Infinite Self-existent Mind*, to be the Maker of the whole World, yet he was severely taxed also, by *Aristotle* and *Plato*, as one not thorough-paced in *Theism*, and who did not so fully, as he ought, adhere to his own Principles. For whereas, to assert *Mind* to be the *Maker of the World*, is really all one, as to assert *Final Causality* for things in Nature, as also that they were made after the *Best manner*; *Anaxagoras* when he was to give his particular account of the *Phænomena*, did commonly betake himself to *Material Causes* only, and hardly ever make use of the Mental or Final Cause, but when he was to seek and at a loss; then only bringing in *God* upon the Stage. *Socrates* his discourse concerning this in *Plato's Phædo*, is very well worth our taking notice of: Hearing one sometime read (saith he) out of a Book of *Anaxagoras*, ὡς ὅς ἐστιν ὁ διανοεῖται πάντα καὶ πάντα τὰ ἄπ' αὐτοῦ, that *Mind* was the Orderer and Cause of all things, I was exceedingly pleased herewith, concluding that it must needs follow from thence, that All things were ordered and disposed of as they should and after the best manner possible; and therefore the Causes even of the things in Nature (or at least the grand Strokes of them) ought to be fetched from the τὸ βέλτιστον, That which is Absolutely the Best. But when afterwards I took *Anaxagoras* his Book into my hand, greedily reading it over, I was exceedingly disappointed of my expectation, finding therein no other Causes assigned, but only from *Airs*, and *Ethers*, and *Waters*, and such like *Physical* and *Material* things. And he seemed to me to deal, just as if one having affirmed that *Socrates* did all by *Mind*, *Reason* and *Understanding*; afterward undertaking to declare the Causes of all my Actions, as particularly of My Sitting here at this time, should render it after this manner; Because forsooth my Body is compounded of *Bones* and *Nerves*, which *Bones* being solid, have *Joints* in them at certain distances, and *Nerves* of such a nature, as that they are capable of being both *Intended* and *Remitted*: Wherefore my *Bones* being lifted up in the *Joints* and my *Nerves* some of them intended and some remitted, was the cause of the bending of my Body, and of my sitting down in this place. He in the mean time neglecting the true and proper Cause hereof, which was no other than this; Because it seemed good to the *Athenians*, to condemn me to die, as also to my self most Just, rather to submit to their censure and undergo their punishment, than by flight to escape it; for certainly otherwise, these *Nerves* and *Bones* of mine, would not have been here now in this posture, but amongst the *Megarensians* and *Beotians*; carried thither ὑπὸ δόξης τῷ βέλτιστῳ, by the Opinion of the Best; had I not thought it Better to submit to the sentence of the City, than to escape the same by flight. Which kind of Philosophers (saith he) do not seem to me, to distinguish betwixt the True and Proper Cause of things, and the Cause *Sine qua non*, that without which they could not have been effected. And such are they, who devise many odd *Physical Reasons*, for the firm Settlement of the Earth, without any regard to that

Power

Power which orders all things for the Best, (as having *δαιμονίαν ἰσχύον*, a Divine Force in it;) but thinking to find out an Atlas far more strong and immortal, and which can better hold all things together; *τὸ γὰρ ἀγαθὸν καὶ τὸ δέον, ὅδεον ξυμβαίνει, καὶ ξυμῆχεν*. Good and Fit, being not able, in their Opinions, to Hold, or Bind any Thing.

From which passage of *Plato's* we may conclude, that though *Anaxagoras* were so far convinced of *Theism*, as in Profession to mak One Infinite Mind the Cause of all things, Matter only excepted, yet he had notwithstanding too great a Tang of that Old Material and Atheistical Philosophy of his Predecessors, still hanging about him, who resolved all the *Phænomena* of Nature, into *Physical*, and nothing into Mental or Final Causes. And we have the rather told this long story of him, because it is so exact a Parallel with the Philosophick Humour of some in this present Age, who pretending to assert a God, do notwithstanding discard all Mental and Final Causality, from having any thing to do with the Fabrick of the World; and resolve all, into Material Necessity, and Mechanism; into Vortices, Globuli and Striate Particles, and the like. Of which Christian Philosophers we must needs pronounce, that they are not near so good Theists as *Anaxagoras* himself was, though so much condemned by *Plato* and *Aristotle*; forasmuch as he, did not only assert God to be the Cause of Motion, but also the Governour, Regulator and Methodizer of the same, for the production of this Harmonious System of the World, and therefore *τὸ δὲ καὶ καλῶς αἰττεῖν*, the Cause of Well and Fit. Whereas these utterly reject the Latter, and, only admitting the Former, will needs suppose Heaven and Earth, Plants and Animals, and all things whatsoever in this orderly Compages of the World, to have resulted meerly from a certain Quantity of Motion, or Agitation, at first impress'd upon the Matter, and determin'd to Vortex.

XXXI. The Chronology of the old Philosophers having some uncertainty in it, we shall not Scrupulously concern our selves therein, but in the next place consider *Parmenides*, *Xenophanes* his Auditor and a Philosophick Poet likewise, but who conversing much with two Pythagoreans, *Amenias* and *Diocætes*, was therefore look'd upon as one that was not a little addicted to the Pythagorick Sect. That this *Parmenides* acknowledged Many Gods, is evident from what hath been already cited out of him; notwithstanding which he plainly asserted also, One Supreme, making him, as *Simplicius* tells us, *αἰτίαν θεῶν*, the Cause of all those other Gods, of which Love is said to have been first produced. Which Supreme Deity, *Parmenides* as well as *Xenophanes* called, *ἐν τῷ πᾶσι*, One that was All, or the Universe; but adding thereunto of his own, that it was also *ἀκίνητον*, Immovable.

Now though it be true, that *Parmenides* his Writings being not without obscurity, some of the Ancients, who were less acquainted with Metaphysical Speculations, understood him Physically; as if he had asserted the whole Corporeal Universe, to be all but One Thing, and that Immovable, thereby destroying together with the Diversity of things, all Motion, Mutation, and Action; which was plainly to make *Parmenides*

nides not to have been a Philosopher but a Mad man. Yet *Simplicius*, a man well acquainted with the Opinions of Ancient Philosophers, and who had by him a Copy of *Parmenides* his Poems, (then scarce, but since lost) assures us that *Parmenides* dreamt of no such matter, and that he wrote ὃ ἐστὶ τῆ φυσικῆς στοιχείας, ἀλλὰ ὃ ἐστὶ τῆ ὄντας οὐσίας, or ὃ ἐστὶ τῆ θεᾶς ὑποχρῆστας, *not concerning a Physical Element or Principle, but concerning the True Ens, or the Divine Transcendency*: Adding, that though some of those Ancient Philosophers did not distinguish, τὰ φυσικὰ ἀπὸ τῶν ὑπὲρ φύσιν, *Natural things from Supernatural*; yet the *Pythagoreans*, and *Xenophones*, and *Parmenides*, and *Empedocles*, and *Anaxagoras*, did all διακρίνειν, handle these Two distinctly; καὶ τῇ ἀσαφείᾳ λανθάνοντες τὰς πολλὰς, *however, by reason of their obscurity it were not perceived by many*; for which cause they have been most of them misrepresented, not only by Pagans, but also by Christian Writers. For as the same *Simplicius* informs us, *Parmenides* propounded Two several Doctrines, one after another; the First concerning *Theological* and *Metaphysical* things, called by him ἀλήθειαν, *Truth*, the Second concerning *Physical* and *Corporeal* things, which he called δόξαν, *Opinion*. The Transition betwixt which, was contained in these Verses of his,

Ἐν τῷ σοι παύω πῶς λόγον ἡδὲ νόημα
Ἀμφὶς ἀληθείας· δόξας δ' ἀπὸ τῶδε περθεύεις
μάνθανε· νόημα μὲν ἐπέων, ἀπατηλὸν αἰσῶν.

In the Former of which Doctrines, *Parmenides* asserted *One Immoveable Principle*; but in the Latter, Two movable ones, *Fire* and *Earth*. He speaking of Souls also as a certain Middle or *Vinculum*, betwixt the Incorporeal and the Corporeal World, and affirming that God did, τοὺς ψυχὰς πέμπειν ποτὶ μὲν ἐκ τῆ ἐμφαντοῦς εἰς τὸ αἰετὸς, ποτὲ δ' ἀνὰ πάλιν, *sometimes send and translate Souls, from the Visible to the Invisible Regions, and sometimes again, on the contrary from the Invisible to the Visible*. From whence it is plain, that when *Parmenides* asserted his *One and All Immoveable*, he spake not as a *Physiologer*, but as a *Metaphysician* and *Theologer* only. Which indeed was a thing so evident, that *Aristotle* himself, though he had a mind to obscure *Parmenides* his sense, that he might have a sling at him in his *Physicks*, yet could not altogether dissemble it. For when he thus begins, *There must of necessity be either One Principle or Many*; and if there be but One, then must it either be *Immoveable*, as *Parmenides* and *Melissus* affirm, or else *Movable*, ὥς περ οἱ φυσικοὶ, *as the Naturalists or Physiologers*; he therein plainly intimates, that when *Parmenides* and *Melissus*, made *One Immoveable the Principle of all things*, they did not write this as *Physiologers*. And afterwards he confesses, that this Controversie, whether there were *One Immoveable Principle*, does not belong to *Natural Philosophy*, but to *some other Science*. But this is more plainly declared by him elsewhere, writing concerning *Parmenides* and *Melissus* after this manner. εἰ καὶ τ' ἄλλα λέγουσι καλῶς, ἀλλ' ὃ φυσικῶς γὰρ δὲ νομίζεν λέγειν; τὸ γὰρ εἶναι ἀπὸ τῶν ὄντων ἀρχὴν καὶ ὅλας ἀκίνητα, μάλλον, ὅτιν ἐτέρως καὶ περτέρως, ἢ τὸ φυσικῶς ἐπιτελέως. *Though it be granted that Parmenides and Melissus otherwise said well, yet we must not imagine them to have spoken Physically. For this, that there*

there is something Unmade and Immoveable, does not so properly belong to Physicks, as to a certain other Science which is before it.

Wherefore *Parmenides* as well as *Xenophanes* his Master, by his *One and All*, meant nothing else, but the *Supreme Deity*, he calling it also *Immoveable*. For the *Supreme Deity* was by these Ancient Philosophers styled, First τὸ ἐν and μονὰς a *Unity and Monad*, because they conceived, that the First and most Perfect being and the beginning of all things, must needs be the most Simple. Thus *Eudorus* in *Simplicius* declares their sence; ἀρχὴν ἔφασαν εἶναι τῆς πάντων τὸ ἐν, ὡς καὶ τὸ ὕλης καὶ τῆς οὐρανῶν πάντων, ἔξ αὐτῆς γεννημένων, τὸτο δὲ εἶναι τὸ ἁπλάνω θεόν. These Ancients affirmed, that the *One or Unity*, was the first Principle of All, Matter it self as well as other things being derived from it, they meaning by this *One*, that Highest or Supreme God, who is over all. And *Syrianus* to the same purpose, οἱ θεοὶ ὁρατοὶ ἄνδρες, τὸ ἐν θεὸν ἔλεγον, ὡς ἐνάσας τοῖς ὅλοις αἰτίον, καὶ πάντος τῆς οὐρανῶν καὶ πάσης ζωῆς. Those Divine Men, called God The One, as being the cause of *Unity* to all things, as likewise he was of *Being and Life*. And *Simplicius* concludes, that *Parmenides* his ἐν ὄν, his *One Ens*, was a certain Divine Principle Superior to Mind or Intellect, and more Simple, λεπτεῖα ἐν τὸ νοητὸν πάντων αἰτίον, δι' ὃ καὶ ὁ νῦν ὅτι καὶ τὸ νοεῖν, ἐν ᾧ πάντα ἵπ' ἑμὴν ἐνὸς αἰνῶσιν συνηρημένας κατέληπται, καὶ ἠνωμένος, τὸτο εἶναι τὸ παρμενίδειον ἐν ὄν. It remaineth therefore, that that Intelligible, which is the Cause of all things, and therefore of Mind and Understanding too, in which all things are contained and comprehended compendiously and in a way of *Unity*, I say that this was *Parmenides* his *One Ens or Being*. F. 31. Gr.

In the next place, *Parmenides* with the others of those Ancients, called also his ἐν ὄν, τὸ πᾶν, his *One Ens or First most Simple Being, All, or the Universe*; because it virtually contained all things; and as *Simplicius* writes, πάντα διακεχωρισμένως ἐμφανέσθαι ἀπ' αὐτῆς, All things are from this *One*, distinctly displayed. For which cause, in *Plato's* *Parmenides*, this *One* is said to be, εἰς πάντα πολλὰ ὄντα νεμεμεμένον, distributed into All things, that are Many. But that *Parmenides* by his ἐν τὸ πᾶν, *One-All, or the Universe*, did not understand the Corporeal World, is evident from hence, because he called it ἀδιαφές or Invisible, In Phys. F. 17. and as *Simplicius* observes, supposed it to have no Magnitude; because that which is Perfectly *One*, can have no Parts.

Wherefore it may be here observed, that this expression of ἐν τὸ πᾶν, *One being All*, hath been used in very different Sences; for as *Parmenides* and *Xenophanes* understood it of the *Supreme Deity*; that *One* most Perfect and most Simple Being, was the Original of all things, so others of them meant it *Atheistically*, concerning the most Imperfect and Lowest of all Beings, Matter or Body, they affirming all things to be nothing but *One and the same Matter*, diversly modified. Thus much we learn from that place of *Aristotle's* in his *Metaphysics*, ὅτι μὲν ἐν ἑπὶ τὸ πᾶν καὶ μίαν εἶναι τινος φύσιν ὡς ὕλιν πᾶσι, καὶ ταύτῃ σωματικῇ καὶ μέγεθος ἔχουσαν, δὴλον ὅτι πολλαχῶς ἀμαρτάνουσι, They who affirm *One* to be *All* in this sence, as if All things were nothing but one and the same Matter, and that corporeal and endued with magnitude, it is manifest L. i. c. 7.

nifest that they err sundry ways. But here is a great Difference betwixt these Two to be observed, in that, the *Atheistical* asserters of *One and All* (whether they meant Water or Air by it, or something else) did none of them suppose their *One and All* to be *Immovable* but *Movable*; but they whose Principle was *One and all Immovable* (as *Parmenides*, *Melissus* and *Zeno*) could not possibly mean any thing else thereby, but the *Deity*; that there was one most Simple, Perfect, and Immutable Being Incorporeal, which virtually contained *All Things*, and from which *All things* were derived. But *Heraclitus*, who is one of those who are said to have affirmed ἐν εἶναι τὸ πᾶν, that *One was All*, or that the *Universe was but One Thing*; might possibly have taken both those senses together (which will also agree in the Stoical Hypothesis) that *All things* were both from *One God*, and from *One Fire*; they being both alike Corporeal Theists, who supposed an intellectual Fire, to be the First Principle of *All Things*.

And though *Aristotle* in his *Physicks* quarrel very much with *Parmenides* and *Melissus*, for making *One Immovable Principle*, yet in his *Metaphysicks*, himself doth plainly close with it and own it as very good Divinity, that there is *One Incorporeal and Immovable Principle of All Things*, and that the Supreme Deity is an *Immovable Nature*, ἑπεὶ ὑπάρχει τις ἁπλῶς πρῶτη, λέγω ὅτι χωρὶς καὶ ἀκίνητος, ὅπερ περιεσφαι δεικνύναι, ἐστᾶν δὲ ἂν εἴη τις καὶ τὸ θεῖον, καὶ αὐτὴ ἂν εἴη πρώτη καὶ κυριώτατη ἀρχή. If there be any such Substance as this, that is separate (from Matter, or Incorporeal) and Immovable (as we shall afterwards endeavour to shew that there is) then the Divinity ought to be placed here, and this must be acknowledged to be the First and most Proper Principle of all. But lest any should suspect, that *Aristotle*, if not *Parmenides* also, might for all that, hold Many such Immovable Principles, or Many Eternal, Uncreated and Self-existent Beings, as so many Partial Causes of the World, *Simplicius* assures us, μὴ γινώσκοντες ὁδὸν πομπὰς καὶ ἀκινήτας τὰς ἀρχὰς λέγουσαν, i. e. that though divers of the Ancient Philosophers asserted a Plurality of Movable Principles (and some indeed an Infinity) yet there never was any Opinion entertained amongst Philosophers, of Many, or More than One, Immovable Principles. From whence it may be concluded, that no Philosopher ever asserted, a Multitude of Unmade Self-existent Minds, or Independent Deities, as Coordinate Principles of the World.

Indeed *Plotinus* seems to think that *Parmenides* in his Writings, by his τὸ ὄν, or *Ens*, did frequently mean a Perfect Mind or Intellect, there being no True Entity (according to him) below that which Understands (which Mind, though Incorporeal, was likened by him to a Sphere, because it comprehends all within it self, and because Intellection is not from without, but from within.) But that when again, he called his *On* or *Ens*, *One*, he gave occasion thereby to some, to quarrel with him, as making the same both *One* and *Many*; Intellect being that which contains the Ideas of all things in it. Wherefore *Parmenides* his whole Philosophy (saith he) was better digested and more exactly and distinctly set down in *Plato's Parmenides*, where he acknowledgeth, *Three Unities Subordinate*, or a *Trinity of Divine Hypostases*;

ὁ δὲ Πλάτωνι Παριμενίδης, ἀκριβέστερον λέγων, διαμεῖ ἀπ' ἀλλήλων, τὸ πρῶτον *En. 5. L. i. c. 8.*
 ἓν, ὃ κυριώτερον ἓν· καὶ δεύτερον ἓν πολλὰ λέγων· καὶ τρίτον ἓν καὶ πολλὰ·
 καὶ σύμφωνον εἶναι καὶ αὐτὸς ὅτι ταῖς φύσεσι ταῖς τελευταῖς. *Parmenides in*
Plato, speaking more exactly, distinguishes Three Divine Unities Sub-
ordinate; The First of that which is Perfectly and most Properly One;
the Second of that which was called by him, One-Many; the Third of
that which is thus expressed, One and Many. So that Parmenides did
also agree in this acknowledgment of a Trinity of Divine or Archical Hy-
postases. Which Observation of Plotinus is, by the way, the best Key,
that we know of, for that Obscure Book of Plato's Parmenides.
 Wherefore *Parmenides* thus asserting a *Trinity of Divine Hypostases*, it
 was the *First* of those *Hypostases*, that was properly called by him,
 ἓν τὸ πᾶν, *One the Universe or all*: That is, *One* most Simple Being,
 the Fountain and Original of all. And the *Second* of them (which
 is a Perfect Intellect) was it seems by him called, in way of distincti-
 on ἓν πολλὰ or πᾶντα, *One-Many or One-All Things*. By which *All Things*
 are meant, the *Intelligible Ideas of Things*, that are all contained
 together in *One Perfect Mind*. And of those was *Parmenides* to be
 understood also, when he affirmed, *That all Things did stand, and*
nothing flow; not of Singular and Sensible Things, which, as the *He-*
racliticks rightly affirmed, do indeed *all flow*; but of the Immediate
 Objects of the Mind, which are Eternal and Immutable; *Aristotle*
 himself acknowledging, that no *Generation* nor *Corruption* belongeth
 to them; since there could be no Immutable and Certain Science,
 unless there were some Immutable, Necessary and Eternal Objects of
 it. Wherefore, as the same *Aristotle* also declares, the true Mean- *Met. L. 4. c. 5.*
 ing of that Controversie, betwixt the *Heracliticks* and *Parmenideans*,
Whether All Things did flow or Some things stand? was the same with
 this, Whether there were any other Objects of the Mind, besides
 Singular Sensibles, that were Immutable; and consequently, Whe-
 ther there were any such thing, as *Science* or *Knowledge* which had
 a Firmitude and Stability in it? For those *Heracliticks* who contend-
 ed, that the only Objects of the Mind, were *Singular* and *Sensible*
 things, did with good reason consequently thereupon deny, that
 there was any Certain and Constant Knowledge, since there can nei-
 ther be any *Definition of Singular Sensibles*, (as *Aristotle* writes) *nor*
any Demonstration concerning them. But the *Parmenideans* on the
 contrary, who maintained the *Firmitude and Stability of Science*,
 did as reasonably conclude thereupon, that besides *Singular Sensi-*
bles; there were other Objects of the Mind, *Universal, Eternal and*
Immutable, which they called the *Intelligible Ideas*, all originally
 contained in *One Archetypal Mind or Understanding*, and from
 thence participated by Inferiour Minds and Souls. But it must be
 here acknowledged, that *Parmenides* and the *Pythagoreans*, went
 yet a step further, and did not only suppose those *Intelligible Ideas*,
 to be the Eternal and Immutable Objects of all Science, but also as
 they are contained in the Divine Intellect, to be the Principles and
 Causes of all other things. For thus *Aristotle* declares their Sence,
 αἰτία τὰ ἑδν τοῖς ἄλλοις, and again, τὸ τί ἦν εἶναι ἐκείνων τῶν ἄλλων τὰ ἑδν *Met. L. i. c. 6.*
 παρέχονται, τοῖς δ' ἑδν τὸ εἶναι. *The Ideas are the Causes of all other things;*
and, the Essence of all other things below, is imparted to them from the I-

deas, as the Ideas themselves, derive their Essence from the First Unity. Those *Ideas* in the Divine Understanding, being look'd upon by these Philosophers, as the Paradigms and Patterns of all Created things. Now these *Ideas* being frequently called by the Pythagoreans, *Numbers*, we may from hence clearly understand the Meaning of that seemingly monstrous Paradox or puzzling *Griphus* of theirs, that *Numbers* were the *Causes and Principles of all things*, or that *All things were made out of Numbers*; it signifying indeed no more than this, that *All things were made from the Ideas of the Divine Intellect, called Numbers*; which themselves also were derived from a *Monad or Unity*; Aristotle somewhere intimating this very account of that Assertion, τὰς ἀριθμοὺς αἰτίας εἶναι τοῖς ἄλλοις τῷ ὅτι ὅτις, *That Numbers were the Causes of the Essence of other things, namely, because τὰ ἐκ τῶν ἀριθμῶν, the Ideas were Numbers.* Though we are not ignorant, how the Pythagoreans made also all the Numbers within the Decad, to be Symbols of Things. But besides these *Two Divine Hypotheses* already mentioned, *Parmenides* seems to have asserted also a *Third*, which because it had yet more *Alterity*, for distinction sake was called by him, neither ἐν τῷ πᾶν, *One the Universe or All*; nor ἐν παντί, *One-All Things*; but ἐν καὶ παντί, *One and All things*; and this is taken by *Plotinus* to be the *Eternal Psyche*, that actively produceth *All Things*, in this Lower World, according to those *Divine Ideas*.

*In Arist. Phys.
vol. 7. c. 17. c.
31.*

But that *Parmenides* by his *One-All Immoveable*, really understood nothing else but the Supreme Deity, is further unquestionably evident from those Verses of his cited by *Simplicius*, but not taken notice of by *Stephanus* in his *Poesis Philosophica*, of which we shall only set down some few here.

— ὅς ἀγρόντων ἐόν ἐξ ἀνάλεθρον ὄντιν,
οὐδέποτε ἦν, ὅδ' ἔσται, ἐπεὶ νῦν ὄντιν ὅμῃ πᾶν.
"Εν συνεχῆς· τίνα γὰρ ἄλλω διζήσαι αὐτῆ;
αὐτὰρ ἀκίνητον μεγάλων ἐπὶ πέρασι δέσμων,
ταυτῶν τ' ἐπὶ ταυτῶν τε μέτρον, καθ' ἑαυτὸ τε κέεται· &c.

In which together with those that follow, the Supreme Deity is plainly described, as *One Single, Solitary, and most Simple Being, Unmade or Self-existent, and Necessarily Existing, Incorporeal and devoid of Magnitude, altogether Immutable or Unchangeable, whose Duration therefore was very different from that of ours, and not in a way of Flux or Temporary Succession, but a Constant Eternity, without either Past or Future.* From whence it may be observed, that this Opinion of a *Standing Eternity*, different from that *Flowing Succession of Time*, is not so Novel a Thing, as some would persuade, nor was first excogitated by Christian Writers, Schoolmen or Fathers, it being at least as old as *Parmenides*; from whom it was also afterwards received and entertained by the best of the other Pagan Philosophers; however it hath been of late so much decried, not only by Atheistical Writers, but other Precocious and Conceited Wits also, as Non-sence and Impossibility.

It is well known that *Melissus* held forth the very same Doctrine with *Parmenides*, of One Immovable, that was All, which he plainly affirmed to be Incorporeal likewise, as *Parmenides* did ; *ὁ δὲ μέλιστος ἐν ἑόν φησι, δ' αὐτὸ σῶμα μὴ ἔχειν, εἰ δ' ἔχει πάχος, ἔχει ἂν μόρια*, *Melissus* also declared, that his One Ens must needs be devoid of Body, because if it had any Crassities in it, it would have Parts. But the only Difference that was between them was this, that *Parmenides* called this One Immovable that was All, πεπερασμένον, Finite or Determined, but *Melissus* ἀπειρον, Infinite. Which Difference notwithstanding was in Words only, there being none at all, as to the reality of their Sense ; whilst each of them endeavoured in a different way, to set forth the greatest Perfection of the Deity ; there being an Equivocation in those words Finite and Infinite, and both of them signifying in one sence Perfection, but in another Imperfection. And the Disagreeing Agreement of these two Philosophers with one another, *Parmenides* and *Melissus* ; as also of *Xenophanes* with them both concerning the Deity, is well declared by *Simplicius* after this manner ;

Simplic. Ar. Phys. f. 19.

Ar. Phys. f. 7.

παρεκείηται, τοῖς φιλομαθεστέροις ἐπιδείξει, πᾶς καίτοι διαφέρειν δοκῶντες οἱ παλαιοί, ὡς ἐπὶ τὰς ἀρχὰν δόξας, ἐναρμονίως ὁμᾶς συμφέρονται. Καὶ ὅτι οἱ μὲν ὡς ἐπὶ νοητῆς καὶ πρώτης ἀρχῆς διελέχθησαν, ὡς *ξενοφάνης* καὶ *παρμενίδης* καὶ *μέλιστος*. ὁ μὲν *παρμενίδης* ἐν λέγων καὶ πεπερασμένον. ἀνάγκη ὅτι τὸ ἐν τῷ πλήθει περιέπρεχεν, καὶ τὸ πᾶσιν ὅρα καὶ πέρας αἴτιον, καὶ τὸ πέρας μᾶλλον ἢ ὅτι τὴν ἀπείρῳ ἀφορίζεσθαι, καὶ τὸ πάντι τε τέλος τὸ τέλος τὸ οὐκ αἰὶν ἀπειληφός, πεπερασμένον εἶναι, μᾶλλον ὅτι τέλος τῶν πάντων ὡς ἀρχὴ· τὸ ὅτι ἀτελὲς εἶδες ὄν, ἔπειτα πέρας ἀπέλιπε. *μέλιστος* ὅτι τὸ μὲν ἀμετάλητον ὁμοίως καὶ αὐτὸς ἐδεῖσθαι, καὶ ὅτι ἀνέκλειπτον τὸ ἐξ ἑαυτοῦ, καὶ τὸ ἀπείρῳ τὸ δυνάμει, ἀπείρῳ αὐτὸ ἀπεφθῆναι, ὡς ὡς καὶ ἀρχήν. πᾶσι δὲ μὲν *ξενοφάνης* ὡς πάντων αἴτιον, καὶ πάντων ὑπερσπέρων, καὶ κινήσεως αὐτὸ καὶ ἡρεμίας καὶ πάσης ἀντιστοιχείας ἐπέκεινα τίθεισιν, ὡς ὡς καὶ ὁ *πλάτων* ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ ὑποθέσει. ὁ δὲ *παρμενίδης*, τὸ καὶ τὰ αὐτὰ καὶ ὡς αὐτὸς ἔχον αὐτῷ, καὶ πᾶσι μεταβολῆς, πάχος ὅτι καὶ ἐνεργείας καὶ δυνάμει ἐπέκεινα, δεῖσθαι μὲν, ἀκίνητον αὐτὸ ἀνυμῶν. Perhaps it will not be improper for us to digress a little here, and to gratifie the studious and inquisitive Reader, by showing how those Ancient Philosophers, though seeming to dissent in their Opinions concerning the Principles, did notwithstanding harmoniously agree together. As first of all, they who discoursed concerning the Intelligible and First Principle of All ; *Xenophanes*, *Parmenides* and *Melissus* ; of whom *Parmenides* called it One Finite and Determined ; because as Unity must needs exist before Multitude, so that which is to all things the cause of Measure, Bound and Determination, ought rather to be described by Measure and Finitude, than Infinity ; as also that which is every way perfect, and hath attained its own end, or rather is the end of all things (as it was the beginning) must needs be of a Determinate Nature ; for that which is imperfect and therefore indigent, hath not yet attained its Term or Measure. But *Melissus*, though considering the Immutability of the Deity likewise, yet attending to the Inexhaustible perfection of its Essence, the Unlimitedness and Unboundedness of its Power, declareth it to be Infinite, as well as Ingenit or Unmade. Moreover *Xenophanes* looking upon the Deity, as the Cause of All things and above All things, placed it above Motion and Rest, and all those Antitheses of Inferiour Beings, as *Plato* likewise doth in the first Hypothesis of his *Parmenides* ;

whereas Parmenides and Melissus, attending to its Stability and constant Immutability, and its being perhaps above Energy and Power, praised it as Immovable. From which of Simplicius it is plain, that Parmenides when he called God, πεπερασμένον, Finite and Determined, was far from meaning any such thing thereby, as if he were a Corporeal Being of Finite Dimensions, as some have ignorantly supposed; or as if he were any way limited as to Power and Perfection; but he understood it in that sense, in which πέρας is taken by Plato, as opposite to ἀπειρία, and for the Greatest Perfection, and as God is said to be πέρας ἢ μέτρον πάντων, The Term and Measure of All Things. But Melissus calling God ἀπείρον, Infinite, in the sense before declared, as thereby to signify his Inexhaustible Power and Perfection, his Eternity and Incorruptibility, doth therein more agree with our present Theology, and the now received manner of speaking. We have the rather produced all this, to shew how Curious the ancient Philosophers were, in their Enquiries after God, and how exact in their Descriptions of him. Wherefore however Anaximanders Infinite, were nothing but Eternal Senseless Matter (though called by him the τὸ θεῖον, the Divinest thing of all) yet Melissus his ἀπείρον, or Infinite, was the true Deity.

With Parmenides and Melissus fully agreed Zeno Eleates also, Parmenides his Scholar, that One Immovable, was All, or the Original of All things, he meaning thereby nothing else, but the Supreme Deity. For though it be true, that this Zeno did excogitate certain Arguments against the Local Motion of Bodies, proceeding upon that Hypothesis of the Infinite Divisibility of Body, one of which was famously known by that name of Achilles, because it pretended to prove that it was impossible (upon that Hypothesis) for the Swift-footed Achilles, ever to overtake the creeping Snail; (which Arguments of his, whether or no they are well answered by Aristotle; is not here to our purpose to enquire) yet all this was nothing else, but *Lusus Ingenii*, a sportful exercise of Zeno's Wit, he being a subtil Logician and Disputant, or perhaps an Endeavour also, to show how puzzling and perplexing to humane Understanding, the conception even of the most vulgar and confessed Phenomena of Nature may be. For that Zeno Eleates by his One Immovable that was All, meant not the Corporeal World, no more than Melissus, Parmenides, and Xenophanes, is evident from Aristotle writing thus concerning him; τὸ τοῖσιν ἐν ὧν ἡ θεὸν λέγει, ὅτι κινεῖσθαι, ὅτι κινητὸν εἶναι, Zeno by his one Ens which neither was moved, nor moveable, meaneth God. Moreover the same Aristotle informs us, that this Zeno endeavoured to Demonstrate, that there was but One God, from that Idea which all men have of him, as that which is the Best, the Supreme and most Powerful of all, or as an absolutely Perfect Being; εἰ δ' ὅτιν ὁ θεὸς πάντων κρατίστων, ἓνα φησὶ προσέκειν αὐτῷ. If God be the Best of All things, then he must needs be One. Which Argument was thus pursued by him; τὸ θεὸς ἢ θεὸς δύναμις κρατεῖν ἀλλὰ μὴ κρατεῖσθαι. ὥστε καὶ μὴ κρείττων, καὶ τοῦτον ἐκ εἶναι θεόν. πλείονων δὲ ὄντων, εἰ μὴ εἴεν τὰ μὴ ἀλλήλων κρατίστες, τὰ ἢ ἡγήσας, ἐκ αὐτῶν εἶναι θεός. πεφυκέναι γὰρ θεὸν μὴ κρατεῖσθαι ἴσων, ἢ ὄντων, ἐκ αὐτῶν ἔχειν θεὸν φύσιν δεῖν εἶναι κρατίστων. τὸ ἢ ἴσων, ἀπὸ βέλτων ὅτι

De Xenoph. Zc.
& Gor.

κρείττων

χρεὶν εἶναι τῷ Ἰῶντι ὡς εἶπε ἔτι, καὶ τοῖς ἑτέροις θεοῖς, ἕνα μόνον εἶναι τὸ θεῖον·
 ἔστι γὰρ ἔστι πᾶσι δυνάμει αὐτὸν βέβαιον. This is God and the Power of
 God, to prevail, conquer and rule over all. Wherefore by how much
 anything falls short of the Best, by so much does it fall short of being
 God. Now if there be supposed more such Beings, whereof some are
 Better, some worse, those could not be all Gods, because it is Essential
 to God not to be transcended by any; but if they be conceived to be so
 many Equal Gods; then would it not be the nature of God to be the
 Best, one Equal being neither better nor worse than another, Wherefore
 if there be a God, and this be the nature of him, then can there be but
 One. And indeed otherwise he could not be able to do whatever he
 would.

Empedocles is said to have been an Emulator of Parmenides also,
 which must be understood of his Metaphysics, because in his Phy-
 siology (which was Atomical) he seems to have transcended him. Now
 that Empedocles acknowledged One Supreme and Universal Numen
 and that Incorporeal too, may be concluded from what hath been
 already cited out of his Philosophick Poems. Besides which the ^{P. 26.}
 Writer De Mundo (who though not Aristotle yet was a Pagan of
 good antiquity) clearly affirmeth, that Empedocles derived all things
 whatsoever, from One Supreme Deity; τὰ γὰρ δι' αἰέτας ἀπαντα, καὶ ἔτι
 γῆς, καὶ τὰ ἐν ὕδατι, θεὸς λέγουσι αὐτὸν ὄντας ἐργα εἶναι, τῷ τὸ καὶ μὲν ἐπ' ἐχέοντος
 ἐξ ἑκτὸς τὸ φυσικὸν ἐμπεδοκλέα,

πάνθ' ὅσα τ' ἦν, ὅσα τ' ἔστιν, ἰδ' ὅσα τε ἔσται ὀπίσσω, θεοί.

All the things that are upon the Earth and in the Air and Water, may
 truly be called the works of God, who ruleth over the World. Out of whom,
 according to the Physical Empedocles, proceed all things that were, are,
 and shall be, viz. Plants, Men, Beasts and Gods. Which notwithstanding
 we conceive, to be rather true as to Empedocles his sense, than
 his words, he affirming, as it seems, in that cited place, that all
 these things were made, not immediately out of God, but out of
 Contention and Friendship; because Simplicius who was furnished with
 a Copy of Empedocles his Poems, twice brings in that cited Passage of
 his in this connexion,

ἐν τῷ κατὰ διάμετρον καὶ ἀνδρα πάντα πέλονται,
 σὺν δ' ἐστὶν ἐν φιλότῃ καὶ ἀνθρώποισι ποδῆται,
 ἐκ τῶν γὰρ πάνθ' ὅσα ἦν, ὅσα τε ἔστι, καὶ ἔσται,
 ἀνδρά τε βελόσκη, καὶ ἀνέρες καὶ γυναῖκες,
 θῆρες, τ' οἰωνοί τε, καὶ ὑδατοβρέμμενες ἰχθύς,
 καὶ τὸ θεοὶ δολιχαῖνες τιμῇσι φέρεται.

Things are divided and segregated by Contention, but joyned together
 by Friendship; from which Two (Contention and Friendship) all that
 was, is, and shall be, proceeds; as trees, men and women, beasts, birds
 and fishes, and last of all the long lived and honourable Gods. Where-
 fore the sense of Empedocles his words here was this; that the whole
 created World, together with all things belonging to it, viz. Plants,
 Beasts

Beasts, Men and Gods, was made from *Contention* and *Friendship*. Nevertheless, since according to *Empedocles* *Contention* and *Friendship*, did themselves depend also upon one Supreme Deity, which he with *Parmenides* and *Xenophanes* called, τὸ ἐν, or *The Very One*; the Writer *De Mundo* might well conclude, that according to *Empedocles*, all things whatsoever, and not only men, but Gods, were derived from *One Supreme Deity*. And that this was indeed *Empedocles* his sense, appears plainly from *Aristotle* in his *Metaphysics*, τίθησι μὲν γὰρ [ἐμπεδοκλήης] ἀρχὴν πῖνα τὴν φθορᾶς τὸ νέμειν. δέξει δ' ἅν ἐξεν ἡπὼν καὶ τὸ γένειν δὲ αὐτὴ τὴν ἐνός. Ἄπαντα γὰρ ἐκ τούτων τ' ἄλλα ὅτι πᾶσι οὐδεὶς λέγει γὰρ,

L. 3. c. 4.

Ἐξ ὧν πᾶν ὅσα τ' ἦν, ὅσα τ' ἐστ', ὅσα τ' ἔσται ὀπίσσω, &c.

Empedocles makes Contention to be a certain Principle of Corruption and Generation: Nevertheless he seems to generate this Contention it self also from the Very One (that is, from the Supreme Deity.) For all things according to him are from this Contention, God only excepted; he writing after this manner, From which (that is, Contention and Friendship) all the things that have been, are and shall be (Plants, Beasts, Men and Gods) derived their Original. For Empedocles it seems supposed, that were it not for νέμειν Discord or Contention, all things would be One: So that according to him, all things whatsoever proceeded from Contention or Discord, together with a mixture of Friendship, save only the Supreme God, who hath therefore no Contention at all in him, because he is Essentially τὸ ἐν, Unity it self and Friendship. From whence Aristotle takes occasion to quarrel with Empedocles, as if it would follow from his Principles, that the Supreme and most Happy God, was the Least wise of all, as being not able to know any thing besides himself, or in the World without him, διὸ καὶ συμβαίνει αὐτῷ, καὶ διδάσκοντάς τοις ἡπὼν φρόνιμον εἶναι καὶ ἄλλων. καὶ γὰρ γνωρίζει τὰ σοιχεῖα πάντα τὸ γὰρ νέμειν ἐκ ἑχέει. ἢ ἡ γνῶσις τῶν ὁμοίων τῶν ὁμοίων,

Met. L. 3. c. 4.

ταῦτα μὲν γὰρ (φίσι) γαῖαν ὀπίσσω μὲν, ὕδατι δ' ὕδατος, &c.

This therefore happens to Empedocles, that according to his Principles, the most Happy God, is the least Wise of all other things, for he cannot know the Elements, because he hath no Contention in him; all Knowledge being by that which is like; himself writing thus; We know Earth by Earth, Water by Water, Air by Air, and Fire by Fire; Friendship by Friendship, and Contention by Contention. But to let this pass; Empedocles here making the Gods themselves to be derived from Contention and Friendship, the Supreme Deity, or most Happy God, only excepted, (who hath no Contention in him, and from whom Contention and Friendship themselves were derived) plainly acknowledged both One Unmade Deity, the Original of all things under the name of τὸ ἐν, The very One, and many other Inferiour Gods, generated or produced by him; they being Juniors to Contention, or Discord, as this was also Junior to Unity, the First and Supreme Deity. Which Gods of Empedocles, that were begotten from Contention (as well as Men and other things) were doubtless the Stars and Demons.

Moreover

Moreover we may here observe, that according to *Empedocles* his Doctrine, the true Original of all the *Evil*, both of *Humane Souls* and *Demons* (which he supposed alike Lapsable) was derived from that Νῆκος, *Discord and Contention*, that is necessarily contained in the Nature of them, together with the the Ill Use of their Liberty, both in this *Present* and their *Pre-existent State*. So that *Empedocles* here trode in the footsteps of *Pythagoras*, whose Praises he thus loudly sang forth in his Poems,

According to that Νῆκος καὶ τὸν πόνον.
P. 23.

ἦν δὲ τις ἐκ κείνοισιν ἀνὴρ ἐξέωσα εἰδὼς,
ὅς δὴ μήκετον περὶ πιδὼν ἐλθήσαστο πλεστον,
παντῶν τε μέλιστα σφῶν ἐπλήθειν ἔχων, &c.

Porphyr. de Vit.
Pyth. p. 194.

*Horum de numero quidam præstantia norat
Plurima, Mentis Opes Amplas sub pectore servant,
Omnia Vestigans Sapientum Doctrina Reperta, &c.*

XXII. Before we come to *Socrates* and *Plato*, we shall here take notice of some other *Pythagoreans*, and *Emiaent Philosophers*, who clearly asserted *One Supreme and Universal Numen*, though doubtless acknowledging withal, *Other Inferiour Gods*: *Philo* in his Book *De Mundi Opificio*, writing of the *Hebdomad* or *Septenary Number*, and observing that according to the *Pythagoreans*, it was called both a *Motherless* and *Virgin Number*, because it was the only number within the *Decad*, which was neither *Generated*, nor did it self *Generate*, tells us that therefore it was made by them a *Symbol* of the *Supreme Deity*, οἱ πυθαγόρειοι τὸν ἀριθμὸν τῶτον ἑξομοίωσι τῷ ἡγεμόνι καὶ συμπάντων. *The Pythagoreans likened this Number, to the Prince and Governour of All Things, or the Supreme Monarch of the Universe*, as thinking it to bear a resemblance of his *Immutability*; which Phancy of theirs was before taken notice of by us. However *Philo* hereupon, occasionally cites this Remarkable Testimony of *Philolaus* the *Pythagorean*, ἐστὶ γὰρ, φησὶν, ἡγεμὼν καὶ ἀρχὼν ἀπάντων ὁ θεός, ἐς αἶν ἂν, κίνητος, ἀκίνητος, αὐτὸς αὐτῷ ὅμοιος, ἑταρὸς καὶ ἄλλων. *God (saith he) is the Prince and Ruler over all, alwayes One, Stable, Immovable, Like to himself, but Unlike to every thing else*. To which may be added what in *Stobæus* is further recorded, out of the same *Philolaus*, ἦν ὁδε ὁ κόσμος καὶ αἰώνος, καὶ ἐς αἰῶνα διαμείβει, ἐς ὑπὸ ἐνὸς τῷ συσχεῶ καὶ καλλίστῳ κυβερνᾶμενος. *This World was from Eternity and will remain to Eternity, One governed by One, which is Cognate and the Best*. Where notwithstanding he seemeth, with *Ocellus*, to maintain the *Worlds Pre-eternity*. And again, διὸ καὶ καλῶς ἔχεν εἶλεγε, κόσμον ἥμῃς ἀτέρειαν αἰδίου ζωῆς καὶ ἡρώσεως. *Wherefore, said Philolaus, the World might well be called the Eternal Energy or Effect of God, and of Successive Generation*.

P. 23.

Ecl. Phys. p. 44.

Jamblichus in his *Protrepticks* cites a Passage out of *Archytas* another *Pythagorean*, to the same purpose, ὅστις ἀναλύσται οὗτος τε καὶ πάντα τὰ ὄντα ὑπὸ μιᾶν τε καὶ αὐτῶν ἀρχῆν, ὅτι δὲ μοι καλὰν σκοπὴν ἀνεκτείναι, ἀφ' ἧς δυνατὸς εἰσέλθαι τὸν κόσμον καλοῦσθαι, &c. *Whosoever is able to reduce all kinds of things under One and the same Principle, this man seems to me, to have found out an excellent Specula, or high Station,*
from

C. 4. p. 20.

from whence he may be able to take a Large View and Prospect of God, and of all other things; and he shall clearly perceive that God is the Beginning, and End, and Middle of All things, that are performed according to Justice and Right Reason. Upon which words of Archytas, Jamblichus thus glosseth; Archytas here declares the End of all Theological Speculation, to be this, not to rest in Many Principles, but to reduce all things under One and the same Head. Adding τοιαύτη ὁπσις μὴ τῷ ἐνός, τέλει ὅτι πόσις θεωρίας, That this knowledge of the first Unity, the Original of All things, is the end of all Contemplation. Moreover Stobæus cites this out of Archytas his Book of Principles, viz. That besides Matter and Form, ἀναγκαιοτέρων πινὰ ἔμμεν αἰτίαν, τὰν κινάσοισαν ἐν ἐσώτων προσημάτων ὅτι τὰν μορφῶν, ταῦτα ἢ τὰν προσημάτων δυνάμει, καὶ καθυστάτουν ἔμμεν, ὀνομαζέσθαι ἢ θεόν, &c. There is another more necessary cause, which Moving, brings the Form to the Matter, and that this is the First and most Powerful Cause, which is fitly called God. So that there are Three Principles, God, Matter, and Form; God the Artificer and Mover, and Matter that which is moved, and Form the Art introduced into the Matter. In which same Stobæan Excerptation it also follows afterwards, δεῖν ἄλλο τι κρείσσον εἶναι, νέον ἢ κρείσσον ὅτι ὅπερ ὀνομαζομένην οὐδὲν, That there must be something better than Mind, and that this thing better than Mind, is that which we (properly) call God.

P. 32.

Ocellus also in the same Stobæus thus writeth, συνέχει τὰ μὲν σκάνια ζῶα, ταύτας δ' αἰτίον ψυχῆ· ἢ ἡ κόσμον ἁρμονίαν, ταύτας δ' αἰτίον ὁ θεός· τὰς δ' οἰκὰς καὶ τὰς πόλεις ὀνομαζομένης, ταύτας δ' αἰτίον νόμος· Life contains the bodies of Animals, the Cause of which Life is the Soul; Concord contains Houses and Cities, the cause of which Concord is Law; and Harmony contains the whole World, the cause of which Mundane Harmony is God. And to the same purpose Aristæus, ὡς ὁ τεχνίτης πᾶσι τὰν τέχνην, ὅτις θεός ποτ' ἁρμονίαν, As the Artificer is to Art, so is God to the Harmony of the world. There is also this passage in the same Stobæus cited out of an anonymous Pythagorean, θεός μὲν ὅτις ἀρχὴ καὶ πρῶτον, δεῖν ἢ ὁ κόσμος, God is the Principle, and the First thing; and the World (though it be not the Supreme God) yet is it Divine.

P. 45.

P. 8.

Timæus Locrus a Pythagorean Senior to Plato, in his Book concerning Nature, or the Soul of the World (upon which Plato's Timæus was but a kind of Commentary) plainly acknowledgeth both One Supreme God the Maker and Governour of the whole World, and also Many other Gods his Creatures and subordinate Ministers; in the close thereof, writing thus concerning the punishment of wickedmen after this life, ἀπαντὰ ἢ ταῦτα ἐν δευτέρῃ ἐξορίῳ ἡ Νέμεσις συνδένει, σὺν δαίμοσι παλαμναίοις χθονίοις τε, τοῖς ἐπίπταις καὶ ἀνθρωπίνων· οἷς ὁ πάντων ἀρχαὶν θεὸς ἐπέτελλε διόικειν καὶ κόσμον συμπληρωμένον ἐκ θεῶν τε καὶ ἀνθρώπων, καὶ τε ἄλλων ζώων, ὅσα δεδομένονται ποτ' εἰκόνα τὰν ἀρίστων εἶδε· ἢ ὅλα ταῦτα καὶ αἰώνια· All these things, bath Nemesis decreed, to be executed in the second Circuit by the Ministry of Vindictive Terrestrial Demons that are Overseers of humane affairs; to which Demons, that Supreme God the Ruler over all, hath committed the Government and Administration of the World. Which world is compleated and made up, of Gods, Men, and other Animals, all Created according to the best Pattern of

of the *Eternal and Unmade Idea*. In which words of *Timæus*, there are these Three several Points of the Pagan Theology contained; First, that there is *One Supreme God*, *Eternal and Unmade*, the Creator and Governour of the whole World, and who made it according to the Best Pattern or Exemplar of his own *Idea's* and *Eternal Wisdom*. Secondly, that this World Created by God, is compounded and made up of other *Inferiour Gods*, Men, and Brute Animals. Thirdly, that the Supreme God hath committed the Administration of our Humane Affairs to Demons and Inferiour Gods, who are constant inspectors over us, some of which he also makes use of for the punishment of wicked men after this life. Moreover in this Book of *Timæus* Locrus the Supreme God is often called, ὁ Θεός, and sometime ὁ δαίμων, God in way of eminency; sometime νόος, Mind, sometime τ' ἀγαθόν, The Very Good sometime ἀρχὴ τῶν ἀείρων, The Principle of the Best things, sometime δαίμωνος τῆς βελτιονος, The Maker of the Better, (Evil being supposed not to proceed from him;) sometime κρείσσειν αὐτοῦ, the Best and most Powerful Cause, sometime ἀρχηγός καὶ γένεσις ἀπάντων, The Prince and Parent of all things. Which God, according to him, is not the Soul of the World neither, but the Creator thereof, he having made the World an *Animal*, and a *Secondary Generated God*; δηλοῦντος ὅτι ἄριστον ἡνναμα ποιῆν, τὸτον ἐποίησεν θεὸν ἡννατὸν, ἔπειτα φανερὸν μὲν ὑπ' ἄλλω αἰτίῳ, ἔξω τῷ αὐτῷ συνταγματῶν θεῷ, ἔπειτα δὲ λετο αὐτῷ διαλύειν, God willing to make the world the Best, that it was capable of, made it a *Generated God*, such as should never be destroyed by any other Cause but only by that God himself who framed it, if he should ever will to dissolve it. But since it is not the part of that which is good to destroy the Best of Works, the World will doubtless ever remain *Incorruptible and Happy*; the best of all *Generated things*, made by the Best Cause, looking not at Patterns Artificially framed without him, but the *Idea and Intelligible Essence*, as the *Paradigms*, which whatsoever is made conformable to, must needs be the Best, and such as shall never need to be mended. Moreover he plainly declares, that this *Generated God* of his, the World, was produced in Time, so as to have a Beginning, πρὶν ὡραίων ἡνναθαι, λόγῳ ἥσιν ἰδέα τε καὶ ὕλη, καὶ ὁ θεὸς δαίμωνος τῆς βελτιονος, Before the Heaven was made, existed the *Idea, Matter, and God the Oupifex of the Best*. Wherefore whatever *Ocellus* and *Philolaus* might do, yet this *Timæus* held not the Worlds Eternity; wherein he followed, not only *Pythagoras* himself (as we have already shewed) but also the generality of the first *Pythagoreans*, of whom *Aristotle* pronounces without exception, ἡννασι γὰρ τὸ καὶ μόνον, that they Generated the World. *Timæus* indeed in this Book, seems to assert the *Pre-eternity* of the Matter, as if it were a *Self-existent Principle* together with God, and yet *Clemens Alexandrinus* cites a passage out of him looking another way, ἀλλ' ἀντικρὺς καὶ μὴν ἀρχὴ καὶ παρ' ἐλλύων ἀνδρασι ποθεῖς; τίμασι; ὁ λοκρὸς ἐν τῷ φυσικῷ συγγράμματι καὶ λέγειν ὡς μοι μνησθένος. μία ἀρχὴ πάντων ἔστιν ἀρχὴν, εἰ γὰρ ἐχέτο, οὐκ ἂν ἦν ἐπ' ἀρχῇ, ἀλλ' ὡς αἰὶν ἀρχῇ, ἐξ ἧς ἐχέτο. Would you hear of one only Principle of all things amongst the Greeks? *Timæus* Locrus in his Book of Nature, will bear me witness thereof; he there in express words writing thus, There is One Principle of All Things Unmade; for if it were made it would not be a Principle, but that would be the Principle, from whence it was made. Thus

Met. L. i. c. 7.

Strom. 5 p. 604.

we see that *Timæus* Locrus asserted *One Eternal and Unmade God*, the maker of the whole World, and besides this, another *Generated God*, the World it self Animated, with its several Parts; the difference betwixt both which Gods, is thus declared by him, θεὸν ὃν, τὸ μὲν αἰώνιον νόον ὅτι μόνος, καὶ πάντων ἀρχὸν καὶ γενέτορα τῶν ὅλων, καὶ ὃν ἄνευ οὐδὲν ὁρῶμεν, καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν ὁρατὸν, καὶ τὰ μέγιστα αὐτῷ ὁκῶσα ἀρρήτα ἐστὶν. *That Eternal God, who is the Prince, Original, and Parent of all these things, is seen only by the Mind, but the other Generated God, is visible to our eyes, viz. this world and those parts of it which are Heavenly, that is, the Stars, as so many particular Gods contained in it.* But here it is to be observed, that that Eternal God, is not only so called by *Timæus*, as being without beginning, but also as having a distinct kind of duration from that of Time, which is properly called *Eon* or *Eternity*, he therein following *Parmenides*, ἐκὼν δὲ ἔστι τῷ ἀφρονάτω χρόνῳ, ὃν αἰῶνα ποταρροῦμεν. ὡς γὰρ ποτ' αἰδίου ἀφρόδ' ἔργα καὶ ἰδανικὸν καὶ οὐκ ὁρῶμεν ὅδε ἀφανὲς ἐχθονάει, ὅτως ὡς πρὸς ἀφρόδ' ἔργα καὶ αἰῶνα ὅδε χρόνος σὺν καὶ οὐκ ὁρῶμεν ἰδανικῶν. *Time is but an Image of that Unmade Duration, which we call Eternity; wherefore as this sensible World was made according to that Eternal Exemplar or Pattern of the Intelligible World, so was Time made together with the World, as an Imitation of Eternity.*

Pag. 233.

It hath been already observed, that *Onatus* another Pythagorean, took notice of an Opinion of some in his time, that there was *One only God*, who comprehended the whole World, and no other Gods besides, or at least, none such as was to be religiously worshipped; himself in the mean time asserting, That there was both *One God*, and *Many Gods*; or besides *One Supreme and Universal Numen*, *Many other Inferiour and Particular Deities*, to whom also men ought to pay Religious Worship. Now his further account of both these

Stob. Eccl. Phys.
p. 5.

Assertions, is contained in these following words; τοὶ δὲ λέγοντες εἶνα θεὸν ἓνα, ἀλλὰ μὴ πολλὰς ἀμαρτανόουσι. τὸ γὰρ μέγιστον ἀξίωμα τὸ θεῖον ὑπερῶς ἔστι συνθεοῦν. λέγω δὲ τὸ ἀρχὸν καὶ καθυγέσθαι καὶ νομοθετεῖν καὶ καθυπερτερεῖν ἓνα καὶ ἄλλων. τοὶ δ' ἄλλοι θεοὶ ποτὶ τὸ πρῶτον καὶ νομῶν ὅπως ἔχουσι ὡς περὶ χρόνου πολλὴ κορυφαῖον, καὶ σεβασίαν πολλὴν σεβασίαν, καὶ ἐπιταγὰς πολλὰς ταξιαρχεῖν καὶ λογαρχεῖν, ἔχοντες φύσιν, ἑπεσθαι καὶ ἐπακολουθεῖν τῷ καλῶς καθυγεομένῳ. κοινὸν μὲν καὶ αὐτῶν τὸ ἔργον ἔστι, καὶ τὰς ἀρχαῖς, καὶ τῶν ἀρχομένων ἀλλ' ἐνέτι δυνάμει συντεταχθῆναι τοὶ ἀρχοῦντες πολλὴν τὴν ἔργον, ἀπολειφθέντες ἀγέμενος. ὡς περὶ ὅδε χρόνῳ πολλὴ συναιδία, ὅδε σεβασίαν, αὐτῶν πολλὴ σεβασίαν, ἀπολειφθέντες ἀγέμενος, τοὶ μὲν σεβασίαν, τοὶ δὲ κορυφαῖον. *They who maintain that there is only One God, and not Many Gods, are very much mistaken, as not considering aright, what the Dignity and Majesty of the Divine Transcendency chiefly consisteth in, namely, in Ruling and Governing those which are like to it (that is, Gods) and in excellling or surmounting Others, and being Superiour to them. But all those other Gods, which we contend for, are to that First and Intelligible God, but as the Dancers to the Coryphæus or Chorus, or as the Inferior Common Soldiers, to the Captain or General; to whom it properly belongeth, to follow and comply with their Leader and Commander. The work indeed is common or the same to them both, to the Ruler and them that are Ruled; but they that are ruled, could not orderly conspire and agree together*

ther into one work, were they destitute of a Leader, as the Singers and Dancers could not conspire together into one Dance and Harmony, were they destitute of a Coryphæus; nor Soldiers make up one orderly Army were they without a Captain or Commander.

And as the Supreme God is here called by *Onatus*; the *Coryphæus* of the Gods, so is he in like manner by the Writer *De Mundo*, styled the *Coryphæus* of the World, or the *Præcentor* and *Præfultor* of it, in these words, καὶ δὲ περὶ τὴν χορὴν, κορυφαὶς καὶ ἀρχαὶ ὄντων, συνεπιχει πᾶς ὁ χορὸς ἀνδρῶν, ἑσθ' ὅτι καὶ γυναικῶν, ἐν διαφορῇ φωνῶν ὁμιλήσας καὶ βαρύτερας, μίαν ἀρμονίαν ἐμμελῆ παραγγνόντων. ὅπως ἔχει καὶ ἐπὶ τῷ τῷ συμπαντί, διέποντι θεῷ. καὶ γὰρ τὸ ἀνωθεν ἐνδοσμιον ὑπὸ τῷ φερονύμῳ ἀν κορυφαίς πρὸς τοὺς ἀστέρων, κινεῖται μὲν τὰ ἄστρα αἰεὶ καὶ ὁ σύμπας κόσμος. *As in a Chorus, when the Coryphæus or Precentor hath begun, the whole Quire compounded of men, and sometimes of women too, followeth, singing every one their part, some in higher and some in lower notes, but all mingling together into one complete Harmony; so in the world God, as the Coryphæus, the Præcentor and Præfultor, beginning the Dance and Musick, the Stars and Heavens move round after him according to those numbers and measures, which he prescribes them, all together making up one most excellent Harmony.*

It was also before observed, that *Ecphantus* the *Pythagorean*, and *Archelaus* the Successor of *Anaxagoras* (who were both of them *Atomists* in their *Physiology*) did assert the World to have been Made at First, and still to be governed by *One Divine Mind*; which is more than some *Atomists* of ours in this present age, who notwithstanding pretend to be very good *Theists*, will acknowledge. We shall in the next place, mention *Euclides Megarensis*, the Head of that Sect called *Megarick*, and who is said to have been *Plato's* Master for some time, after *Socrates* his death; whose Doctrine is thus set down by *Laertius*, ὅτι ἐν τῷ Ἀρχαῶν ἀπεφάνετο, πολλοῖς ὀνόμασι καλούμενον. ὅτι μὲν γὰρ φερόντων, ὅτι δ' οὐδὲν, καὶ ἄλλοτε ἄν, καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ. τὰ δ' ἀντιτιθέμενα τὰ Ἀρχαῶν, ἀνέγει, μὴ εἶναι φάσκειν. Which we understand thus, That *Euclides* (who followed *Xenophanes* and *Parmenides*) made the First Principle of all things, to be *One the very Good*, called sometimes *Wisdom*, sometimes *God*, sometimes *Mind*, and sometimes by other Names; but that he took away all that is Opposite to Good, denying it to have any Real Entity; that is, he maintained, that there was no Positive Nature of Evil, or that Evil was no Principle. And thus do we also understand that of *Cicero*, when he represents the Doctrine of the *Megaricks* after this manner, *Id bonum solum esse, quod esset Unum, & simile, & Idem, & Semper*; to wit, that they spake this concerning God, that Good or Goodness it self is a Name properly belonging to him, who is also *One*, and *Like*, and *the Same*, and *Alwayes*; and that the true Good of man, consisteth in a Participation of, and Conformity with this First Good. Which Doctrine *Plato* seems to have derived from him, he in like manner, calling the Supreme Deity, by those Two Names, τὸ ἐν and τὸ ἀγαθόν, the *One*, and the *Good*, and concluding true humane Felicity to consist, in a Participation of the First Good, or of the Divine Nature.

Cic. De N. D.
L. 1.

De Ira D. c. 11.

In the next place we shall take notice of *Antisthenes*, who was the Founder also of another *Sett*, to wit, the *Cynick*; for he in a certain Physiolog. Treatise, is said to have affirmed, *Esse Populares Deos Multos, sed Naturalem Unum*, That though there were many Popular Gods, yet there was but One Natural God: Or, as it is expressed in *Laërtius*, *Unum esse Naturalem Deum, quamvis Gentes & Urbes suos habeant Populares*; That there was but One Natural God, though Nations and Cities had their Several Popular Ones. Wherefore *Velleius* the Epicurean in *Cicero* quarrels with this *Antisthenes*, as one who destroyed the Nature of Gods, because he denied a Multitude of Independent Deities, such as *Epicurus* pretended to assert. For this of *Antisthenes*, is not so to be understood, as if he had therein designed to take away all the Inferiour Gods of the Pagans, which had he at all attempted, he would doubtless have been accounted an Atheist, as well as *Anaxagoras* was; but his meaning was, only to interpret the Theology of the Pagans, concerning those other Gods of theirs, that were or might be look'd upon, as *Absolute and Independent*; that these, though Many Popular Gods, yet indeed were but One and the same Natural God, called by several Names. As for example, when the Greeks worshipped *Zeus*, the Latins *Jovis*, the Egyptians *Hammon*, the Babylonians *Bel*, the Scythians *Pappæus*; these were indeed many Popular Gods, and yet nevertheless all but One and the same Natural God. So again when in the self same Pagan Cities and Countries, the respective Laws thereof, made mention of several Gods, as Supreme and Absolute in their several Territories, as *Jupiter* in the Heavens, *Juno* in the Air, *Neptune* in the Sea; or as being Chief in several kinds and Functions, as *Minerva* for Learning, *Bellona* for War, &c. (for this *Aristotle* takes notice of in his Book against *Zeno*, καὶ τὸν νόμον, πολλὰ καὶ ἑκάστης ἀνάγκης οἱ θεοὶ, That according to the Laws of Cities and Countries, one God was Best for one thing, and another for another) *Antisthenes* here declared concerning these also, that they were indeed Many Popular or Civil Gods, but all really One and the same Natural God,

To *Antisthenes* might be added *Diogenes Sinopensis*, of whom it is recorded by *Laërtius*, that observing a Woman too superstitiously worshipping the Statue or Image of a God, endeavouring to abate her Superstition, he thus bespake her, ἐν δὲ λαῶν, ὡ γύναι, μή ποτε θεῶ ὀπίσθεν ἐστῇ (πάντα γὰρ ἔστιν αὐτῷ πλῆν) ἀχρημονήσης; Take you not care, O Woman, of not behaving your self unseemly, in the sight of that God, who stands behind you? for all things are full of him: Thereby giving her occasion, more to mind and regard, that Supreme and Universal Numen, that filleth the whole World, and is every where.

XXIII. It hath been frequently affirmed, that *Socrates* died a Martyr for One only God, in opposition to those Many Gods of the Pagans; and *Tertullian* for one, writeth thus of him, Propterea damnatus est Socrates, quia Deos destruebat; *Socrates* was therefore condemned to die, because he destroyed the Gods. And indeed that *Socrates* asserted one Supreme God, the Maker and Governour of the whole World

World, is a thing not at all to be doubted. In his discourse with *Aristodemus* in *Xenophon's* first Book of Memoirs, he convinced him, that the things of this world were not made by Chance, but by Mind and Counsel, ἔγωγε συνεπεμύσατο πάντῳ ὅσπερ τὰ αὐτὰ σοφὸς τις δημιουργῶν, καὶ φιλοζῶν τεχνήματι, *I am now convinced from what you say, that the things of this world, were the workmanship of some wise Artificer, who also was a Lover of animals.* And so he endeavoured to persuade him, that that Mind and Understanding which is in us, was derived from some Mind and Understanding in the Universe, as well as that Earth and Water which is in us, from the Earth and Water of the Universe, οὐδ' ὅταν φερόμενον τι δοκῆς ἔχειν, ἄλλοθι δ' ἔδαμῃ ἔδδεν φερόμενον εἶναι, εἰδὼς ὅτι γῆς τε μικρὸν μέρος ἐν τῷ σώματι πολλῆς ἕως ἔχεις, καὶ ὕγρῃ βραχὺ, πολλὸν οὖν, καὶ τῆς ἄλλων διπλῆς μεγάλων ὄντων ἑκάστος μικρὸν μέρος λαβόντι τὸ συνήμιον σοι; νῦν δ' ἰδὼν ἅπαντα ἔδαμῃ οὕτως σε διτιχῶς πως δοκῆς συναρπάζει. *Do you think that you only have Wisdom in your self, and that there is none any where else in the whole World without you? though you know that you have but a small Part in your Body, of that vast Quantity of Earth which is without you; and but a little of that Water and Fire, and so of every other thing that your Body is compounded of, in respect of that great Mass and Magazine of them which is in the World. Is Mind and Understanding therefore the only thing, which you fancy you have some way or other luckily got and snatch'd unto your self, whilst there is no such thing any where in the world without you; all those infinite things thereof being thus orderly disposed by Chance.* And when *Aristodemus* afterward objected, that he could not see any Artificer that made the World, as he could those Artificers which made all other humane things, *Socrates* thus replies, ἔδδεν γὰρ τὴν σεαυτὲ σὺν ψυχῇ ὁρᾶς, ἢ τῷ σώματι κυρεῖα εἶναι. ὥς κατὰ γὰρ τὸ ἐξέει σοι λέγειν, ὅτι δὲ γνώμη ἀλλὰ τύχη πάντα πράττει. *Neither do you see your own Soul, which rules over your Body; so that you might for the same reason conclude, your self to do nothing by Mind and Understanding neither, but all by Chance, as well as that all things in the World are done by Chance.* Again when he further disputed in this manner, against the necessity of Worshipping the Deity, ἔχ' ἄσφοδον τὸ δαιμόνιον, ὃ Σάουρατες, ἀλλ' ἐκείνον μεγαλοπρεπέστερον ἡγῶμαι, ἢ ὡς τ' ἐμῆς θεοπρίας προσδιδῶμαι. *I despise not the Deity, O Socrates, but think him to be a more magnificent Being, than that he should stand in need of my worship of him.* *Socrates* again answers, ὅσον μεγαλοπρεπέστερον ἀξιοῖ σε θεοπρίαν, τοσούτω μάλλον τιμιώτερον αὐτῷ. *How much the more Magnificent and Illustrious that Being is, which takes care of you, so much the more in all reason ought it to be Honoured by you.* Lastly, *Aristodemus* discovering his disbelief of Providence, as a thing which seemed to him Incredible if not Impossible, that one and the same Deity should be able to mind all things at once, *Socrates* endeavours to cure this disbelief of his in this manner; ὡ γὰρ, κατὰ μαθε, ὅτι καὶ ὁ σὺς νῦν ἐνὶ τῷ σὸν σώματι ὅπως βέλεται μεταχειρίζεται. οἶεσθαι ἔν χερὶ καὶ τῷ ἐν παντὶ φερόμενον τὰ πάντα ὅπως ἀν αὐτῇ ἡδὺ ἢ ἔγωγε τίθεσθαι. καὶ μὴ τὸ σὸν μὲν ὅμμα δύνασθαι, ἵνα πολλὰ σέβει ἐξικνεῖσθαι, καὶ τῷ θεῷ ὁφθαλμῶν ἀδύνατον εἶναι ἅμα πάντα ὁρᾶν. *Consider, Friend, I pray you, if that Mind which is in your Body does order and dispose it every way as it pleases; why should not that Wisdom which is in the Universe, be able to order all things therein also, as seemeth best to it? and if*
your

your Eye can discern things several miles distant from it, why should it be thought impossible for the Eye of God, to behold all things at once? Lastly, if your Soul can mind things both here and in Egypt, and in Sicily; why may not the Great Mind or Wisdom of God, be able to take care of all things in all places? And then he concludes, that if Aristodemus, would diligently apply himself to the worship of God, he should at length be convinced, ὅτι τοῦτον ἐν ταῖς πόλεσιν ἔστι τὸ θεῖον, ὃς ἅμα πάντα ὁρᾷ, καὶ πάντα ἀκούει, καὶ πανταχῶς παρῆναι, καὶ ἅμα πάντων ἐπιμελεῖσθαι. That God is such and so great a Being, as that he can at once see all things, and hear all things, and be present every where, and take care of all affairs. Moreover Socrates in his discourse with Euthydemus in Xenophon's Fourth Book, speaks thus concerning that invisible Deity which governs the whole world; οἱ γὰρ ἄλλοι θεοὶ ἡμῖν τὰ ἀγαθὰ διδόντες, ὅθεν τῶν εἰς τὸ ἐμφανὲς ἰόντες διδόνται, καὶ ὁ δὲ ὅλον κόσμον συντάξων τὸ καὶ συνέχων, οὗ οὐκ ὁρατὸν καλὰ καὶ ἀγαθὰ ἔστι, &c. Ἔτι τὰ μέγιστα μὴ προφθίον ὁρᾶται, τὸ δὲ οἰκονομῶν ἀόρατον ἡμῖν ἔστιν. εἰνοῖται γὰρ καὶ ὁ πᾶσι φανερός δεκνῶν εἶναι ἥλιον, ἐκ ὅστις πέπει τοῖς ἀνθρώποις εἶναι ἀνελεῖσθαι ὁρᾷ, ἀλλ' ἐάν τις αὐτὸ ἀναιδῶς ἐγγεῖρῃ θεᾶσθαι, τὴν οὖν ἀφαιρεῖται. The other Gods giving us good things, do it without visibly appearing to us; and that God who Framed and Containeth the whole world (in which are all good and excellent things) and who continually supplieth us with them, He though he be seen to do the Greatest things of all, yet notwithstanding is himself Invisible and Unseen. Which ought the less to be wondered at by us, because the Sun, who seemeth manifest to all, yet will not suffer himself to be exactly and distinctly viewed, but if any one boldly and impudently gaze upon him, will deprive him of his sight: As also because the Soul of Man, which most of all things in him partaketh of the Deity, though it be that which manifestly rules and reigns in us, yet is it never seen, ἀλλ' οὐκ ὁρατὸν καὶ ἀφαιρεῖται ὅταν ὁρᾶται, ἀλλ' ἐκ τῆς γινόμενης τὴν δύναμιν αὐτῆς, καταμαρτυροῦντα πᾶσι τὸ δαιμόνιον, Which Particulars he that considers, ought not to despise Invisible Things, but to honour the Supreme Deity, taking notice of his Power from his Effects. Where we have τὸ δαιμόνιον, as also before τὸ θεῖον, plainly put for the Supreme Deity. And we did the rather set down these passages of Socrates here, concerning God and Providence, that we might shame those who in these latter days of ours are so Atheistically inclined, if at least they have any Pudor or Shame left in them.

But notwithstanding Socrates his thus clear acknowledging One Supreme and Universal Numen, it doth not therefore follow, that he rejected all those other Inferiour Gods of the Pagans, as is commonly conceived. But the contrary thereunto appeareth, from these very passages of his now cited, wherein there is mention made of other Gods besides the Supreme. And how conformable Socrates was to the Pagan Religion and Worship, may appear from those Last Dying words of his (when he should be most serious) after he had drunk the poison, wherein he required his friends to offer a Votive Cock for him to Æsculapius: For which Origen thus perstringeth him, καὶ ταῦτα φιλοσοφούντες οὐδὲ τὴν ψυχῆς καὶ τὴν διαγωγὴν καλῶς βεβαιώσας διελευσάντες, καὶ ἀλιπτόντες τὸ μέγεθος ὧν αὐτοῖς ὁ θεὸς ἐφάνερωσεν, οὐτελῆ φρονέοντες καὶ σμικροῖς ἀλεγεινῶνα τὰ Ἀσκληπιῶ ἀποδιδόντες. And they who had Philo-

sophized so excellently concerning the Soul, and discoursed concerning the happiness of the future state to those who live well, do afterward sink down from these Great, High and Noble things, to a superstitious regard of Little, Small and Trifling Matters, such as the Paying of a Cock to Æsculapius. Where notwithstanding, Origen doth not charge Socrates with such gross and downright Idolatry, as he doth elsewhere, for his sacrificing to the Pythian Apollo, who was but an Inferiour Demon. And perhaps some may excuse Socrates here, as thinking that he look'd upon Æsculapius no otherwise, than as the Supreme Deity, called by that Name, as exercising his Providence over the Sickness and Health or Recovery of Men, and that therefore he would have an Eucharistick Sacrifice offered to him in his behalf, as having now cured him at once of all diseases, by Death. However Plato informs us, that Socrates immediately before he drunk his Poyson, did, Ὑπερταῖς τοῖς θεοῖς, τὸ μολοῖσθαι τὸ ἐβένδε ἐλθεῖν Ὀτυχῇ εὖαι· pray (not to God, but to the Gods, that is, to the Supreme and Inferiour Gods both together, as in Plato's Phædrus he did to Pan and the other Tutelar Gods of that place) that his Translation from hence into the other world might be happy to him. And Xenophon in his Memoirs, informs us, that Socrates did both in his Words and Practice, approve of that Doctrine of the Pythian Apollo, That the Rule of Piety and Religion, ought to be the Law of every Particular City and Country ; he affirming it to be a Vanity for any man to be singular herein. Lastly, in his own Apology, as written by Plato, he professes to acknowledge, the Sun, Moon and Stars, for Gods ; condemning the contrary Doctrine of Anaxagoras, as Irrational and Absurd. Wherefore we may well conclude this Opinion, of Socrates his being Condemned for denying the Many Gods of the Pagans, or of his being a Martyr for One only God, to be nothing but a *Vulgar Error*.

But if you therefore demand, what that accusation of Impiety really was, which he was charged with, Socrates himself in Plato's Euthyphro, will inform you, that it was for his free and open condemning those Traditions concerning the Gods, wherein Wicked, Dishonest and Unjust Actions, were imputed to them. For when Euthyphro having accused his own Father, as guilty of Murther (meerly for committing a Homicide into prison who hapned to die there) would justifie himself from the examples of the Gods, namely Jupiter and Saturn, because Jupiter the Best and Justest of the Gods, had committed his Father Saturn to Prison for devouring his sons ; as Saturn himself also had castrated his Father Cælius for some miscarriages of his, Socrates thus bespeaks him, Ἀεὶ γὰρ, ὦ Εὐθύφρων, τὸ τὸ θεῶν ἔνεκα τὸ γὰρ φιλοφύλω, ὅτι τὰ τοιαῦτα ἐπειδάν τις ᾤετ' ἂν θεῶν λέγειν, δυσχερὲς πᾶς ἀποδέχεται, &c. Is not this the very thing, O Euthyphro, for which I am accused ? namely because when I hear any one affirming such matters as these concerning the Gods, I am very loath to believe them, and stick not publicly to declare my dislike of them ? And can you, O Euthyphro, in good earnest think, that there are indeed Wars and Contentions amongst the Gods, and that those other things were also done by them, which Poets and Painters commonly impute to them ? such as the Peplum or Veil of Minerva, which in the Panathenaicks is with great pomp and ceremony brought

brought into the Acropolis, is embroidered all over with? Thus we see, that *Socrates* though he asserted one *Supreme Deity*, yet he acknowledged notwithstanding other *Inferiour created Gods*, together with the rest of the Pagans, honouring and worshipping them; only he disliked those *Poetick Fables* concerning them (believed at that time by the Vulgar) in which all manner of Unjust and Immoral Actions were Fathered on them; which together with the Envy of many, was the only true reason, why he was then accused of *Impiety* and *Atheism*.

It hath been also affirmed by many, that *Plato* really asserted *One only God* and no more, and that therefore whensoever he speaks of *Gods Plurally*, he must be understood to have done this, not according to his own Judgment, but only in a way of Politick Compliance with the Athenians, and for fear of being made to drink poyson in like manner as *Socrates* was. In confirmation of which opinion, there is also a Passage cited out of that Thirteenth Epistle of *Plato's* to *Dionysius*, wherein he gives this as a Mark, whereby his *Serious Epistles*, and such as were written according to the true sence of his own mind, might by his friends be distinguished from those which were otherwise; τὸ μὲν γὰρ σπαρδαίας ἐπιστολῆς θεὸς ἀρχαί, θεοὶ δὲ τῇ ἡτῶν, *When I begin my Epistles with God, then may you conclude I write seriously, but not so when I begin with Gods.* And this place seems to be therefore the more Authentick, because it was long since produced by *Eusebius* to this very purpose, namely to prove that *Plato* acknowledged *One Only God*; δὲ δὲ ἔστιν ἓνα θεὸν εἰδὼς, εἰ καὶ συνήδως ἔλλησι, τῇ τῷ πλείονων ἔωθε χεῖνται προσηγορίας, καὶ ἀπὸ τῆ πρὸς Διονύσιον ἐπιστολῆς, εἰ ἡ σύμβολα διδῶς, τῷ τε διὰ σπαρδῆς αὐτῶν γεγενημένων, καὶ τῷ ἁλλοῦς ἀπεργεῖν μιν. *It is manifest, that Plato really acknowledged One only God, however in compliance with the Language of the Greeks, he often spake of Gods Plurally; from that Epistle of his to Dionysius, wherein he gives this Symbol or Mark, whereby he might be known to write seriously, namely, when he began his Epistles with God, and not with Gods.*

Prep. Ev. II.
c. 13.

Notwithstanding which, we have already manifested out of *Plato's Timæus*, that he did in good earnest assert a *Plurality of Gods*; by which *Gods* of his are to be understood, Animated or Intellectual Beings Superiour to Men, to whom there is an Honour and Worship from men due. He therein declaring, not only the Sun, and Moon, and Stars, but also the Earth it self (as Animated) to be a *God* or *Goddess*. For though it be now read in our Copies, προσευτάτω σωματων, *that the Earth was the Oldest of all the Bodies within the Heavens*, yet it is certain that anciently it was read otherwise, προσευτάτω θεων, *The Oldest of the Gods*; not only from *Proclus* and *Cicero*, but also from *Laertius* writing thus: γὰρ δὲ προσευτάτω. μὲν ἓνα τῷ ἐν τῷ ἑσπέρῳ θεῷ, γενέσθαι δὲ δημιουργία, ὡς νύκτα καὶ ἡμέραν ποιεῖν, εἶτα δὲ ἐπὶ τῇ μέσῃ, κινεῖσθαι καὶ τὸ μέσον, *Though Plato's Gods were for the most part Fiery, yet did he suppose the Earth to be a God or Goddess too, affirming it to be the Oldest of all the Gods within the Heavens, made or Created to distinguish day and night, by its Diurnal Circumgyra-*

P. 40. Str.

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tion upon its own Axis, in the Middle or Centre of the World. For Plato when he wrote his *Timæus*, acknowledged only the *Diurnal Motion* of the Earth, though afterwards he is said to have admitted its *Annual* too. And the same might be further evinced from all his other writings, but especially his Book of *Laws* (together with his *Epinomis*) said to have been written by him in his old age, in which he much insists upon the *Godships* of the *Sun*, *Moon*, and *Stars*, and complains that the young Gentlemen of *Athens*, were then so much infected with that *Anaxagorean Doctrine*, which made them to be nothing but *Inanimate Stones* and *Earth*, as also he approves of that then vulgarly received Custom of *Worshipping* the *Rising* and *Setting* *Sun* and *Moon*, as *Gods*, to which in all probability he conformed himself; Ἀνατέλλοντες τε ἡλίου καὶ σελήνης, καὶ πρὸς δυσμὰς ἰόντων, προσκυλίσας ἅμα καὶ προσκυνήσεις ἑλλήνων τε καὶ βαρβάρων πάντων, ἐν συμφοραῖς παντοδααῖς ἐχομένων καὶ ἐν ἀπρεχεῖαις, ὥς ὅτι μάλιστα ὄντων, καὶ ὁδομῇ ὑπομίαν ἐδιδόντων ὥς ἐν εἰσι θεοί. *The Prostrations and Adorations that are used both by the Greeks, and all Barbarians, towards the Rising and Setting Sun, and Moon (As well in their Prosperities as Adversities) declare them to be unquestionably esteemed Gods.* Wherefore we cannot otherwise conclude, but that this *Thirteenth Epistle* of *Plato* to *Dionysius*, though extant it seems before *Eusebius* his time, yet was *Supposititious* and *counterfeit* by some *Zealous* but *Ignorant Christian*. As there is accordingly, a Νοθεύεται, or *Brand of Bastardy* prefixed to it in all the Editions of *Plato's Works*. De Leg. 10. p.

However though *Plato* acknowledged and worshipped *Many Gods*, yet is it undeniably evident, that he was no *Polyarchist*, but a *Monarchist*, an assertor of *One Supreme God*, the only αὐτεφυῖς, or *Self-originated Being*; the maker of the *Heaven* and *Earth*, and of all those other *Gods*. For first it is plain that according to *Plato*, the *Soul of the whole World* was not it self *Eternal*, much less *Self-existent*, but *Made* or *produced* by *God* in time, though indeed before its *Body*, the *World*, from these words of his; τὴν ψυχὴν οὕτως ὥς νῦν ὑστέραν ὅτι χειρὸς ἐμῆς λέγειν, ὅτι αὐτὴ ἐμνησθέντα καὶ ὁ θεὸς νεωτέρην, ὃ καὶ γυνέσθαι καὶ ἀρετῇ πρόσθεον καὶ πρεσβυτέρην ψυχὴν σώματος, ὥς δεσπότην καὶ ἀρξασαν ἀρετομένην συνεστήσατο. *God did not fabricate, or make the Soul of the world, in the same order, that we now treat concerning it, that is After it, as Junior to it; but that which was to rule over the world as its Body, being more excellent, he made it First, and Seniour to the same.* Upon which account *Aristotle* quarrels with *Plato* as contradicting himself, in that he affirmed the *Soul* to be a *Principle*, and yet supposed it not to be *Eternal*, but *Made* together with the *Heaven*: ἀλλὰ μὴν ὁδὲ πλάττανι γὰρ οἷόν τε λέγειν, ἢν οἴεται ἀρχὴν εἶναι εἰς αὐτὸ ἐαυτὸ κινεῖν, ὑστέρην γὰρ καὶ ἅμα τὰς ἀρετῶν ἢ ψυχῇ. *Neither is it possible for Plato, here to extricate himself, who sometimes declares the Soul to be a Principle, as that which Moves it self, and yet affirms it again not to be Eternal, but made together with the Heaven.* For which cause some *Platonists* conclude, that *Plato* asserted a *Double Psyche*, one the *Third Hypostasis* of his *Trinity*, and *Eternal*, the other *Created in Time* together with the *World*, which seems to be a *Probable Opinion*. Wherefore since according to *Plato*, the *Soul of the World*, which is the chief of all his *Inferiour Gods*, was not *Self-existent* but *Made* or *Produced* Arist. Met. L. 14. c. 6.

duced by God intime, all those other *Gods* of his, which were but Parts of the World, as the *Sun*, *Moon*, *Stars* and *Demons*, must needs be so too. But lest any should suspect, that *Plato* might for all that, suppose the World and its Gods not to have been made by One only Unmade God, but by a Multitude of Co-ordinate Self-existent Principles, or Deities conspiring; we shall observe that the contrary hereunto, is plainly declared by him, in way of answer to that *Quere*, Whether or no there were Many and infinite Worlds (as some Philosophers had maintained) or only One? he Resolving it thus, *πότερον ἓν ὁρθῶς ἓνα θεῶν πρῶτον ἀρχὴν, ἢ πολλὰς καὶ ἀπειράς λέγειν ἢ ὁ- θότερον; ἓνα, εἴπερ καὶ τὸ πρῶτον εἰς ἀειδίκευμα διδμησερμηλὸς ἔσται· τὸ γὰρ πρῶτον πάντα ὅποια νοητὰ ζῶα, μετ' ἑτέρων δ' ἄλλων ἐν ἑνὶ πῶτ' ἐν, &c. ἵνα ἓν τὸδε καὶ τὸν μόνον, ὁμοίον ἢ τὰ παντελεῖ ζῶα, διὰ ταῦτα ἔτε δύο, ἔτ' ἀπειράς ἐποίησεν ὁ ποιῶν καὶ ζῶας, ἀλλ' εἰς ὅδε μονοθεῖς θεῶν γενοῦς, εἰ τι καὶ ἕσται.* *Whether have we rightly affirmed, that there is only One Heaven, (or World) or is it more agreeable to reason to hold Many or Infinite? We say there is but One, if it be made agreeable to its Intellectual Paradigm, containing the Ideas of all Animals and other things in it; For there can be but One Archetypal Animal, which is the Paradigm of all created Beings; wherefore that the World may agree with its Paradigms in this respect of Solitude or Onliness, therefore is it not Two nor Infinite, but One-only-begotten.* His meaning is, that there is but One Archetypal Mind, the *Demiurgus* or Maker of all things, that were produced; and therefore but One World.

Tim. p. 31.

And this One God which according to *Plato*, was the Maker of the whole World, is frequently called by him in his *Timæus* and elsewhere, ὁ Θεός, God or The God, by way of Excellency; sometimes ὁ δημιουργός, The Architect or Artificer of the World; sometimes ὁ ποιητής καὶ πατήρ τῶδε τῆ παντός, the Maker and Father of this Universe, whom it is hard to find out, but impossible to declare to the Vulgar; again, ὁ ὅτι πᾶσι θεός, the God over all; ὁ φύσεως κτίστης, the Creator of Nature; τῶ πάντος ἀρχή, the sole Principle of the Universe; πάντων αἰτίον, the Cause of all things; νῦν πάντων βασιλεύς, Mind the King of all things; νῦν αὐτοκράτωρ πάντα κοσμοῦν διὰ πάντων ἰδών, that Sovereign Mind, which orders all things and passes through all things; τῶ πάντος κυβερνήτης, The Governour of the Whole; τὸ ὅν ἀεί, ἡρώεσιν δὲ ἐν ἔχον, that which always is and was never made; ὁ πρῶτος θεός, the First God; ὁ μέγιστος θεός, and ὁ μέγιστος θεῶν, The Greatest God, and the Greatest of the Gods; ὁ ἥλιον γενήσας, He that Generated or Produced the Sun; ὁ γὰρ, θεῶν καὶ θεός, καὶ πάντα τὰ ἐν θεῶν καὶ τὰ ἐν ἄδιδ, καὶ ὑπὸ γῆς καὶ πάντα ἐργάζεται, He that makes Earth, and Heaven, and the Gods; and doth all things both in Heaven, and Hell, and under the Earth: Again, he by whose Efficiency the Things of the World, ὕστερον ἐγένετο, πρῶτον ἐν ὄντι, were afterwards made when they were not Before; or from an Antecedent Non-existence brought forth into Being. This Philosopher somewhere intimating, that it was as easie for God to produce those Real Things, the Sun, Moon, Stars and Earth, &c. from himself, as it is for us to produce the Images of our selves and whatsoever else we please, only by interposing a Looking-glass. Lastly he is called ὁς πάντα τὰ ἐν ἄλλῃ ἐργάζεται, καὶ ἑαυτὸν, He that causeth or produceth both All other things, and even

De Rep. L. 10.

In Sophist.

D Rep. L. 18.

even Himself; the meaning whereof is this, He that is αὐτοφύης, (as the same Plato also calls him) a Self-originated Being, and from no other Cause besides Himself, but the Cause of All other things. Neither doth Lactantius Firmianus himself refuse, to speak of God after this very manner; that *Seipsum fecit*, and that he was, *Ex Seipso procreatus*, & propterea *Talis, Qualem se esse voluit*; that He made Himself, and that, being Procreated from Himself, He therefore was every way such, as he Willed himself to be. Which unusual and bold strain of Theology, is very much insinuated upon by Plotinus in his Book, περὶ τῆς θεότητος τῆς ἐνός, *Concerning the Will of the First One, or Unity*. He there writing thus of the Supreme God, αἰτίον ἑαυτοῦ, καὶ παρ' αὐτοῦ, καὶ δι' αὐτὸν αὐτός; He is the Cause of himself, and he is from Himself, and Himself is for Himself. And again αὐτὸς ὅστις ὁ ποιῶν ἑαυτὸν, καὶ κρείστος ἑαυτοῦ, καὶ ὅς ὡς τις ἕτερος ἐκείνου χροόμενος, ἀλλ' ὡς θέλει αὐτός. This is He, who is the Maker of himself; and is Lord over himself; (in a certain sence) for he was not made that, which Another willed him to be, but he is that which he willeth himself to be. Moreover, αὐτὸς ὃν τὸ τοῦ ὁφθαλμοῦ, τὸ τοῦ ὅστις ὑποστάς αὐτὸν, εἴη ἐνέργεια μάλιστα. ὡς ἐνέργεια αὐτοῦ, ἀλλὰ ἄλλως μὴ ὁδεῖν, ἑαυτοῦ ἀρὰ ἐνέργεια αὐτοῦ, ἐν ἀρὰ ὡς συμβέβηκεν ὅστις, ἀλλ' ὡς ἐνεργεῖ αὐτὸς καὶ ὡς αὐτὸς ἐθέλει, &c. The Supreme Deity loving himself as a Pure Light, is himself what he loved; Thus as it were begetting and giving subsistence to himself, he being a standing Energy. Wherefore since God is a Work or Energy, and yet he is not the Work or Energy of any other Being, he must needs be (in some sence) his own Work or Energy; so that God is not, that which he happened to be; but that which he willeth himself to be. Thus also a little before, ἀνακτέον εἰς ἐν τῷ βέλῳ καὶ τῷ ἐξῆς. τὸ δὲ ἔστιν παρ' αὐτοῦ, ἀνάγκη ἀρὰ τὸ εἶναι παρ' αὐτοῦ, ὡς αὐτὸν πεποιμένον αὐτοῦ, ὁ λόγος ἀναγγέλλει· εἰ γὰρ ἡ βέλῳ παρ' αὐτοῦ, καὶ οἷον ἔργον αὐτοῦ, αὐτὸν ἡ ταύτην τῇ ὑποστάσει αὐτοῦ αὐτὸς ὃν ὅστις ὑποστάς αὐτὸν εἶναι αὐτὸν, ὡς ὅς ὅπερ ἔτυχεν ὅστις, ἀλλ' ὅπερ ἐβελήθη αὐτός. We must of necessity make Will and Essence the same in the First Being. Wherefore since his Willing is from himself, his Being must needs be from himself too; the consequence of which Ratiocination is this, that He made himself. For if his volition be from himself, and his own work, and this be the same with his Hypostasis or Substance; he may be then said to have given subsistence to himself. Wherefore he is not what he happen'd to be, but what he willed himself to be. But because this is so unusual a Notion, we shall here set down yet one or two passages more of this Philosophers concerning it; ἐν ἑξῶ τ' ἐβελήσεως αὐτοῦ ἡ ἐξῆς, ἀλλὰ συνέειναι αὐτὸν τῇ οἷον ἐξῆς ἡ ἐβελήσεως· καὶ ἐν ὅστις αὐτοῦ λαβεῖν, ἀνάγκη τῆς θέλειν ἑαυτὰ ὅπερ ὅστις· καὶ σύνθεσιν αὐτοῦ ἑαυτὰ, θέλων αὐτὸς εἶναι, καὶ τὸ τοῦ ὁφθαλμοῦ θέλει· καὶ ἡ ἐβελήσεως καὶ αὐτὸς ἐν· καὶ τὸ τῶν ὅς ἡ ἡ, ὅτι μὴ ἄλλο αὐτὸς ὅπερ ἔτυχεν, ἄλλο ὃ τὸ ὡς ἐβελήθη ἂν τί γὰρ ἂν καὶ ἐβελήσε, ἡ τὸ τοῦ ὅστις· καὶ γὰρ εἰ ὑποδοίμεθα ἐλέγειν αὐτὰ ὅτι θέλοι γινώσκειν, καὶ ζῆναι αὐτὰ ἀλλάξασθαι τὴν αὐτὴ φύσιν εἰς ἄλλο, μὴτε ἂν ἄλλο τι γινώσκειν βελήσθαι, μὴτ' ἂν ἑαυτὰ πείθεσθαι, ὡς ὑπὸ ἀνάγκης τὸ τοῦ ὃν ὃ ὅστις, τὰ αὐτὸν εἶναι, ὅπερ αὐτὸς αἰεὶ ἐβελήσε καὶ θέλει, ὅτι γὰρ οὕτως ἡ ἀρχὴ φύσις, θέλει αὐτὸν. The Essence of the Supreme God, is not without his Will, but his Will and Essence are the same; so that God concurrerth with Himself, himself willing to be as he is, and being that which he willeth; and his Will and Himself being one and the same. For Himself is not One thing (as happening to be that which he is) and that he would will to be Another: For what could God will to be, but that

P. 755.

that which he is? And if we should suppose, that it were in his own choice, to be what he would, and that he had liberty to change his Nature into whatsoever else he pleased, it is certain that he would neither will to be any thing else, besides what he is, nor complain of himself as being now that which he is, out of necessity, he being indeed no other but that, which himself hath willed and doth always will to be. For his Will is his Essential Goodness, so that his Will doth not follow his Nature but concurr with it; in the very Essence of this Good there being contained his Choice, and Willing of himself to be such. Lastly, πάν ἄρα βέλησις, καὶ ἐπέτι τὸ μὴ βελόμενον, ὅδε τὸ πρὸ βελήσεως ἄρα· πρῶτον ἄρα ἡ βέλησις αὐτοῦ, καὶ τὸ ὡς ἐβέλετο ἄρα καὶ οἷον ἐβέλετο, καὶ τὸ τῇ βελήσῃ ἐπόμενον ὃ ἡ τοιαύτη βέλησις ἐχούσα· ἐχούσα ὃ ὅθεν ἐπιτελεῖ αὐτὰς· God is all Will, nor is there any thing in him which he doth not Will, nor is his Being before his Will, but his Will is Himself, or he Himself the first Will. So that he is as he would himself, and such as he would, and yet his will did not Generate or Produce any thing, that was not before. And now we may in all Probability conclude, that Lactantius derived this Doctrine from Plato and Plotinus; which how far it is to be either allowed of or excused, we leave others to judge; only we shall observe, that as the word αὐτογενής, frequently attributed to God by Christians as well as Pagans, seems to imply as much; so the Scope and Drift of Plotinus in all this, was plainly no other, than partly to set forth the Self-existence of the Supreme Deity after a more lively manner; and partly to confute that odd Conceit, which some might possibly entertain of God, as if he either Happened by Chance, to be what he is; or else were such by a Certain Necessity of Nature, and had his Being imposed upon him: whereas, he is as much every way, what he would Will and Choose to be, as if he had Made himself by his own Will and Choice. Neither have we set down all this, only to give an account of that one Expression of Plato's, That God causeth Himself and all things, but also to show how punctually precise, curious and accurate, some of these Pagans were, in there Speculations concerning the Deity.

To return therefore to Plato; Though some have suspected that Trinity, which is commonly called Platonick, to have been nothing but a meer Figment and Invention of some later Platonists, yet the contrary hereunto seems to be unquestionably evident, that Plato himself really asserted such a Trinity of Universal and Divine Hypostases, which have the nature of Principles. For first, whereas in his Tenth Book of Laws, he professedly opposing Atheists, undertakes to prove the Existence of a Deity, he does notwithstanding there ascend no higher than to the Psyche, or Universal Mundane Soul, as a Self-moving Principle, and the immediate or proper Cause of all that Motion which is in the World. And this is all the God, that there he undertakes to prove. But in other places of his Writings he frequently asserts, above the Self-moving Psyche an Immoveable and Standing Now or Intellect, which was properly the Demiurgus, or Architectonick Framer of the whole World. And lastly, above this Multiform Intellect, he plainly asserts yet a higher Hypostasis, One most Simple and most absolutely Perfect Being; which he calls τὸ ἐν, in

in opposition to that *Multiplicity* which speaks something of Imperfection in it, and *ἡ ἀγαθὸν*, *Goodness it self*, as being above *Mind* and *Understanding*; the *First Intelligible*, and an Infinite *Fecundity* together with overflowing *Benignity*. And accordingly in his Second Epistle to *Dionysius*, does he mention a *Trinity of Divine Hypostases*, all together. Now the words *ὁ Θεός* and *τὸ Δεῖον*, *God* and *the Divinity* in *Plato*, seem sometimes to comprehend this whole *Trinity of Divine Hypostases*, as they are again sometimes severally applied to Each of them, accordingly as we have already observed, that *Zeus* or *Jupiter* in *Plato*, is not always taken for the *First and Highest Hypostasis* in his *Trinity*, but sometimes the *Second Hypostasis* of *Mind* or *Intellect* is meant thereby, and sometimes again his *Third Hypostasis* of the *Universal and Eternal Psyche*; nevertheless the *First* of these *Three Hypostases*, is that which is properly called by the *Platonists*, *πηγὴ τῆς θεότητος*, the *Fountain of the Godhead*, and by *Plato* himself, *ὁ πάντων βασιλεὺς* *ὡς ὃν πάντα ἔστί, ὃ ἐνεκα πάντων, καὶ ὃ αὐτὸν πάντων ἡμεῖς καλῶν*. *The King of All things, about whom are All things, and for whose sake are All things, and the Cause of all Good and Excellent Things.*

And this *First Divine Hypostasis*, which in *Plato's* Theology, is properly *αὐτόθεος*, the *Original Deity*, is largely insisted upon by that *Philosopher* in the Sixth of his *Politicks*, under the Name and Title of *ἡ ἀγαθὸν*, *The Good*; but principally there illustrated by that *Resemblance* of the *Sun*, called by that *Philosopher* also, a *Heavenly God*, and said to be the Off-spring of this *Highest Good*, and something Analogous to it in the *Corporeal World*, *ὅ, τι πρὸς αὐτὸ ἐν τῇ νοητῇ τόπῳ, πρὸς τε νῦν καὶ τὰ νοεώδη, τὸ τοῦ τῆτον ἐν τῇ ορατῇ πρὸς τε ὁραν καὶ τὰ ορώδη*; *This is the same in the Intelligible World, to Intellect (or Knowledge) and Intelligibles, that the Sun is in the Sensible World, to Sight and Visibles.* For, as the *Sun* is not *Sight*, but only the *Cause* of it; nor is that *Light*, by which we see, the same with the *Sun* it self, but only *ἡλιοειδές*, a *Sun-like Thing*; so neither is the *Supreme and Highest Good* (properly) *Knowledge*, but the *Cause* of *Knowledge*; nor is *Intellect* (precisely considered as such) the *Best and Most Perfect Being*, but only *ἀγαθόειδές*, a *Boniform Thing*. Again, As the *Sun* gives to things not only their *Visibility*, but also their *Generation*; so does that *Highest Good*; not only cause the *Cognoscibility* of things, but also their very *Essences* and *Beings*. *οὐκ ἐστὶς οὐτὸ τὸ ἀγαθόν, ἀλλ' ἐστὶ πηγὴ τῆς ἐστίας, προσέσθαι καὶ δυνάμει ὑπερέχοντος*, *This Highest Good being not it self properly Essence, but above Essence, transcending the same, both in respect of Dignity and Power.* Which Language and Conceit of *Plato's*, some of the *Greek Fathers* seem to have entertained, yet so as to apply it to the whole *Trinity*, when they call *God* *ὑπερῆσσιον*, or *Super-essential*. But the meaning of that *Philosopher*, was as we conceive, no other than this, that this *Highest Good*, hath no *Particular Characteristick* upon it, limiting and determining of it, it being the *Hidden and Incomprehensible Source* of all things. In the *Last place*, we shall observe, that this *First Divine Hypostasis* of the *Platonick Trinity*, is by that *Philosopher* called, *τὸν ἡγαμένον καὶ αὐτὸς πάντων πατὴρ*, *The Father of the Prince and Cause of All things.* Wherein we cannot but take notice of an Admirable

Admirable Correspondency, betwixt the Platonick Philosophy and Christianity, in that the Second *Hypothesis* of both their Trinities (called also sometimes *λόγος* by the Platonists, as well as *ὄν*) is said to be the Immediate Cause of All things; and the *Demiurgus*, the Architect, Maker or Artificer of the Whole World.

Now to *Plato* we might here joyn *Xenophon*, because he was his Equal, and a Socratick too; (though it seems there was not so good Correspondence betwixt them) which *Xenophon*, however in sundry places of his Writings, he acknowledge a *Plurality of Gods*, yet doth he give plain Testimony also of *One Supreme and Universal Numen*, as this particularly, *ὁ πάντα σέων ἡ ἀτρεμίζων, ὡς μὲν μέγας τις, καὶ δυνατὸς φανερός, ὅποιός δ' ὅτι μορφῶ ἀφανής*. He that both agitates all things, and establisheth the Frame of the whole world, though he be manifest to be great and powerful, yet is he, as to his Form inconspicuous.

L. 10. c. 8.

XXIV. In the next place we come to *Aristotle*: Who that he acknowledged more Gods than *One* (as well as the other Pagans) appears from his using the word so often *Plurally*. As particularly in this Passage of his *Nicomachian Ethicks*, *ἡ ὅ τελευτα εὐδαιμονία, ὅτι θεωρητικὴ τίς ἐστὶν ἐνέργεια, καὶ εἰδέναι αὐτὴν φανερόν· τὸς γὰρ μάλιστα ὑπερλήφα μὲν μακαρίους ἡ εὐδαιμονίας εἶναι· περὶ δὲ ποίας ἀπονέμει χρεῶν αὐτοῖς, πότρου τὰς δικαιοσύνας; ἡ γὰρ οἱ φανερὸν συναλλάττοντες καὶ ἀδελφικὰς ἀποδιδόντες, καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα τοιαῦτα; ἄλλα τὰς ἀνδρείας; ὑπομένοντας τὰ φοβερά καὶ κινδυνεύοντας, ὅτι καλόν· ἡ τὰς ἐλευθερίας; τίς ἡ δόσις; ἀποπον δ' εἰ καὶ ἔσαι αὐτοῖς νόμιμα, ἡ πὶ τοῖσιν· εἰ ὁ σώφρων τις αὐτὸν εἴεν; ἡ φορητός ὁ ἔπαινος, ὅτι ἐν ἔχῃ φαύλας ἐπιθυμίας· διεξίσι δ' πάντα φαίνονται ἐν τῷ ὧν τὰς περὶ μικρὰ καὶ ἀνάξια δεῖν· ἀλλὰ μὲν ζῆν τε πόλιτες ὑπερλήφασιν αὐτὰς· καὶ ἐνεργεῖν ἄρα, ὅτι τὸ καθύπερθε, ὡς περὶ τὸ ἐνδύμιον· τὰ δὲ ζῶντι τὸ περὶ ἄφρημῶν, ἔτι δὲ μάλλον τὸ ποιεῖν, τί λείπεται πλὴν θεωρίας*. That Perfect Happiness is a Speculative or Contemplative Energy, maybe made manifest from hence; because we account the Gods most of all Happy. Now what Moral Actions can we attribute to them? Whether those of Justice amongst one another; as if it were not ridiculous to suppose the Gods to make Contracts and Bargains among themselves, and the like. Or else those of Fortitude and Magnanimity? As if the Gods had their Fears, Dangers and Difficulties to encounter withal. Or those of Liberality? as if the Gods had some such thing as Money too, and there were among them Indigent to receive Alms. Or Lastly, shall we attribute to them the Actions of Temperance? but would not this be a Reproachful Commendation of the Gods, to say, that they conquer and master their vitious Lusts and appetites? Thus running through all the Actions of Moral Virtue, we find them to be small and mean and unworthy of the Gods. And yet we all believe the Gods to live, and consequently to Act; unless we should suppose them perpetually to sleep as Endymion did. Wherefore if all Moral Actions, and therefore much more Mechanical Operations be taken away from that which Lives and Understands, what is there left to it besides Contemplation? To which he there adds a further Argument also of the same thing. Because other Animals, who are depriv'd of Contemplation, partake not of Happiness. For to the Gods all

all their Life is Happy; to men so far forth, as it approacheth to Contemplation; but brute Animals, that do not at all contemplate, partake not at all of Happiness. Where Aristotle plainly acknowledges a Plurality of Gods, and that there is a certain Higher Rank of Beings above Men. And by the way we may here observe, how from those words of his, *ἔην τε πάντες ὑπελήφασι θεούς*, All men suppose the Gods to live; and from what follows in him; that Opinion of some late Writers may be confuted, that the Pagans generally worshipped, the Inanimate Parts of the World as true and proper Gods: Aristotle here telling us, that they Universally agreed in this, that the Gods were Animals, Living and Understanding Beings, and such as are therefore capable of Contemplation. Moreover Aristotle in his Politicks, *L. 5. c. 11.* writing of the means to conserve a Tyranny, as he calls it; sets down this for one amongst the rest. *ἔτι δὲ τὰ πρὸς τοὺς θεούς φαίνεσθαι αἰσχροδουλοῦντα διαφερόντως, ἢ ἥδὺν τε ᾧ φοβέονται, τὸ παθεῖν τι ἀδικοῦμενον ὑπὸ τῶν τούτων, ἐὰν δ' αἰσδαίμονα νομίζωσιν εἶναι ἢ ἀρχοῦντα καὶ φροντίζειν τῶν θεῶν· καὶ ἐπιβουλεύειν ἢ ἥδον, ὡς συμμάχος ἔχοντι καὶ τοὺς θεούς.* For a Prince or Monarch, to seem to be always, more than ordinarily sedulous about the Worship of the Gods: because men are less afraid of suffering any Injustice from such Kings or Princes, as they think to be Religiously disposed, and devoutly affected towards the Gods. Neither will they be so apt to make conspiracies against such, they supposing that the Gods will be their Abettors and Assistants. Where the word *αἰσδαίμων*, seems to be taken in a good sence, and in way of Commendation, for a Religious Person; though we must confess, that Aristotle himself, does not here write so much like a *αἰσδαίμων*, as a Meer Politician. Likewise in his First Book *De Cælo*, he writeth thus, *πολλοὶ δὲ ἀνθρώποι θεῶν ἔχουσιν ὑπόληψιν, καὶ πάντες ἢ ἀνωτάτω τῶν θεῶν τὸν ἀποδιδόχα, καὶ βάρβαροι καὶ Ἕλληες, ὡς τῶν ἀθανάτων τὸ ἀθάνατον συνηγετημένον, ἔπειρ' ἐν ᾧ τι θεῶν, ὥσπερ καὶ ἐγώ, &c.* All men have an Opinion or Perswasion That there are Gods. And they who think so, as well Barbarians as Greeks, attribute the Highest place to that which is Divine, as supposing the Immortal Heavens, to be most accommodate to Immortal Gods. Wherefore if there be any Divinity, as unquestionably there is, the Body of the Heavens must be acknowledged to be of a different kind from that of the Elements. And in the following Book he tells us again, That it is most agreeable τῇ μαντείᾳ ὧς τῶν θεῶν, to that Vaticination, which all men have in their minds concerning the Gods, to suppose the Heaven to be a Quintessence, distinct from the Elements, and therefore Incorruptible. Where Aristotle affirmeth, that men have generally *μαντεῖαν*, a Vaticination in their Minds, concerning Gods; to wit, that Themselves are not the Highest Beings, but that there is a Rank of Intellectual Beings, superiour to men; the chief of which is the Supreme Deity; concerning whom there is indeed, the Greatest *μαντεῖα* or Vaticination of all.

We acknowledge it to be very true, that Aristotle does not so much insist upon Demons, as Plato and the generality of Pagans in that Age did, and probably he had not so great a Belief of their Existence: though he doth make mention of them also, as when in his Metaphysics, speaking of Bodies compounded of the Elements, he

he instanceth in ζῶα τε καὶ δαιμόνια, *Animals and Demons*, and elsewhere he insinuates them to have *Airy Bodies*, in these words, *De An. L. 1.* ἐπιζητοῦσι γὰρ ἂν τις, καὶ διὰ τίνα αἰτίαν, ἢ ἐν τῷ αἰέρι ψυχὴν, ἢ ἐν τοῖς ζῴοις βελτίων ὄντι, καὶ ἀθανάτωτέον, *some perhaps would demand a Reason, why the Soul that is in the Air, is better and more immortal than that in Animals.* However, whether Aristotle believed these Lower Demon-Gods or no, it is certain that he acknowledged a Higher kind of Gods, namely the *Intelligences*, of all the Several Spheres, if not also the Souls of them and the Stars; which Spheres being according to the Astronomy then received, *Forty Seven* in number, he must needs acknowledge at least so many Gods. Besides which, Aristotle seems also to suppose another sort of *Incorporeal Gods*, without the Heavens, where according to him, there is neither Body, nor Place, nor Vacuum, nor Time; in these words, *De Cael. L. 1. c. 9.* ὅτι ἐν τόπῳ τὰ καὶ πέφυκεν, ὅτε χρόνῳ αὐτὰ ποιεῖ γινέσκειν, ὅδ' ὄντι ἑδνός ἑδναία μεταβολή, καὶ ὑπὲρ τῷ ἕξωτότῳ τεταγμένων φορέων, ἀλλ' ἀναλλοίωτα καὶ ἀπαθῆ, τῷ αἰέριον ἔχοντα ζῶν καὶ αὐταρκεστάτῳ διατελεῖ ἢ ἀπαντα αἰάνα. *They who exist there, are such as are neither apt to be in a Place, nor to wax old with Time, nor is there any change at all in those things above the Highest Sphere, but they being impassible and unalterable, lead the best and most self-sufficient Life, throughout all Eternity.* But this Passage is not without suspicion of being Supposititious.

Notwithstanding all which, that Aristotle did assert *One Supreme and Universal Numen*, is a thing also unquestionable. For though it be granted that he useth the Singular θεός, as likewise τὸ θεῖον and τὸ δαιμόνιον, many times Indefinitely, for a *God in General*, or any Divine Being; and that such places as these have been oftentimes mistaken by Christian Writers, as if Aristotle had meant the Supreme God in them; yet it is nevertheless certain, that he often useth those words also Emphatically, for *One only Supreme God*. As in that of his *Metaphysics*, ὅ, τε γὰρ θεός δοκεῖ τὸ αἰτίον πάντων εἶναι καὶ ἀρχὴ τις. *God seemeth to be a Cause and certain Principle to all things.* And also in his *De Anima*, where he speaks of the Soul of the Heavens, and its Circular Motion: ἀλλὰ μὲν ὅδ' ἐπὶ βέλτιον λέγεται γ' ἔχειν ἢ θεὸν διὰ τὸ τοῦ κύκλου ποιεῖν φέρεσθαι τῷ ψυχῇ, ἐπὶ βέλτιον αὐτῇ τὸ κινεῖσθαι τὸ μᾶλλον, κινεῖσθαι ἢ ἕτας ἢ ἄλλως. *Neither is that a good Cause of the Circular Motion of the Heavens, which they (that is the Platonists) call the τὸ βέλτιον, because it is Better, that it should be so than otherwise; as if God therefore ought, to have made the Soul of the World such, as to move the Heaven circularly, because it was better for it to move so than otherwise; but this being a Speculation that properly belongs to some other Science, we shall no further pursue it in this place.* Thus afterwards again in the same Book, συμβαίνει δὲ ἐμπεδοκλεῖ γὰρ καὶ ἀφ' ἐνός εἶναι ἢ θεόν, μόνον γὰρ τῷ σοφιστῶν ἐν ὧν γινώσκει, τὸ νῦν, τὰ δὲ θνητὰ πάντα, ἐκ πάντων γὰρ ἔχασον. *It follows from Empedocles his Principles, that God must needs be the Most Unwise of all, he alone being ignorant of that (out of which all other things are compounded) νῦν, or Contention (because himself is nothing but φίλις, Unity and Friendship) whereas Mortal Animals may know or conceive all things, they being compounded of all.* Which same

same Passage, we have again also in his *Metaphysicks*, from whence it was before cited to another purpose. To these might be added another place out of his Book, of *Generation and Corruption*, τὸ ὅλον συνεπλήρωσεν ὁ θεός, ἐντελεχὴ ποιήσας ὅλον. *God hath filled up the Whole or Universe, and constantly supplies the same, having made a Continual Successive Generation.* Lastly, τὸ θεϊκόν is sometimes plainly used by *Aristotle* also, not for *The Divinity* in general, or *Any thing that is Divine*, but for that *One Supreme Deity*, the Governour of the whole World. Thus in that Passage of his *Rhetorick* to *Alexander*, τὸ ὅτι ὅτι διαφέρει μὲν τῶν λοιπῶν ζώων, ἡμεῖς οἱ μεγίστην τιμὴν ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ μόνις τετυχηκότες. *This is that wherein we Men differ from other Animals having recieved the greatest honour from God, that though they be endued with Appetite and Anger and other Passions, as well as we, yet we alone are furnished with Speech and Reason.* Cap. I. p. 609. P.

Over and besides which, *Aristotle* in his *Metaphysicks* (as hath been already observed) professedly opposeth that *Imaginary Opinion* of *Many Independent Principles* of the Universe, that is, of *Many Unmade Self-existent Deities*; he confuting the same from the *Phænomena*, because ἀπαντα πρὸς ἓν συντέτακται, *All things are plainly Coordered to One*, the whole world conspiring into *One agreeing Harmony*; whereas if there were many Principles or Independent Deities, the System of the World must needs have been ἐπεισδιώδης, *Incoherent and Inconspiring*, like an *Ill-agreeing Drama*, botch'd up of *Many Impertinent Interfusions*. Whereupon *Aristotle* concludes after this manner; τοῦ ὅτου ὅτι βέβαιον κακῶς πολιτεύεσθαι;

οὐκ ἀγαθὸν Πολυκοιρανίην, ἢ Εἰς Κοίραν,

But Things will not be ill administr'd (which was then it seems a kind of Proverbial Speech) and according to Homer, the Government of Many is not Good, (nor could the affairs of the World be evenly carried on under it) wherefore there is One Prince or Monarch over all. From which Passage of *Aristotle's*, it is evident, that though he asserted Πολυθεϊάν, a *Multiplicity of Gods* in the *Vulgar Sence*, as hath been already declared, yet he absolutely denied Πολυκοιρανίην, and Πολυαρχίαν; a *Polyarchy* or *Mundane Aristocracy*, that is, a *Multiplicity of First Principles* and *Independent Deities*. Wherefore though *Aristotle* doted much upon that *Whimsy* of his, of as many *Intelligibles*, or *Eternal* and *Immovable Minds* (now commonly called *Intelligences*) as there are *Movable Spheres* of all kinds in the *Heavens* (which he sticks not also sometimes to call *Principles*;) yet must he of necessity be interpreted to have derived all these, from *One Supreme Universal Deity*, which, as *Simplicius* expresseth it, is ἀρχὴ ἀρχῶν, the *Principle of Principles*; and which comprehends and contains those *Inferiour Deities* under it, after the same manner, as the *Primum Mobile* or *Highest Sphere*, contains all the *Lesser Spheres* within it. Because otherwise there would not be εἰς Κοίραν, *One Prince* or *Monarch* over the whole; but the Government of the World would be a *Polyarchy* or *Aristocracy* of Gods, concluded to be an *Ill Government*. Moreover as *Plotinus* represents *Aristotle's* sence, it is not conceivable that; so many

ny Independent Principles, should thus constantly Conspire, *πρὸς ἓν ἔργον τὴν τῶ παντὸς ὁρμὴν συμφωνίαν*, into one Work, that Agreeable Symphony, and Harmony of the Whole Heaven. As there could not be any reason neither, why there should be just so many of these Intelligences, as there are Spheres and no more; and it is absurd to suppose, *ἡ τὴν συντυχίαν τοῖς ἀρχαῖς εἶναι*, that the First Principles of the Universe happened by Chance.

Now this Highest Principle, as it is ἀκίνητος ὁλοῦ, An Im-movable Essence, is by Aristotle in the First place, supposed to be ἀρχὴ κινήσεως, the Principle of Motion in the Universe, or at least of that Chiefest Motion of the Primum Mobile or Highest Sphere (which according to the Astronomy of those times seems to have been the Sphere of Fixed Stars) by whose Rapid Circumgyration, all the other Spheres and Heavens, were imagined to be carried round, from East to West. And accordingly the Supreme Deity, is by Aristotle called, τὸ πρῶτον κινεῖν ἀκίνητον, The First Immovable Mover, or the Mover of the Primum Mobile, and whole Heaven. Which First Mover being concluded by him to be but One, he doth from thence infer the Singularity of the Heaven or World, ἐν μὲν ἅρᾳ τῷ λόγῳ καὶ ἀριθμῷ, τὸ πρῶτον κινεῖν ἀκίνητον ὄν· καὶ τὸ κινεῖσθαι ἅρᾳ αἰεὶ καὶ συνεχῶς ἐν μένῳ· εἰς ἅρᾳ ὁρμῆς μόνῃ. There is One Numerically, First Immovable Mover and no more; and therefore there is but One Movable neither, that is, but One Heaven or World. In which Doctrine of Aristotles, there seems to be a Great Difference, betwixt his Philosophy and that of Plato's; in that Plato makes the Principle of Motion in the Heavens and Whole World, to be a Self-moving Soul, but Aristotle supposeth it to be an Immovable Mind or Intellect. Nevertheless, according to Aristotle's Explication of himself, the Difference betwixt them is not great, if any at all; Aristotle's Immovable Mover being understood by him, not to move the Heavens Efficiently, but only Objectively and Finally, ὡς ἐκώμῳ, as being Loved. Which Conceit of his, Proclus upon Plato's *Timæus*, perstringeth after this manner, ἡ παλαιὰν οἱ μὲν καὶ κινεῖσθαι ὅτι πάντες ὅτι τὸ νῦν, καὶ διὰ τῆς ἐρώσεως, τῆς οὐδὲ τὸ πρῶτον ὁρμῆς, δόντες αὐτῷ τὴν κίνησιν, ὅθεν ἐφασαν ἀπὸ τῆς νῦν καθίκεν εἰς αὐτὸν, ἐν ἱσσοῖς προστάξαντες αὐτὸ τοῖς ἐρασιμοῖς μὲν καὶ αἰσθητοῖς, μὴ δὲ γεννητικὸν ἔχον ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ φύσει. Some of the ancients converting the World, to Mind (or Intellect) and making it move, only by Love of that first Desirable; acknowledged nothing at all to descend down from Mind (or God) upon the World; but equalized the same with other Amiable things, amongst Sensibles, that have nothing Generative in their Nature. Where Proclus seems to suppose Aristotle to have attributed to God, no Efficiency at all upon the World; the Contrary whereunto, shall be evidently proved afterwards. In the mean time it is certain, that Aristotle, besides his Immovable Mover of the Heavens, which moveth only Finally, or as Being Loved, must needs suppose another Immediate Mover of them, or Efficient Cause of that Motion; which could be nothing but A Soul, that enamoured with this Supreme Mind, did as it were in Imitation of it, continually Turn round the Heavens. Which seems to be nothing but Plato's Doctrine disguised; that Philosopher affirming likewise, the Circular Motions of the Heavens, caused Eff-

Met. L. 14 c. 8.
p. 1003. P.

Met. L. 14.
c. 8.

P. 167.

ficiently, by a Soul of the World in his *Timæus* to be, τὴν αὖτε ὡς ἐν ἡμῶν φρόνῳ μάλιστα εἶσαν, a Motion that is most agreeable to that of Mind or Wisdom: And again in his *Laws*, τὴν τῆς ψυχῆς αὖτις πᾶντος ὡς δυνάτον, οἰκειοτάτῃ ἢ ὁμοίαν, that which of all Corporeal Motions only resembles the Circuit of Intellect. Which Platonick Conceit found entertainment with Boetius, who writing of the Soul of the World, represents it thus, De Consol. L. 3. Met. 9.

*Quæ cum Secta Duos motum glomeravit in Orbes,
In semet reditura meat, Mentemque Profundam
Circuit, & simili convertit Imagine Cælum.*

Wherefore as well according to Plato's Hypothesis as Aristotle's, it may be affirmed of the Supreme Deity, in the same Boetius his Language, that,

————— *Stabilisque manens dat cuncta Moveri,*

Being it self Immovable, it causeth all other things to Move. The Immediate Efficient Cause of which Motion also, no less according to Aristotle than Plato, seems to have been a Mundane Soul; however Aristotle thought not so fit to make this Soul, a Principle; in all Probability, because he was not so well assured, of the Incorporiety of Souls, as of Minds or Intellects.

Nevertheless this is not the only thing, which Aristotle imputed to his First and Highest Immovable Principle, or the Supreme Deity, its turning Round of the *Primum Mobile*, and that no otherwise than as being Loved, or as the Final Cause thereof, as Proclus supposed; but he as well as Anaxagoras, asserted it to be also, τὸ δὲ ἢ καλῶς αἰτίαν, The Cause of Well and Fit, or τὸ ἢ ἐν ἀνδρὶ τὸ δὲ, that without which, there could be no such thing as Well; that is, no Order, Aptitude, Proportion and Harmony in the Universe. He declaring excellently, that εἰ μὴ εἶναι τὸ αἰδιότατον ἄλλα, ἐν εἶναι ἀρχὴν ἢ τάξιν, ἀλλ' αἰετὶ ἀρχὴς ἀρχή, Unless there were something else in the world besides Sensibles, there could be neither Beginning nor Order in it, but one thing would be the Principle of another infinitely, or without end: and again in another place already cited, τὸ δὲ ἢ καλῶς, ἵσως ἔτε πῶς ἔτε γὰρ, &c. ὅδ' αὐτὰς αὐτομάτῃ ἢ τύχῃ τοῦ εἶναι πρᾶγμα καλῶς ἔχει, It is not at all likely, that either Fire or Earth or any such Body, should be the Cause of that Well and Fit that is in the World; nor can so Noble an Effect as this, be reasonably imputed to Chance or Fortune. Wherefore himself agreeably with Anaxagoras concludes, that it is νῆς or Mind, which is properly αἴτιον τῆς καλῶς ἢ δεξιᾶς, The Cause of Well and Right, and accordingly does he frequently call the Supreme Deity by that Name. He affirming likewise that the Order, Pulchritude and Harmony of the whole World, dependeth upon that One Highest and Supreme Being in it, after the same manner as the Order of an Army dependeth upon the General or Emperour; who is not for the Order, but the Order for him. Which Highest Being of the Universe, is therefore called by him also, conformably to Pla-

Met. l. 14.
cap. 10.

Mct. L. 1. c. 3.

Met. L. 14.
c. 7.

De Part. An.
L. V.

Lib. 2.c.6.

Ar. de An.
L. 1, c. 7.

to τὸ ἀρχαῖον κειμενίον, *The Separate Good of the World*, in way of distinction from that Intrinsick or Inherent Good of it, which is the Order and Harmony it self: Ἐπισκεπήεν ὃ καὶ ποτέρως ἔχει ἢ τὸ ὅλον φύσις τὸ ἀρχαῖον καὶ τὸ ἀρεῖον; πότερον κειμενίον τι, καὶ αὐτὸ καὶ αὐτὸ; ἢ τι τὰ ξένιν; ἢ ἀμφοτέρως ὡς καὶ σοφιστῶμα; καὶ γὰρ ἐν τῇ τάξει τὸ αὐτὸ καὶ ὁ σοφιστῆς, καὶ μᾶλλον ὅστος, ὅ γὰρ ὅστος διὰ τῶν τάξιν, ἀλλ' ἐκείνη διὰ τῶν ὅστων ὅστων· πάντα γὰρ συντεταγμένα πας. *It is to be considered also, What is the Good, and Best of the Universe; Whether its own Order only? or Something Separate and existing by it self? Or rather Both of them together? As the Good of an Army, consisteth both in its Order, and likewise in its General or Emperor, but principally in this Latter; because the Emperor is not for the Order of the Army, but the Order of the Army is for him; for all things are coordered together with God, and respectively to him.* Wherefore since Aristotle's Supreme Deity, by what name soever called, whether Mind or Good, is the proper Efficient Cause of all that Well and Fit, that is in the Universe, of all the Order, Pulchritude and Harmony thereof; it must needs be granted, that besides its being the Final Cause of Motion, or its Turning round the Heavens by being Loved, it was also the Efficient Cause of the Whole Frame of Nature and System of the World. And thus does he plainly declare his Sense, where he applauds Anaxagoras for maintaining, Νῦν ἔναι καὶ τὸ νόημα καὶ τὸ τάξεως πάσης αἴτιον, *that Mind is the Cause not only of all Order, but also of the whole World*: and when himself positively affirms, ἐκ τοιαύτης ἀρχῆς ἡγήταια ὁ ὅρανος καὶ ἡ φύσις, *that from such a Principle as this depends the Heaven, and Nature.* Where by Heaven is meant the whole World, and by Nature, that Artificial Nature of his before insisted on, which doth nothing in vain, but always acteth for Ends Regularly, and is the Instrument of the Divine Mind. He also somewhere affirmeth, that if the Heavens or World were Generated, that is, Made in Time, so as to have had a Beginning, then it was certainly Made, not by Chance and Fortune, but by such an Artificial Nature, as is the Instrument of a Perfect Mind. And in his Physicks, where he contends for the Worlds Ante-Eternity, he concludes nevertheless, ἀνάγκη νῦν αἴτιον καὶ φύσιν εἶναι τῶδε πάντος, *That Mind together with Nature must of necessity be the Cause of this Whole Universe.* For though the World were never so much Coeternal with Mind; yet was it in order of Nature after it and Junious to it as the Effect thereof, himself thus generously resolving, ἀλογιστάτων εἶναι νῦν περὶ μέ- σατον, καὶ κρείον κατὰ φύσιν· τὰ δὲ σοιχεῖα φασι πρῶτα τῶν ὄντων εἶναι, *that though some, (that is, the Atheists) affirm the Elements to have been the First Beings; yet it was the most reasonable thing of all to conclude, that Mind was the Oldest of All things, and Senious to the World and Elements; and that according to Nature, it had a Princely and Sovereign Dominion over all.* Wherefore we think it now sufficiently evident; that Aristotle's Supreme Deity, does not only move the Heavens as being Loved, or is the Final Cause of Motion, but also was the Efficient Cause, of this Whole Mundane System, framed according to the Best Wisdom, and after the Best manner Possible.

For perhaps it may not be amiss here to observe, That God was not called *Mind*, by *Aristotle* and those other ancient Philosophers, according

according to that Vulgar Sence of many in these days of ours; as if he were indeed an *Understanding* or *Perceptive Being*, and that perfectly *Omniscient*, but yet nevertheless such, as acted all things *Arbitrarily*, being not determined by any *Rule* or *Nature of Goodness*, but only by his own *Fortuitous Will*. For according to those ancient Philosophers, that which acts without respect to *Good*, would not so much be accounted *Mens* as *Dementia*, *Mind*, as *Madness* or *Folly*; and to impute the *Frame* of *Nature* or *System* of the *World*, together with the *Government* of the same, to such a Principle as this, would have been judg'd by them all one, as to impute them to *Chance* or *Fortune*. But *Aristotle* and those other Philosophers, who called the *Supreme God*, *Nēs* or *Mind*, understood thereby, that which of all things in the whole world, is most opposite to *Chance*, *Fortune*, and *Temerity*; that which is regulated by the τὸ εὖ καλῶς, *The Well and Fit* of every thing, if it be not rather the very *Rule*, *Measure* and *Essence* of *Fitness* it self; that which acteth all for *Ends* and *Good*, and doth every thing after the *Best manner*, in order to the *Whole*. Thus *Socrates* in that place before cited out of *Plato's Phædo* interprets the Meaning of that Opinion, *That Mind made the World, and was the Cause of all things*: ἡγεσάμην, εἰ τὸ τοῦτο ἔσται ἔχει, ὅτι νῦν πάντα νομοῦμεν, καὶ ἕκαστον τιθεῖναι ταύτην ὅπῃ αὐτὸν βέλτερος ἔχῃ. *That therefore every thing might be concluded to have been disposed of after the Best Manner possible*. And accordingly *Theophrastus*, *Aristotle's* Scholar and Successor, describeth God after this manner, τὸ πρῶτον καὶ δευτέρου, πάντα τὰ ἀριστα βελόμην, *That First and Divine Being of all, which willeth all the Best things*. Whether of these Two Hypotheses concerning God, One of the ancient Pagan Philosophers, that God is as essentially *Goodness* as *Wisdom*, or as *Plotinus* after *Plato* calls him *Decency* and *Fitness* it self; the Other of some late Professors of Christianity, that he is nothing but *Arbitrary Will*, *Omnipotent* and *Omniscient*, I say whether of these Two is more agreeable to *Piety* and *True Christianity*, we shall leave it to be considered:

Lastly, it is not without Probability, that *Aristotle* did, besides the *Frame of Nature*, and *Fabrick of the World*, impute even the very Substance of Things themselves also, to the Divine Efficiency (nor indeed can there well be any doubt of any thing save only the Matter;) partly from his affirming God to be a *Cause* and *Principle* to all things; and partly from his Commending this Doctrine of *Anaxagoras*, ἡμᾶς τὰ καλῶς αἰτίαν καὶ ἀρχὴν εἶναι τῶν ὄντων νῦν, *That Mind was together with Well and Fit, the Cause and Principle of Things themselves*. However that *Aristotle's* Inferiour Gods at least, and therefore his *Intelligences of the Lesser Spheres*, which were *Incorporeal Substances*, were all of them Produced or Created by One Supreme, may be further confirmed from this Definition of his in his *Rhetorick*, τὸ δαιμόνιον ἢ δὲν ἔστιν, ἢ δὲς, ἢ δὲς ἔργον, *The Divinity is nothing but either God or the Work of God*. Where *δὲς* is unquestionably used in way of Eminency, for the Supreme Deity, as in those other places of *Aristotle's* before cited, to which sundry more might be added, as, πάντα ἔχει τ' ἀρχαὶ δὲ δὲς, καὶ ἔστιν αὐτοῦ, *God possesseth all things*.

eth all Good things, and is Self-sufficient; and again where he speaks of things that are more than praise-worthy, τοῖσιν δὲ εἶναι τὸ θεὸν καὶ τὰ ἀγαθὰ, πρὸς ταῦτα ᾗ καὶ τ' ἄλλα ἀναφέρεται, such are God and Good, for to these are all other things referred. But here Aristotle affirming, that there is nothing Divine, but either God himself, or the Work and Effect of God, plainly implies, that there was no Multitude of Self-existent Deities, and that those Intelligences of the Lesser Stars or Spheres, however Eternal, were themselves also Produced or Caused by One Supreme Deity.

Met. L. 6. c. i.

Furthermore Aristotle declares, that this Speculation concerning the Deity, does constitute a Particular Science by it self, distinct from those other Speculative Sciences of Physiology, and the Pure Mathematicks, so that there are in all, Three Speculative Sciences, distinguished by their several Objects, Physiology, the Pure Mathematicks, and Theology or Metaphysicks: The Former of these, that is, Physiology, being conversant, *ᾧ ἐὶ ἀχώριστα μὲν, ἀλλ' ἐν ἀκίνητοις*, about Things both Inseparable from Matter, and Movable; the Second (viz. Geometry or the Pure Mathematicks) *ᾧ ἐὶ ἀκίνητοις μὲν ἀλλ' ὁ χωριστοῖς, ἀλλ' ὡς ἐν ὕλῃ*, About things Immovable indeed, but not really separable from Matter, so as to exist alone by themselves; but the Third and Last, *ᾧ ἐὶ χωριστοῖς καὶ ἀκίνητοις*, Concerning things both Immovable and Separable from Matter, that is, Incorporeal Substances Immovable: This Philosopher there adding, *εἰ μὴ ᾗτις τις ἐτέρω ὁρίσκει τὰς φύσεις συνεσκήσας ἢ φυσικῇ ἢ ἐν πρῶτῃ ὁρισμένη, εἰ δ' ᾗτις ὁρίσκει ἀκίνητον, αὐτῇ προτέρω, καὶ φιλοσοφία πρῶτη*. That if there were no other Substance besides these Natural things, which are Material and Movable; then would Physiology be the First Science; but if there be any Immovable Substance, the Philosophy thereof must needs in order of Nature be before the other. Lastly he concludes, that as the Speculative Sciences in General, are more Noble and Excellent than the other, so is Theology or Metaphysicks the most Honourable of all the Speculatives. Now the chief Points of the Aristotelick Theology, or Metaphysical Doctrine concerning God, seem to be these Four following. First, That though all things be not Ingenit or Unmade, according to that in his Book against Xenophanes, *ἂν ἀνάγκη ἀρχὴν ὅλην εἶναι, ἢ ὅθεν κολοῖται γινόμεναι ἕτερον ἢ ἐτέρον*; There is no necessity that all things should be Unmade, for what hinders but that some things may be Generated from other things? Yet there must needs be something Eternal

Met. L. 14. c. 6.

and Unmade; as likewise Incorruptible, because *εἰ πάντα ὁρίσκει φθαρταί, πάντα φθαρτά*. If all Substances were Corruptible, then All might come to nothing. Which Eternal, Unmade (or Self-existent) and Incorruptible Substance, according to Aristotle is not Senseless Matter, but a Perfect Mind.

Met. L. 14. c. 7

Secondly, that God is also an Incorporeal Substance, *χωρὶς ὁρίσκει τῶν αἰσθητῶν*, Separate from Sensibles, and not only so, but according to Aristotle's Judgment likewise, *ἀδιάλεκτον, ἀμερῆς, ἀμεγέθους*, Indivisible, and Devoid of Parts, and Magnitude. Nor can it be denied, but that besides Aristotle, the Generality of those other Ancients who asserted Incorporeal Substance, did suppose it likewise to be Unextended, they dividing Substances (as we learn from Philo) into *διασπασίμα, καὶ ἀδιάσπαστα ὁρίσκει*, Distant and Indistant, or Extended and Unextended Substances. Which Doctrine whether

True

True or no, is not here to be discussed. Thirdly, *τὸ αὐτὸ ὂν ἐστὶν ὡς τὸ νοητὸν*, *Mat. L. 14. c. 7.*
That in God Intellect is really the same thing with the Intelligibles. Be-
 cause the Divine Mind being (at least in order of Nature) *Seniour*
to All things, and *Architectionical of the World*, could not look abroad
 for its Objects, or find them any where without it self, and there-
 fore must needs contain them all within it self. Which Determina-
 tion of Aristotle's, is no less agreeable to *Theism*, than to *Plato-*
nism; whereas on the contrary, the Atheists, who assert *Mind* and
Understanding as such, to be in order of Nature *Junior* to *Matter*
and the World, do therefore agreeably to their own *Hypothesis*, sup-
 pose all *Intellection* to be by way of *Passion* from *Corporeal* things
 without, and no *Mind* or *Intellect*, to contain its *Intelligibles*, or *Im-*
mediate Objects within it self. Lastly, That God being an *Immovable*
Substance, his *Essence* is *ἐνέργεια*, His *Essence* and *Act* or *Operation* the *Mat. Lib. 14.*
 same, *ἡ αὐτὴ ἐστὶν ἡ ἐνέργεια καὶ τὸ αὐτὸ τὸ ὂν ἐστὶν ἡ ἐνέργεια*, *There must there-*
fore needs be some such Principle as this, whose Essence is Act or Energy.
 From which Theorem Aristotle indeed endeavours to establish the
Eternity of the World, that it was not made *ἐκ νυκτός, ἢ ἐκ μὲν πλὴντος, καὶ*
ἐκ μὲν οὐκ ὄντος, from *Night*, and a *Confused Chaos* of things, and from
Nothing; that is, from an Antecedent Non-existence, brought forth
 into being; Because God who is an *Immovable Nature*, and whose *Es-*
sence is Act or Energy, cannot be supposed to have rested or Slept
 from Eternity, doing nothing at all, and then after Infinite Ages,
 to have begun to move the Matter, or make the World. Which
 Argumentation of Aristotle's, perhaps would not be Inconsiderable,
 were the *World*, *Motion* and *Time*, capable of Existing from *Eternity*,
 or without Beginning. Of which more elsewhere. However, from
 hence it is undeniably evident, that Aristotle, though asserting the
Worlds Eternity, nevertheless derived the same from God, because
 he would prove this *Eternity* of the World, from the *Essential Ener-*
gy and *Immutability* of the Deity.

We shall now conclude all concerning Aristotle, with this short
 Summary, which himself gives us of his own Creed and Religion, a-
 greeably to the Tradition of his Pagans Ancestors; *παράδοδαι ὑπὸ τῶν* *Mat. Lib. 1.*
ἀρχαίων καὶ παλαιῶν, ὅτι θεοὶ τὲ ἐσιν ἑστί, καὶ ἀρχαῖα τὸ θεῖον τὸ ὅλον *c. 8.*
φύσιν· τὰ δὲ λοιπὰ μυθικῶς ἢ διὰ προσήχθαι πρὸς τὸ πείθειν τὸ πᾶν, καὶ
τὸ εἰς τὰς νόμους καὶ τὸ συμφέρον χρῆσθαι· ἀνθρωποειδῆς τε γὰρ τὰς καὶ τῶν
ἄλλων ζῴων ὁμοίως ποιεῖν λέγεται, καὶ τούτοις ἔπερ ἀκόλουθα καὶ ἀξιοπλοῖα·
It hath been delivered down to us from very ancient Times, that the Stars
are Gods also; besides that Supreme Deity which contains the Whole Na-
ture. But all the other things, were Fabulously added hereunto; for the
better Perswasion of the Multitude, and for Utility of Humane Life and
Political Ends, to keep men in Obedience to Civil Laws. As for example,
that these Gods are of Humane Form, or like to other Animals; with such
other things as are consequent hereupon. In which words of Aristotle,
these Three Things may be taken notice of. First, That this was the Ge-
neral Perswasion of the Civilized Pagans from all known Antiquity
downwards, that there is One τὸ θεῖον, which comprehends the whole
Nature. Where τὸ θεῖον is by Aristotle plainly taken for the Supreme
Deity. And his own sence concerning this Particular, is elsewhere
thus

In Polit.

thus declared after the same manner, where he speaks of Order Harmony and Proportion, *θεας γδ δὴ τὸ δυνάμεως ἔργον, ἥτις καὶ τὸ δευέχει τὸ πᾶν, This is the Work of the Divine Power, which also contains this Universe.* Which Divinity Containing and Comprehending the Whole Nature and Universe, must needs be a Single and Solitary Being; according to that Expression of Horace before cited,

Nec viget quicquam Simile aut Secundum,

That which hath nothing Like it, nor Second to it. The next thing is, That according to the Pagan Tradition, besides this Universal Numen, there were certain other Particular and Inferiour Deities also, that is, Understanding Beings Superiour to Men; namely the Animated Stars or Spheres, according to the Vulgar Apprehension, though Aristotle's Philosophy would interpret this chiefly of their Immoveable Minds or Intelligences. Lastly, that all the rest of the Pagan Religion and Theology, those Two Things only excepted, were Fabulous and Fictitious, invented for the better Perswasion of the Vulgar to Piety, and the conserving of them in Obedience to Civil Laws; amongst which this may be reckoned for one, that those Gods are all like Men or other Animals; and therefore to be worshipped in Images and Statues of those several Forms; with all that other Fabulous Farrago which dependeth hereupon. Which being separated from the rest, the *πότεριον δόξα*, or ancient Tradition of their Pagan Progenitors, would remain comprized within those Two Particulars above mentioned, namely, that there is One Supreme Deity that Contains the whole Universe, and that besides it, the Animated Stars or their Minds, are certain Inferiour Gods also.

De N.D. L. 1.

To Aristotle may be here subjoyned Speusippus and Xenocrates his Equals and Corrivals, they being Plato's Successors; together with Theophrastus his own Scholar and Successor. Concerning the former of which it is recorded in Cicero, that agreeably with Plato, he asserted *Vim quandam, quâ omnia regantur, eamque Animalem, One Animal and Intellectual Force by which all things are governed*; by reason whereof, Velleius the Epicurean complains of him, as thereby endeavouring, *Evellere ex animis cognitionem Deorum, To pluck out of the minds of men the Notion of Gods*, as indeed both he and Plato did destroy those Epicurean Gods, which were all supposed to be Independent and to have no Sway or Influence at all upon the Government of the World; whereas neither of them denied a Plurality of Subordinate and Dependent Deities, Generated or Created by One Supreme, and by him Employed as his Ministers in the Oeconomy of the Universe: For had they done any such thing as this, they would certainly have been then condemned for Atheists. And Xe-

Ed. Phys. L. 1. c. 3.

nocrates his Theology, is thus represented in Stobæus, *τὴν μονάδα καὶ τὴν δυνάδα θεός, τὴν μὲν ὡς ἀρρένεα πατερεὺς ἔχουσαν τάξιν, ἥτινα προσαγορεύει καὶ ζῆνα, καὶ Πέριπλον, καὶ Νῆν, ὥς ἐστιν αὐτὰς πρῶτον θεός· τὴν δὲ διλειαν μιντερεὺς θεῶν δύνω, ἣ ὑπὸ τῷ ὁρατῶν λήξεως ἡγεμνύω, ἥτις ἐστὶν αὐτὰς*

ψυχὴ

ἢ καὶ τὸ πᾶν, &c. That both a *Monad* and *Dyad*, were Gods, the one Masculine, having the order of a Father, which he calleth *Zen* and *Mind*, and which is also to him the *First God*; the other Feminine, as it were the *Mother of the Gods*, which is to him, the *Soul of the Universe*; besides which he acknowledgeth the *Heaven* to be Divine, that is, Animated with a Particular Soul of its own, and the *Fiery Stars*, to be *Celestial Gods*, as he asserted also certain *Sublunary Gods*, viz. the *Invisible Demons*. Where instead of the *Platonick Trinity*, *Xenocrates* seems to have acknowledg'd only a *Duality of Divine Hypostases*; the First called a *Monad* and *Mind*, the Second a *Dyad* and *Soul of the Universe*. And lastly, we have this Testimony of *Theophrastus*, besides others, cited out of his *Metaphysics*, *ἑὸν δὲ πᾶν ἀρχή, δι' ἧς ἅπαντα ἔστι καὶ διαμύχεται*, There is one Divine Principle of all things, by or from which all things subsist and remain.

XXV. The Stoicks and their chief Doctors, *Zeno*, *Cleanthes* and *Chrysippus*, were no better *Naturalists* and *Metaphysicians*, than *Heraclitus*, in whose footsteps they trode: they in like manner admitting no other Substance besides *Body*, according to the true and proper Notion thereof, as that which is, not only *διαστόν*, *Distant* and *Extended*, but also *ἀντίστον*, *Resisting* and *Impenetrable*. So that according to these Stoicks, the Souls not only of other Animals, but of Men also, were properly *Corporeal*, that is, Substances *Impenetrably Extended*; and which differ'd from that other part of theirs, commonly called their *Body*, no otherwise, than that they were, *σῶμα ἀραιότερον καὶ λεπτομερέστερον*, a more *Thin* and *Subtil Body*, and *πυρρὸν ἔνθεον*, a *Hot and Fiery Spirit*: it being supposed by these Philosophers, that *Cogitation*, *Reason* and *Understanding*, are lodged only in the *Fiery Matter* of the Universe. And though the Generality of these Stoicks, acknowledged *Humane Souls*, to have a certain *Permanency* after *Death*, and some of them till the next *Conflagration* (unless perhaps they should be crushed and broken all to pieces, in their Passage out of the *Body*, by the down-fall of some *Tower*, *Steeple*, or the like, upon them) yet did they all conclude against their *Immortality*, there being nothing at all *Immortal* with them (as shall be afterwards declared) save only *Jupiter*, or the *One Supreme Deity*. And as for the *Punishment* of *Wicked Souls* after death, though some of them seem to have utterly exploded the same, as a meer *Figment* of *Poets*, (inasmuch that *Epictetus* himself denies, there was any *Acheron*, *Cocytus* or *Phlegethon*) yet others granted, that as the better Souls after *Death*, did mount up to the Stars, their First Original, so the *Wicked* wandred up and down here, in certain *Dark* and *Miry Subterraneous Places*, till at length they were quite extinct. Nevertheless, they seem to have been all of this *Perswasion*, that the *Frightning* of men with punishments after *Death*, was no Proper nor Accommodate means to promote *Virtue*, because that ought to be pursued after for its own sake, or the *Good of Honesty*, as *Vice* to be avoided, for that *Evil of Turpitude* which is in it, and not for any other *External Evil* consequent thereupon. Wherefore *Chrysippus* reprehended *Plato* for subjoyning to his Republick such affrightful Stories of Punishments after death, *φασὶν ἐν θεῶς ἀπειρέσιαν τῶ ἀπὸ τῶ*

Plut. Stoic.
Rep. p. 1040.

δεῶν φόβῳ, τῇ ἀδικίᾳ, τῷ κέφαλον. ἀδιάλειπτον τ' εἶναι καὶ πρὸς τὸναντίον ἐξ-
 ἀγοῖα πολλὰς ὡς πασιμὸς καὶ πιθανότατος ἀντιπαρῆσας, τῇ ὡς ἔχει ὑπὸ τῷ
 δεῶν καλῶσαν λόγον, ὡς ἔδεν διαφέρειν τῇ Ἀκίᾳ καὶ τῇ Ἀλφίτῃ, δι' ὧν τοῖς
 παιδαίεα τῷ κακοχολεῖν αἱ γυναικὶς ἀνέγειν. Chrysippus affirmeth, that
 Plato (in the Person of Cephalus) does not rightly deterr men from In-
 justice, by the Fear of Divine Punishments and Vengeance after Death ;
 since this opinion (of Torments after death) is liable to much Exception,
 and the contrary is not without Probabilities ; so that it seems to be but
 like to Womens frightening of Children from doing unhappy tricks,
 with those Bugbears of Accho and Alphito. But how fondly these
 Stoicks, doted upon that Hypothesis, That all was Body, may appear
 from hence, that they maintained even Accidents and Qualities them-
 selves to be Bodies ; for Voice and Sound, Night and Day, Evening
 and Morning, Summer and Winter ; nay, Calends and Nones, Months
 and Years, were Bodies with them. And not only so, but also the
 Qualities of the Mind it self, as Virtue and Vice, together with the
 Motions and Affections of it, as Anger and Envy, Grief and Joy ; ac-
 cording to that passage in Seneca, *Corporis Bona sunt Corpora, Corpo-
 ra ergo sunt & quæ animi, nam & hic Corpus est* ; The Goods of a Bo-
 dy are Bodies, now the Mind is a Body, and therefore the Goods of the
 Mind are Bodies too. And with as good Logick as this did they fur-
 ther infer, that all the Actions, Passions, and Qualities of the Mind,
 were not only Bodies but also Animals likewise. *Animam constat A-
 nimal esse, cum ipsa efficiat, ut simus Animalia ; Virtus autem nihil ali-
 ud est quàm Animus taliter se habens, ergo Animal est* ; It is manifest,
 that the Soul is an Animal, because it is that by which we are made A-
 nimals ; now Virtue and Vice are nothing else but the Soul so and so af-
 fected or modified, and therefore these are Animals too. Thus we see
 what fine Conclusions, these Doters upon Body (though accounted
 great Masters of Logick) made ; and how they were befooled in
 their Ratiocinations and Philosophy.

Nevertheless though these Stoicks were such Sottish Corporealists,
 yet were they not for all that Atheists : they resolving that Mind or
 Understanding, though always lodged in Corporeal Substance, yet
 was not first of all begotten out of Senseless Matter, so or so Modified ;
 but was an Eternal Unmade thing, and the Maker of the whole Mun-
 dane System. And therefore as to that Controversie so much agita-
 ted amongst the Ancients, Whether the World were made by Chance,
 or by the Necessity of Material Motions, or by Mind, Reason and Un-
 derstanding ; they avowedly maintained that it was neither by Chance
 nor by Material Necessity, but *Divinâ Mente*, by a Divine and Eter-
 nal Mind every way perfect. From which One Eternal Mind, they
 also affirmed Humane Souls to have been derived, and not from
 Senseless Matter ; *Prudentiam & Mentem à Diis ad Homines pervenisse*,
 that Mind and Wisdom descended down to Men from the Deity. And
 that, *Ratio nihil aliud est, quàm in Corpus humanum Pars Divini Spi-
 ritus mersa* ; Reason is nothing else but Part of the Divine Spirit merg'd
 into a Humane Body ; so that these Humane Souls were to them, no
 other than *μερὲς θεῶν καὶ ἀποπομαῖα*, certain Parts of God, or Decerp-
 tions and Avulsions from him. Neither were the Reasons by which these

these Stoicks would prove, the World to have had a *Divine Original*, at all Contemptible, or much inferiour to those which have been used in these Latter days; they being such as these: First, That it is no more likely, this Orderly System of the World, should have been made by Chance, than that *Ennius* his *Annals*, or *Homer's Iliads* might have resulted from the Fortuitous Projection or Tumbling out of so many Forms of Letters, confounded all together. There being as much continued and coherent Sence and as many several Combinations, in this *Real Poem* of the World, as there is in any *Phantastick Poem* made by men. And since we see no Houses or Cities, no Books or Libraries any where made by the fortuitous Motions of Matter, it is a madness to think that this Admirable Compages of the whole World should first have resulted from thence. Again, There could not possibly be such an Agreeing and Conspiring Cognation of things, and such a *Universal Harmony* throughout the whole World, as now there is, *nisi ea Uno Divino & Continuatō Spiritu continerentur*, were they not all contained by One and the same Divine Spirit: Which is the most obvious Argument, for the Unity or Onelyness of the Deity. They reasoned also from the *Scale of Nature*, or the Gradual Perfection of things in the Universe, one above another; That therefore there must be something *Absolutely Perfect*, and that either the World it self, or something presiding over it, was à *Printipio Sapiens*, *Wise from the Beginning*, or rather without Beginning and from Eternity. For as in the Growth of Plants and Animals, *Natura suo quodam Itinere ad Ultimum pervenit*, Nature by a Continual Progress and Journeying forwards, arrives at length to the greatest Perfection, which those things are respectively capable of: And as those Arts of Picture and Architecture, aim at Perfection; *ita in omni Naturâ necesse est Absolvi aliquid & Perfici*, so in the Nature of the whole Universe, there must needs be something *Absolutely Perfect*, reach'd unto. *Necesse est præstantem aliquam esse Naturam qua nihil est Melius*; Since there is such a Gradual Ascent and Scale of Perfections in Nature one above another, there must needs besome most Excellent and Perfect Being, than which nothing can be Better, at the Top of all, as the Head thereof. Moreover they disputed *Socratically* after this manner, *Unde arripuit Homo Vitam, Mentem & Rationem?* Whence did man snatch Life, Reason, or Understanding? Or from what was it Kindled in him? For is it not plain, that we derive the Moisture and Fluidity of our Bodies, from the Water that is in the Universe, their Consistency and Solidity from the Earth, their Heat and Activity from the Fire, and their Spirituosity from the Air; *Illud autem quod vincit hæc omnia, Rationem, Mentem & Consilium, &c. Ubi invenimus? unde sustulimus?* An cætera Mundus habebit omnia? Hoc unum quod plurimi est non habebit? But that which far transcendeth all these things, our Reason, Mind and Understanding, where did we find it? or from whence did we derive it? Hath the Universe all those other things of ours in it, and in a far greater proportion? and hath it nothing at all of that which is the most excellent thing in us? *Nihil quod Animi, quodque Rationis est expers, id generare ex se potest Animantes, compotesque Rationis, Mundus autem generat Animantes compotes Rationis*: Nothing that is devoid of Mind and Reason can Generate things Ani-

mant and Rational, but the World Generateth such, and therefore it self (or that which contains it and presides over it) must needs be Animant, and Rational or Intellectual. Which Argumentation is further set home by such Similitudes as these; Si ex Oliva modulatè canentes Tibia nascerentur, non dubitares quin esset in Oliva Tibicinis quædam Scientia. Quid si Platani Fidiculas ferrent numerosè sonantes, idem scilicet censeret in Platanis inesse Musicam. Cur igitur Mundus non Animans Sapiensque judicetur, cum ex se procreet Animantes atque Sapientes? If from the Olive-Tree should be produced Pipes sounding Harmoniously, or from the Plain-Tree Fiddles, playing of their own accord Musically, it would not at all be doubted, but that there was, some Musical either Skill or Nature, in those Trees themselves; Why therefore should not the World be concluded, to be both Animant and Wise (or to have something in it which is so) since it produceth such Beings from it self? And though perhaps some may think that of Cotta's here, to have been a smart and witty Repartie, Querit Socrates unde Animam arripuerimus, si nulla fuerit in mundo? Et ego quero unde Orationem? unde Numeros? unde Cantus? nisi verò loqui Solem cum Luna putemus, cum propius accesserit: aut ad harmoniam canere Mundum ut Pythagoras existimat. Socrates demandeth, whence we snatch'd Soul, Life, and Reason, if there were none in the world? and I demand (saith he) whence did we snatch Speech, Musick, and Numbers? Unless perhaps you will suppose the Sun to confabulate with the Moon, when he approaches near her in the Syzygiæ; or the World to sound Harmonically as Pythagoras conceited. Yet this how smart soever it may seem, was really but an Empty Flash of Academick Wit, without any Solidity at all in it, as shall be manifested afterward. Lastly the Stoicks endeavoured to prove the Existence of a God after this manner, Ut nulla pars Corporis nostri est quæ non sit minor quam Nosmetipsi sumus, sic Mundum Universum pluris esse necesse est quam Partem aliquam Universi; As there is no Part of our Body which is not Inferiour in perfection to Our selves, so must the Whole Universe needs be supposed, to be Better and more Perfect than any of the Parts thereof. Wherefore since it is Better to be endued with Life and Understanding, than to be devoid thereof, and these are Pure Perfections; they being in some measure in the Parts, must needs be much more in the Whole. Nullius sensu carentis Pars, potest esse Sentiens, No Part of that which is utterly dead and stupid, can have Life and Understanding in it. And it is a Madness for any man to suppose, Nihil in omni Mundo Melius esse quam se, that there is nothing in the whole World Better than himself, or than Mankind; which is but a Part thereof. Now Cotta here again exercises his jeering Academick Wit after the same manner as before; Hoc si placet, jam effices, ut Mundus optimè Librum legere videatur, &c. Isto modo etiam Disertus, Mathematicus, Musicus, omni denique doctrina refertus, postremo Philosophus erit Mundus. By this same Argument you might as well prove, That the World is also Book-learned, an Orator, a Mathematician, a Musician, and last of all a Philosopher. But neither this Objection of his nor that Former, have any Firmitude at all in them: Because though an Effect cannot be Better or more Perfect than its Cause, nor a Part than the Whole; and therefore whatsoever there is of

of Pure Perfection in any Effect, it must needs be more in the Cause; yet as to those things there mentioned by *Cotta* (which have all a plain Mixture of Imperfection in them) as they could not therefore Formally exist in that which is Absolutely Perfect, so is it sufficient, that they are all Eminently and Vertually contain'd therein.

By such Argumentations as these (besides that taken from the Topic of Prescience and Divination) did the ancient Stoicks endeavour to Demonstrate the Existence of a God, or a Universal Numen, the Maker and Governour of the whole World; and that such a one, as was not a meer Plastick or Methodical and Senseless, but a Conscious and Perfectly Intellectual Nature. So that the World to them, was neither a meer Heap and Congeries of Dead and Stupid Matter, fortuitously compacted together; nor yet a Huge Plant or Vegetable, that is, endued with a *Spermatick Principle* only; but an Animal enformed and enlivened by an Intellectual Soul. And though, being Corporealists, they sometimes called, the Whole World it self or Mundane Animal, God; and sometimes the Fiery Principle in it, as Intellectual, and the Hegemonick of the Mundane Soul; Yet was the God of the Stoicks properly, not the very Matter it self, but that Great Soul, Mind and Understanding, or in *Seneca's* Language, that *Ratio Incorporalis*, that Rules the Matter of the whole World. Which Stoical God was also called, as well *Ἰαχθὺν* as *Νῆς*, Good as Mind; as that which is a Most Moral, Benign, and Benificent Being; according to that excellent Cleanthean Description of him, in *Clement Alexandrinus*.

Ἰαχθὺν ἐρωτᾷς μὴ οἶόν τι ἄλλο τι,
τεταγμένον, δίκαιον, ἔσπον, ἀσεβές,
κεκτῶν ἑαυτοῦ, χρησίμion, καλόν, θεόν, &c.

But this Maker and Governour of the Whole World was most commonly named by the Stoicks *Zeus* and *Zen*, or *Jupiter*; some of them concluding that therefore there was but one *Zeus* or Independent Deity, because the Whole World was but One Animal, governed by One Soul; and others of them endeavouring on the contrary to prove the Unity and Singularity of the World, from the Oneliness of this *Zeus* or the Supreme Deity, supposed and taken for granted, and because there is but One Fate and Providence. Which Latter Consequence, *Plutarch* would by no means allow of, he writing thus concerning it, where he pleads for a Plurality of Worlds, *καὶ μὴ τὰ- D. Def. Or. p. 425.*
καὶ ἄλλα τῶν Στωικῶν τίς ἀν φοβηθεῖν, τὸν παντοκράτην πᾶς εἰσαεργάσει μὴ μὴ καὶ Περὶονία, καὶ ὅ πολλοὶ Δίης καὶ Ζήνης ἔσθαι, πλείονων ὄντων κόσμων; τίς τῶ ἀνάγκη πολλὰς εἶναι Δίας, ἀν πλείονες ᾧσι κόσμοι, καὶ μὴ καθ' ἑκάστων ἀεργήσας πρῶτον καὶ ἡγεμόνα τῶ ὅλας θεόν; οἷος ὁ παρ' ἡμῶν κύριος ἀπάντων καὶ πατὴρ ἐπονομαζόμενος, &c. Neither is it at all considerable, what the Stoicks here object against a Plurality of Worlds, they demanding how there could be but One Fate, and One Providence, and One Jove (or Independent Deity) were there many Worlds? For what Necessity is there, that there must be more Zen's or Joves than One, if there were More Worlds? and why might not that One and the same God of this Universe;

Universe called by us, the Lord and Father of all, be the First Prince, and Highest Governour in all those Worlds? Or what hinders but that a Multitude of Worlds, might be all Subject to the Fate and Providence of one Jupiter or Supreme God, himself inspecting and ordering them every one; and imparting Principles and Spermatick Reasons to them, according to which all things in them might be Governed and Disposed. For can many distinct Persons in an Army or Chorus, be reduced into One Body or Polity? and could not Ten, or Fifty, or a Hundred Worlds in the Universe; be all Governed by One Reason, and be ordered together in Reference to One Principle? In which Place these Two things are plainly contained; First, that the Stoicks unquestionably asserted, One Supreme Deity, or Universal Monarch over the whole World; and Secondly, that Plutarch was so far from giving any entertainment to the Contrary Opinion; that he concluded, though there were Ten, or Fifty, or a Hundred worlds, yet they were all Subject to One Supreme, Solitary, and Independent Deity.

But however though these Stoicks thus unquestionably asserted One Sole Independent and Universal Numen, the Monarch over the whole World: yet did they notwithstanding, together with the other Pagans, acknowledge a Plurality of Gods: they concluding, πάντα μετὰ εἶναι θεῶν καὶ δαιμόνων, That all things were full of Gods and Demons. And so far were they from falling short of the other Pagans, as to this Polytheism or Multiplicity of Gods, that they seem rather to have surpassed and outstripped them therein. Plutarch making mention of their τοῦτον πλῆθος θεῶν, their So great Multitude of Gods; and affirming them, ἐμπεπλημέναι τὰς λόγῳ θεῶν καὶ ἔργῳ, τῷ γλῶσσι καὶ αἰσθεσίᾳ, τῷ δαίμονι καὶ ψυχῇ, to have filled the whole Heaven, Earth, Air, and Sea with Gods. Nevertheless they plainly declare, that all this their Multiplicity of Gods (One only excepted) was Generated or Created in time by that One, called Zeus or Jupiter, who was not only the Spermatick Reason, but also the Soul and Mind of the whole Universe; and who from Himself produced the World and those Gods, out of Non-existence into Being. And not only so, but that also in the Successive Conflagrations, they are all again Resolved and Swallowed up into that One. Thus Plutarch in his Defect of Oracles, writing of the Mortality of Demons, τὰς στωικὰς γνώμας, καὶ μόνον καὶ δαιμόνων ὡς λέγω δόξαν ἔχειν, ἀλλὰ καὶ θεῶν, ὄντων τοῦτον τὸ πλῆθος ἐν χρόνῳ αἰδίοις καὶ ἀφθάρτοις, τὰς δὲ ἄλλας καὶ γεγενῆσθαι καὶ φθαρήσθαι νομίζοντας. We know the Stoicks to maintain this Opinion, not only concerning Demons, but also the Gods themselves, that they are Mortal. For though they own such a Multitude of Gods, yet do they acknowledge only one of them Eternal and Incorruptible; affirming concerning all the rest, that as they were made in time, so they shall be again Corrupted and Destroyed. Plutarch himself, there defends the Mortality of Demons, but this only as to their Corporeal Part, that they die to their present Bodies, and transmigrate into others, their Souls in the meantime remaining Immortal and Incorruptible; but the Stoicks maintain'd the same as well concerning Gods as Demons; and that in such a manner, as that their very Souls, Lives and Personalities, should be utterly extinguish'd and Destroyed. To the same purpose

pose *Plutarch* again writeth, in his Book of *Common Notions* against the Stoicks, χρυσίππου καὶ κλεάνθους ἐμπεπληκότες (ὡς ἔπος εἰπέναι) τὰ λόγῳ θεῶν, καὶ θεῶν, τὴν γῆν, καὶ αἴερα, τὴν θάλασσαν, ἐθένα τῷ τοῦ ζῆτος ἀφθαρτον, ἐδὲ αἰδὼν ἀπολελοίπασι, πλὴν μόνος τῷ διός· εἰς ὃν πάντας καταναλίσκεται τὰς ἄλλας, &c. ταῦτα ὅτι ὅς ἑστιν ἅμα πολλὰ καὶ ἀτέπαν συλλογισμῶν ἔχει τὰς ὑποθέσεις αὐτῶν, καὶ τοῖς δόγμασιν ἐπιταί, ἀλλὰ αὐτὸν μέγα βοῶντες ἐν τοῖς ὧδε θεῶν, καὶ προνοίας, ἐμαρμερίας, τε καὶ φύσεως γράμμασι, διαφέρουσαν λέγουσι, τὰς θεὰς ἀπαντας, εἶναι γενοτάς καὶ φθαρσιμῶν ὑποπτεῖς, τῶν καὶ αὐτὰς, ὡς καὶ κελύρας ἢ καὶ κελύρας οὐκ ἔστιν. *Chrysippus and Cleanthes, having filled the whole Heaven, Earth, Air and Sea with Gods, leave not One of these their so Many Gods Incorruptible nor Eternal, save Jupiter only, into whom they consume all the rest; thereby making him to be a Helluo and Devourer of Gods; which is as bad, as if they should affirm him to be Corruptible, it arguing as much Imperfection for one to be Nourished and Preserved by the Consumption of other things into him, as for himself to die. Now this is not only gathered by way of Consequence, from the other Principles of the Stoicks, but it is a thing which they expressly assert, and with a loud voice proclaim, in all their writings concerning the Gods, Providence, Fate and Nature; that all the Gods were Generated (or Made in time) and that they shall be all destroyed by Fire; they supposing them to be Melt-able, as if they were Waxen or Leaden things. This indeed is Essential to the Stoical Doctrine, and from their Principles Inseparable and Unavoidable; forasmuch as they held all to be Body, and that in the Successive Conflagrations, all Corporeal Systems and Compages shall be dissolved by Fire; so that no other Deity, can then possibly remain safe and Untouch'd, save Jupiter alone, the Fiery Principle of the Universe, Animated or Intellectual. Here therefore there is a considerable Difference to be observed, betwixt these Stoicks and the other Pagan Theists; that whereas the others for the most part acknowledged their Gods to have been made in Time, by One Supreme Universal Numen, but yet nevertheless to be Immortal and to continue to Eternity; The Stoical Pagans maintained, that all their other Gods, save Jupiter alone, were not only γενοτάς but also φθαρσιμῶν, such as should be as well Corrupted, as they were Generated, and this so also, as that their very Personalities should be utterly abolished and annihilated: all the Stoical Gods in the Conflagration being as it were Melted and Confounded into One.*

Wherefore during the Intervals of the Successive Conflagrations, the Stoicks all agreed, that there is no more than One God (*Zeus or Jupiter*) left alone (there being then indeed nothing else besides himself) who afterwards produceth the whole *Mundane System*, together with *All the Gods* out of himself again. *Chrysippus in Plutarch* affirmeth, εἰκέναι τὰ μὲν ἀνθρώπων καὶ Δία καὶ τὸ κόσμον, τῇ δὲ ψυχῇ τὴν προνοίαν, ὅταν ἐν ἐκπύρωσι γῆναι, μόνον ἀφθαρτον οὖν καὶ Δία καὶ θεῶν, ἀναχεῖν ἐπὶ τὴν προνοίαν, ἔτα ὅς γινώσκουσιν, ἐπὶ μὲν αὖ τῷ αἰδέσθῃ ἐξίας διατελεῖν ἀμφοτέρως, That as *Jupiter and the World* may be resembled to a *Man*, so may *Providence* be to the *Soul*; When therefore there shall be a *Conflagration*, *Jupiter* of all the Gods, being alone *Incorruptible* and then remaining, will retire and withdraw himself into

Ep. 6.

Arr. L. 3 c. 13.

into Providence; and so both together remain in that same Ethereal Substance. Where notwithstanding Jupiter and Providence are really but One and the same thing. And Seneca writeth thus concerning the Life of a Wise man in Solitude, *Qualis futura est Vita Sapientis, si sine amicis relinquatur, in custodiam conjectus, aut in desertum latus ejetus? Qualis est Jovis, cum Resoluto mundo, & DIIS IN UNUM CONFUSIS, paulisper cessante Natura, acquiescit sibi, Cogitationibus suis traditus*; If you ask what would be the Life of a Wise man either in a Prison, or Desert? I answer, the same with that of Jupiter, when the World being resolved, and the GODS all CONFUNDED into ONE, and the Course of Nature ceasing, he resteth in himself, conversing with his own Cogitations. Arrianus his Epictetus likewise, speaking of the same thing, Ironically introduces Jupiter, bemoaning himself in the Conflagration, as now left quite alone, after this manner, *τάλας ἐγώ, ὅτε τὴν ἑσπερινὴν ἔχω, ὅτε τὴν Ἀθηνᾶν, ὅτε τὴν Ἀπόλλωνα, ὅτε ὄλως ἢ ἀδελφόν, ἢ υἱόν, ἢ ἐγγόνον, ἢ συγγενή*. Alas, I am now left all alone I have neither Juno, nor Minerva, nor Apollo with me; neither Brother nor Son, nor Nephew nor Kinsman (neither God nor Goddess) to keep me company. He adding also according to the sence of the Stoicks, that in all these successive Conflagrations, *ὁ Ζεὺς αὐτὸς ἑαυτῷ σύνεσι, καὶ ἡσυχάζει ἐφ' ἑαυτῷ, καὶ ἐνοεῖ τὴν διοίκησιν ἑαυτοῦ, οἷα ὅτι, καὶ ἐν ἐπιπολαίᾳ γίνεται πρεσβύταις ἑαυτῷ*, Jupiter being left alone, converseth only with himself, and resteth in himself, considering his own Government, and being entertained with thoughts becoming himself. And thus have we made it unquestionably evident, that the Stoicks acknowledged, only One Independent and Self-existent Deity, One Universal Numen, which was not only the Creator of all the other Gods, but also in certain Alternate Vicissitudes of time, the Decreator of them; he then swallowing them up, and devouring them all into himself, as he had before produced them together with the World, out of himself.

It is granted, that these Stoicks as well as the other Pagans, did Religiously Worship More Gods than One, that is, More Understanding Beings Superiour to Men. For it was Epictetus his own Exhortation, *Ἄγε θεοῖς, Pray to the Gods*. And the same Philosopher thus describeth the Disposition of a Person Rightly Affected, *Θέλω εἰδέναι τί μοι καθεύον πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς*, I would willingly know what is my Duty, First to the Gods, and then to my Parents, and other Relations. And they are M. Antoninus his Precepts, *Ἀιδεῖσθε θεοὺς, Revere the Gods*, and *ἐν παντί θεοὺς ὑπαικάζετε*, In every thing implore the Aid and Assistance of the Gods. And accordingly in that Close of his First Book, himself does thankfully ascribe many Particular Benefits to The Gods in common; *ὅτι θεῶν τὸ ἀγαθὸς πάππος, &c.* I owe to the Gods, that I had good Progenitors and Parents, &c. Where amongst the rest, he reckons up this for One, That he never was any great Proficient, either in Poetry or Rhetorick; because these would probably (had he succeeded in his Pursuit of them) have hindred him from the attainment of far better things: and after all his Enumeration, he concludeth thus, *πάντα γὰρ ταῦτα θεῶν βοήθειαν καὶ τύχης δέεται*, For all these things need the Assistance of the Gods and Fortune, viz. because they are not in our own power.

Neither

Neither can it be denied, but that they did often derogate from the Honour of the *Supreme God*, by attributing such things to the *Gods* in common, (as the Donors of them) which plainly belong to the *Supreme God* only. As when *Epicetus* makes *Reason* in Men to be a gift of the *Gods*, ἡμῖν ἐν λόγῳ ἐπὶ ἀτυχίᾳ καὶ κακοδαίμονίᾳ δέδδοται ὑπὸ τῶν θεῶν; *Is Reason therefore given us by the Gods, merely to make us Miserable and Unhappy?* And when he again imputes *Vertue* to them; ἥσθ' ὡς μέλλων αἰτία δυσίας, ἢ ὑπατέας ἢ ὑπαρχίας, ταῦτα ἐκ τῶν αὐτῶν γίνεται καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν θεῶν, *how much greater Cause then hast thou of offering Sacrifice, than if thou hadst got a Consulship or Prætorship?* for those things come only from thy Self, and from the Gods. Though the Reason of these Speeches of theirs seems to have been no other, than this, because they took it for granted, that those Understanding Beings Superiour to men, called by them *Gods*, were all of them the Instruments and Ministers of the *Supreme God* in the Government of the World; and had therefore some kind of Stroke or Influence more or less, upon all the Concernments of Mankind. Whence it came to pass also, that they often used those Words *God* and *Gods* promiscuously and Indifferently. As one and the same Celebrated Speech of *Socrates*, is sometimes expressed Singularly, εἰ ταύτη τῶν θεῶν φίλον, *If God will have it so, let it be so*, (*Arr. Epic. L. 1. c. 29.* and *L. 4. c. 4.*) and sometimes again Plurally, εἰ ταύτη φίλον τοῖς θεοῖς, *If the Gods will have it so*.

Wherefore notwithstanding the *Many Gods* of those Stoicks, they worshipped for all that One Supreme, that is, *One Universal Numen*, that contains and comprehends the whole World. Who was variously described by them, sometimes as the *Nature and Reason* of the whole World; ἡ τῶν ὅλων φύσις πρæστυτάτη θεῶν, *The Nature of the whole, the Oldest of all the Gods*; and ἡ τὰ ὅλα διοικῶσα φύσις, *That Nature which governs all things*; ὁ τῶν τῶν ὅλων ἐξάρχων λόγος, *that Reason which governs the Substance of all*; ὁ δὲ τῶν ἐσθίας διήκων λόγος, καὶ διὰ παντὸς τῶν αἰώνων καὶ ἀεὶ ὡς περὶ τὰς τεταγμένους οἰκονομῶν τὸ πᾶν, *that Reason which passes through the Substance of the Universe, and through all Eternity, orders and dispenses all according to appointed Periods*. Sometimes is he called ἡ τῶν ὅλων αἰτία, *the Cause of all things*, sometimes τὸ τῶν κόσμου ἡγεμονικόν, *the Hegemonick and Ruling Principle of the whole World*, and ὁ ἡγεμὼν τῶν κόσμου, *the Prince of the World*. Again, ὁ διοικῶν τὰ ὅλα, *The Governour of the Whole*, as in this of *Epicetus*, ὁ καλὸς καὶ ἀγαθὸς τῶν αὐτῶν γράμμιον ὑποτέταχεν τῶν διοικούντων τὰ ὅλα, καὶ ὡς οἱ ἀγαθοὶ πολῖται νόμῳ καὶ πόλεως, *A Good man submits his Mind to the Governour of the whole Universe; as good Citizens do theirs to the Law of the City*. Also ὁ διατάσσων, *The Orderer of all*, in this other Religious Passage of the same Philosophers, τὸ παιδ' ὁρᾶσθαι, τὰ τέταρτα μανθάνειν ἕκαστα ἕτοιμα εἶναι ὡς γίνονται. πῶς ἢ γίνονται; ὡς διέταξεν αὐτὰ ὁ διατάσσων, *To be Instructed is to Will things to be as they are Made: and how are they made? As that Great Disposer of all hath appointed*. Again the *Supreme God* is sometimes called by them, τὸ ἐξέχον τὰ ὅλα νοερόν, *That Intellectual Principle which contains the whole*, as in this Instruction of

- L. 8. ff. 45. *M. Antoninus*, μὴ μόνον συμπνεῖν τὰς ψυχὰς ἀλλὰ καὶ συμφρονεῖν τὰς ψυχὰς πᾶσι νοεῖν, *That as our Bodies breath the common Air, so should our Souls suck and draw in Vital Breath, from that Great Mind that comprehends the Universe, becoming as it were One Spirit with the same.* He is also called by them ὁ τῶν ὅλων νῦς καὶ διάνοια, *The Mind and Understanding of the whole World, μία πάντων πηγὴ νοεῖν, One Intellectual Fountain of all things; and lastly, to name no more,*
- Anton. p. 125. *θεὸς εἰς διὰ πάντων, καὶ ὁσια μία, καὶ νόμος εἰς, One God through all, one Substance, and one Law.* Which Supreme God was commonly called also by the Stoicks, together with the Generality of the other Pagans, ὁ θεός, or *God*, Emphatically and in way of Eminency, as in this of *Epicetus*, μὴδὲν ἄλλο θέλει, ἢ ὃ ὁ θεός θέλει, καὶ τίς σε καλύψει; *Will nothing but what God Willeth, and then who can be able to hinder thee?*
- Ant. p. 257. *And again, θέλῃσιν καλὸς φανῆναι τὰς θεῶν, ἐπιθύμησον καθαρεῖς μετὰ καθαροῦσαν τὴν ψυχήν καὶ μετὰ τῷ θεῷ, Affect to seem fair to God, desire to be Pure with thy Pure self, and with God.* Also where he speaks of the Regular Course of things in Nature, τεταγμένως, καθάπερ ἐκ παρατάγματος θεός, ὅταν ἐκέλευεν ἔπει τοῖς φυτοῖς ἀνθεῖν ἀνθεῖ, ὅταν ἔπει βλαστάνειν βλαστάνει. *That it proceedeth orderly, every thing as it were obeying the Command of God; when he bids the Plants to blossom they blossom; and when to bring forth fruit, they bring forth fruit.* To which Innumerable other Instances might be added. And *Zeus* or *Jupiter* was the Proper Name of this Supreme God amongst the Stoicks also; whence the Government of the Whole World is called by them Διὸς διοικησις, *the Government or Oeconomy of Jupiter.* Lastly, this Supreme God, is sometimes distinguished by them, from the other Gods, expressly and by name, as in this of *Epicetus*, ἐγὼ δ' ἐγὼ τινὶ ὑποτάσσεσθαι, τινὶ πεῖθεσθαι, τὰς θεῶν καὶ τοῖς μετ' ἐκείνους, *I have, whom I ought to be subject to, whom to obey, God and those who are next after him, that is, the Supreme and Inferior Gods.* So likewise, where he exhorteth not to desire things out of our own power, ἀλλὰ τὰς Διὶ χεῖρσιν αὐτῶν, καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις θεοῖς, ἐκείνοις. *Ἰδοὺς, ἐκείνοι κατεράτταναν, Let Jupiter alone with these things, and the other Gods, deliver them up to be ordered and governed by them.* And so again, where he personates one that places his happiness in those things without him, καὶ θνήσκει καὶ σένω, καὶ ὃν δύνάμει λαιδερῶ, τὴν Δίαν καὶ τοὺς θεοὺς ἄλλους, *I then shall sit lamenting, and speaking evil of every one, even Jupiter himself and the other Gods.*
- L. 2. c. 18.
- Epic. p. 251.
- L. 4. c. 12.
- L. 2. c. 17.

And it must in reason be supposed, that this *Jupiter* or *Universal Numen* of the World, was honoured by these Stoicks far above all their other Particular Gods; he being acknowledged by them to have been the *Maker* or *Creator* of them as well as the whole World; and the only *Eternal* and *Immortal* God: all those other Gods, as hath been already declared, being as well *Corruptible*, *Mortal*, and *Annihilable*; as they were *Generated* or *Created*. For though *Cicero's Lucilius Balbus*, where he pretends to represent the Doctrine of the Stoicks, attribute the Very First Original of the World to a *Plurality of Gods*, in these words, *Dico igitur Providentiâ Deorum, Mundum & omnes Mundi partes, & initio constitutas esse, & omni tempore administrari*, yet unquestionably *Cicero* forgat himself herein, and

De N. D. l. 2. p. 225. *Lamb.*

and rather spake the Language of some other Pagans, who together with the Generation of the World, held indeed a Plurality of *Eternal* (though not *Independent*) Deities, than of the Stoicks; who asserted One only *Eternal God*, and supposed in the Reiterated Conflagrations, all the Gods to be Melted and Confounded into *One*, so that *Jupiter* being then left alone, must needs make up the World again, as also all those other Gods, out of himself. And thus does *Zeno* in *Laertius* describe the *Cosmopœia*, τὸ θεὸν κατ' ἀρχάς, καὶ αὐτὸν ὄντα, *That God at First, being alone by himself, converted the Fiery Substance of the World by degrees into Water*, that is, into a *Crafter Chaos*; out of which *Water*, himself afterwards as the *Spermatick Reason* of the World, formed the Elements and whole *Mundane System*. And *Cicero* himself elsewhere, in his *De Legibus*, attributes the first Original of Mankind cautiously, not to the Gods in Common, but to the Supreme God only, *Hoc Animal Providum, &c. quem vocamus Hominem, præclara quadam conditione Generatum esse, à SUMMO DEO*: and this, rather according to the Sence of the Stoicks than of the Platonists, whose Inferiour Generated Gods also (being first made) were supposed to have had a stroke in the Fabrefaction of Mankind, and other Animals. Thus *Epicætetus* plainly ascribes, the making of the whole World to *God*, or the One Supreme Deity, where he mentions the Galileans, that is, the Christians, their Contempt of Death, though imputing it only to Custom in them, and not to right Knowledge, (as *M. Antoninus* likewise ascribes the same to ψαλὴν ἀσθένειαν, *meer* L. 11. § 3. *Obstinacy of Mind*) ὑπομανίας μὲν δύνανται τις εἶπω διατεθῆναι, καὶ ὑπὸ φόβου οἱ γαλιλαῖοι, ὑπὸ λόγου δὲ καὶ ἀποδείξεως εἰς εἰς δύνανται μαθεῖν, ὅτι ὁ θεὸς πάντα πεποιήκει τὰ ἐν τῷ κόσμῳ, καὶ αὐτὸς τὸν κόσμον. *Can some be so affected out of Madness, and the Galileans out of Custom? and can none attain thereunto by Reason and true Knowledge, namely because God made all things in the World, and the whole World it self Perfect and Unhinderable; but the parts thereof, for the use of the Whole, so that the Parts ought therefore to yield and give place to the whole.* Thus does he again elsewhere demand, τὸν ἥλιον τίς πεποίηκε, καὶ τὰς δὲ τῆς γῆς; καὶ. *Who made the Sun? Who the Fruits of the Earth? Who the Seasons of the Year? Who the agreeable Fitness of things? Wherefore thou having received all from another, even thy very self, dost thou murmur and complain against the Donor of them, if he take away any one thing from thee? Did he not bring thee into the World? shew thee the Light? bestow Sense and Reason upon thee?* Now the Sun was the chief of the Inferiour Stoical Gods, and therefore he being made by another, all the Rest of their Gods must needs be so too. And thus is it plainly expressed in this following Citation, εἰ τις τὰς δογματικὰς τέρας συμβαίνει κατ' ἀξίαν δυνάτω, ὅτι γινώσκοντες ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ πάντας προσηγορίας, καὶ ὁ θεὸς πατὴρ ἐστὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων καὶ τῶν θεῶν, εἰδὲν ἀρχαῖν, εἰδὲν ταπεινὸν ἐν δυνάμει αὐτοῦ. *If any one could be thoroughly sensible of this that we are all made by God, and that as Principal Parts of the World, and that God is the Father both of Men and Gods, he would never think meanly of himself, knowing that he is the Son of Jupiter also.* Where θεὸς is plainly put for the Supreme God, and θεοὶ for the Inferiour Gods only. Again he thus attributes the Making of Man and Government of the whole World to God or *Jupiter* only. ὁ θεὸς πάντας

- L. 3. c. 24. τας ἀνθρώπους ἔπι τὸ δίδαιμονεῖν ἐποίησε, &c. τὼ δ' ἔσαν τῷ ἀγαθῷ καὶ τῷ κακῷ, ὥς ἂν ἄξιον ᾖ κηδεμένον ἡμῶν, καὶ πατερικῶς περιστάμενον ἐν τοῖς ἰδίοις. *God made all men to this End, that they might be happy, and as became him who had a Fatherly care of us, he placed our Good and Evil in those things which are in our own power. And τὰ ὅλη χακῶς διοικεῖται τὰ ὅλα, εἰ μὴ ὑπὸ μελεῖται ὁ Ζεὺς τῶν ἑαυτοῦ πολιτῶν, ἢ ὡς οἱ ὅμοιοι αὐτῷ δίδαιμονες, Things would not be well governed, if Jupiter took no care of his own Citizens, that they also might be happy like himself.*

- And that these Stoicks did indeed Religiously Worship and Honour, the Supreme God above all their other Gods, may appear from sundry Instances. As first, from their acknowledging him to be the Sovereign Legislator, and professing Subjection and Obedience to his Laws, accounting this to be their Greatest Liberty. Thus *Epiſtetus*, εἰς ἐμὲ ὁδὲς ἐξέσταν ἔχει, ἡλευθέρωμαι ὑπὸ τῷ θεῷ, ἐγνώκα αὐτῷ τὰς ἐντολάς, ἐκείνῳ ὁδὲς δελαγωγῆσαι με δύναται. *No man hath power over me, I am made free by God (by becoming his Subject) I know his Commandments, and no man can bring me under bondage to himself.*
- L. 4. c. 7. And again, ταῦτα ὑπὸ τῷ θεῷ δελαδρεθῆναι, ἢ εἰπεῖν δύναμαι τῷ θεῷ, μήτι παρέειμι τῷ θεῷ τὰς ἐντολάς; &c. *These things, would I be found employing myself about, that I may be able to say to God; Have I transgressed any of thy Commandments? have I used my Faculties and Anticipations (or Common Notions) otherwise than thou requiredst?*

Again from their acknowledging Him to be the Supreme Governor of the whole World, and the Orderer of all things in it by his Fate and Providence, and their professing to submit their Wills to his Will in every thing; *Epiſtetus* somewhere thus bespeaks the Supreme God, μήτι ἐμεμάρμω τῷ θεῷ τὴν διοίκησιν; εἰσέσπα ὅτι ἐδελνσας, καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι, ἀλλ' ἐγὼ ἐκὼν· πένις ἐγνώμω τῷ θεῷ ἡλευθέρωμαι ἀλλὰ χαλῶν ἐκ ἡρέα, ὅτι σὺ ἐκ ἡδελνσας, ὁδὲποτ' ὑπὸ τῷ θεῷ ἀρχῆς· μήτι με τὸς ἐνεκα εὐγνώτερον εἶδες; μὴ δ' προσήλθον σοι φαιδρῶ τῷ προσώπῳ, ἐτοιμῶ εἶπὲν ὑπὸ τῷ θεῷ, εἶπὲν σημαίνεις; νῦν με δέλεις ἀπελθεῖν ἐκ τῆς πανηγύρεως; ἀπειμ· χεῖρ σοι ἐγὼ πᾶσαν, ὅτι ἡγίωσας με συμπανηγυρίσαι σοι, καὶ ἰδεῖν ἔργα τὰ σά, καὶ τῇ διοίκησιν τῷ θεῷ συμπαρονομασθῆναι· ταῦτα με ἐν θυμῷ κέρον, ταῦτα γράφοντα, ταῦτα ἀναγνώσκοντα καταλάβοι ἂν θάνατος· *Did I ever complain of thy Government? I was sick when thou wouldst have me to be, and so are others, but I was so willingly. I was poor also at thy appointment, but Rejoycing; I never bore any Magistracy or had any Dignity, because thou wouldst not have me, and I never desired it. Didst thou ever see me the more Dejected or Melancholy for this? Have I appeared before thee at any time with a Discontented Countenance? Was I not always prepared and ready for whatsoever thou requiredst? Wilt thou now have me to depart out of this Festival Solemnity? I am ready to go; and I render thee all thanks, for that thou hast honoured me so far, as to let me keep the Feast with thee, and behold thy works, and observe thy Oeconomy of the world. Let Death seize upon me no otherwise employed, than thus thinking and writing of such things. He likewise exhorts others after this manner, τὸ μόνον ἀναδέλφας πρὸς τὸ θεὸν εἰπεῖν, ὅτι χεῖρ μοι λοιπὸν εἰς δ' ἂν δέλης, ὁμογνωμονῶ σοι, ἰσθὲν εἰμὶ· ὁδὲν ἀδραστεῖμαι τῷ σοι δοκούντων, ὅπως δέλεις ἄγε, ὡς δέλης εἰδήτα ἀεὶ εἶδες, ἀρχεν με δέλεις, ἰδιωτὸν εἶναι, μὴ δὲν, φύγειν,*

φύγειν, πένεσθαι, πλάττειν ; ἐγὼ σοι ὑπὲρ πάντων τούτων πρὸς τὰς ἀνθρώπων ἀπολογήσομαι, δέξω τὴν ἐκείνου φύσιν οἷα ἔστιν. *Dare to lift up thine eyes to God and say, Use me hereafter to whatsoever thou pleasest. I agree and am of the same mind with thee, indifferent to all things. I refuse nothing that shall seem good to thee. Lead me whither thou pleasest. Let me at what part thou wilt, either of a Publick or Private person, of a Rich man or a Begger. I will apologize for thee as to all these things before men. And I will also shew the Nature of every one of them.*

The same is likewise manifest from their Pretensions to look to God, and referr all to him ; expecting aid and assistance from him, and placing their Confidence in him. Thus also *Epicætetus*, *καὶ γὰρ μὲν ἔχω ταύτῃσι ἐπιβολῇ ἀποτελέσει ὑμᾶς ἐλευθέρους, οὐδαιμοσύντας, ἐς τὸ θεὸν ἀφορῶντας, ἐν παντί μικρῶ καὶ μεγάλῳ. My design is this, to render you free and undisturbed, always looking at God, as well in every small, as greater Matter.* Again the same Stoick concludes, *ἐκ ἑνὶ ἄλλως ἐκβαλεῖν λύπῃ, φόβῳ, ἐπιθυμίᾳ, &c. εἰ μὴ πρὸς μόνον τὸ θεὸν ἀπελπίῃ, ἐκείνῳ μόνῳ προσπεπονθῶτα, τοῖς ἐκείνου περιστάμασι καὶ κατασπαρχέον. A man will never be able otherwise to expel Grief, Fear, Desire, Envy, &c. than by looking to God alone, and being devoted to him, and the observance of his Commandments.* And he affirmeth of *Hercules*, that this great piece of Piety was so long since observed by him, *τὸ διὰ αὐτῶ πατέρῃ ἐκάλεϊ, καὶ πρὸς ἐκείνον ἀφορῶν ἐτραπῆεν ὁ ἐτραπῆεν. L. 3. c. 24.* that as he called Jupiter, or the Supreme God, his Father, so did he whatsoever he did, looking at him. Thus *M. Antoninus* speaketh of a Double Relation that we all have ; One πρὸς τὰς συμμεινίας, to those *L. 8. ff. 23.* that live with us, and another πρὸς τὴν θείαν αἰτίαν ἀφ' ἧς συμβαίνει πάντα, to that Divine Cause, from which all things happen to all. As likewise he affirmeth *ἐν ἀνθρώπινον τι ἀνδρὶ τὸ ἐπὶ τοῖς θεοῖς συναναφορῶς δι- L. 3. ff. 11.* πρᾶξαι, That no Humane thing is well done without a Reference to God. And he excellently exhorteth men, *ἐνὶ τέτρῳ, καὶ προσαναπαύς, τὰς ἀπὸ πρᾶξεως κοινωνικῆς μεταβαλεῖν ἐπὶ πρᾶξιν κοινωνικὴν σὺν μνήμῃ τῆς οὐδ'. L. 6. ff. 5.* To be delighted and satisfied with this one thing ; in doing one action after another, tending to a Common Good, or the good of Humane Society ; together with the Remembrance of God. Lastly he declareth *L. 6. ff. 8.* his own Confidence in the Supreme Deity in these words, *θαυρόν τῷ διοικῶντι, I trust and rely upon the Governour of the whole World.*

This may be concluded also from their *Thanking the One Supreme God for all*, as the Authour of all good, and delightfully Celebrating his Praises. *Epicætetus* declares it to be the Duty of a Good man, *χεῖριν ἔχον ὑπὲρ πάντων τῶν θεῶν, To thank God for all things.* And elsewhere he speaketh thus, *εἰ ὅν ἐχόμεν, ἄλλο τι ἔδει ἡμᾶς ποιεῖν, καὶ κοινῇ καὶ ἰδίᾳ, ἢ ὑμνεῖν τὸ θεῖον, καὶ δὴναι, καὶ ἐπεξέρχεσθαι τοῖς χάρεσιν ; καὶ ἔδει καὶ σκαπτόντας, καὶ ἀρῶντας, καὶ ἐδούλῳτας, ἄδειν τὸν ὕμνον τὸν εἰς τὸν θεόν ; μέγας ὁ θεὸς ὅτι ἡμῖν παρέχεν ὄργανα ταῦτα, δι' ὧν τὴν γλῶσσαν ἐργασόμεθα. μέγας ὁ θεὸς ὅτι χεῖρας ἔδωκεν, &c. ὅτι αὔξειν δαίμων, ὅτι καθύδριτας ἀνα- L. 4. c. 7. L. 1. c. 16.* πνεῖν. ταῦτα ἐφ' ἐκείνῳ δὴναι ἔδει, καὶ τὸ μέγιστον καὶ θειότατον ὕμνον ἐφύμνεῖν, ὅτι τὴν δύναμιν ἔδωκε τὴν ἀποκαταστήσειν τούτων. τί ἔνι, &c. εἰ γὰρ ἀνδρῶν ὕμνον, ἐποίησεν τὸ ἀνδρῶν, εἰ κύνων, τὰ τῶν κύνων, οὐκ ἔστι λογικός ἐμὲ, ὑμνεῖν με δεῖ τὸ θεόν. *Had we understanding, what should we do else, but both Publickly*

publickly and privately praise God, bless him, and return thanks to him? Ought not they who dig, plow, and eat, continually sing such a Hymn to God as this; Great is that God, who gave us these Organs to cultivate the earth withal; Great is that God who gave us hands, &c. who enabled us to grow undiscernibly, to breath in our sleep. But the Greatest and Divinest Hymn of all is this, to praise God for the Faculty of Understanding all these things. What then if for the most part men be blinded, ought there not to be some One, who should perform this office, and sing a Hymn to God for all? If I were a Nightingale I would perform the office of a Nightingale, or a Swan, that of a Swan; but now being a Reasonable Creature, I ought to celebrate and sing aloud the praises of God, that is, of the Supreme Deity.

L. 1. c. 18.

Lastly the same is evident; from their *Invoking the Supreme God* as such, addressing their Devotions to him alone without the Conjunction of any other Gods; and particularly imploring his *Assistance* against the Assaults of *Temptations*, called by them *Phancies*. To this purpose is that of *Epicetus*, μέγας ὁ ἀγὼν ἐστίν, θεῖον τὸ ἔργον, ὑπὲρ βασιλείας, ὑπὲρ ἐλευθερίας, τὸ θεὸς μέμνησθαι, ἐκείνῳ ὑπὸ πικρῆς βουθῶν καὶ ὀδύνης, ὡς τὸς Διοκρούους ἐν χειμῶνι οἱ πλείοντες. This is a great Conflict or Contention, a Divine Enterprize, it is for Liberty and for a Kingdom. Now remember the Supreme God; call upon him as thy Helper and Assistant, as the Mariners do upon Castor and Pollux in a Tempest. He commends also this Form of Devotional Address, or Divine Ejaculation, which was part of *Cleanthes* his Litany, to be used frequently upon occasion, Ἄγε δὲ με εἰς Ζεῦ, καὶ σὶν ἡ πεπερωμένη ὅππῃ ποθ' (ὤμῳ) εἰμὶ διατεταγμένη, ὡς ἐφομαί γε ἄκουσθαι. ἢν ὃ γε μὴ δέλω, εἰδὲν ἢ ἦτον ἐφομαί. Lead me, O Jupiter, and Thou Fate, whithersoever I am by you destin'd: and I will readily and chearfully follow; who though I were never so reluctant yet must needs follow. Where Jupiter and Fate are really but one and the same Supreme Deity, under two several Names. And therefore the Sence of this Devotional Ejaculation, was no less truly and faithfully, than Elegantly thus rendered by *Seneca*;

Ep. 106.

*Duc me Parens, Celsique Dominator Poli,
Quocunque placuit, nulla parendi est mora,
Assum impiger; fac nolle, comitabor Gemens,
Malusque patiar, quod pati licuit bono.*

But because many are so extremely unwilling to believe, that the Pagans ever made any *Religious Address* to the *Supreme God* as such; we shall here set down an *Excellent* and *Devout Hymn* of the same *Cleanthes* to him: the rather because it hath been but little taken notice of. And the more to gratifie the Reader, we shall subjoyn an *Elegant Translation* thereof into Latin Verse; which he must owe to the Muse of my Learned Friend *Dr. Duport*.

Steph. Poes.
Philos. p. 49.

Κύδης' ἀθανάτων, πολυώνυμε, παγκρατὲς αἰεὶ,
Ζεὺς, φύστας ἀρχηγέ, νόμος μετὰ πάντα κυβερνῶν,
Χαίρει. Σε γὰρ πᾶσι θεῖμυς θνητοῖσι προσαιδῶν.

ΕΛ

Ἐκ ᾧ γὰρ ἡμεῖς ἐσμὲν, ἢ χυμὸν λαχόντες
 μένον, ὅσα ξῶμεν καὶ ἐρεῖ δινὴτ' ἐπὶ γαῖαν.
 Τῷ σε καὶ θυμῷ καὶ σὺν κερῶν αἰὲν αἰῶν.
 Σοὶ δὲ πᾶς ὁδὸς καὶ ἡμεῖς ἐλισσόμεθα καὶ γαῖαν
 Πείθεσθαι, ἢ κεν ἄγης, καὶ ἐκὼν ὑπὸ σέο κερταίται,
 τοῖον ἔχεις ὑπερβῶν ἀνικητοῖς ὑπὸ χερσίν
 Ἀμφίκεν περὶ βῆλα, αἰεζώοντα κερταῖον.
 Τὸ γὰρ ὑπὸ πλήρης φύσεως πάντ' ἐρεῖχαι,
 Ὡς σὺ κατὰ θυνοῖς κοινὸν λόγον, ὅς διὰ πάντων
 φοιτᾷ μενύμενον.
 Ὅς τῶν γε γὰρ ἐπὶ βασιλῆος διὰ πάντες.
 οὐδὲ τι γήνηται ἔργον ἐπὶ χθονὶ ᾧ δὲ δαίμων,
 οὔτε κατ' αἰθέριον θεῶν πύλον, ἔτ' ἐπὶ πύλῳ,
 Πῶς ὅπῃ ῥέξαι κακοὶ σφετέρησιν ἀνοίαις.
 Καὶ κοσμοῖς τὰ ἅκοντα καὶ σὺ φίλα σοὶ φίλα ἔσιν.
 Ὡς δὲ εἰς ἐν πάντα συνήρμοχας ἐσθλὰ κακοῖσιν,
 Ὡς δὲ ἕνα γίνεσθαι πάντων λόγον αἰὲν ἔόντων.
 Ὅν φέροντες ἔωσιν ὅσοι δινῆτ' κακοὶ εἰσιν,
 Δύσμοροι, ὅτ' ἀγαθῶν μὲν αἰεὶ κτῆσιν ποθέοντες,
 οὔτ' ἐσθλῶν θεῶν κοινὸν νόμον, ἔτε κλύουσιν.
 Ὡς κεν περὶ βῆλα σὺν νῶ βίον ἐσθλὸν ἔχουσιν.
 Αὐτοὶ δ' αὖ ὁρῶσιν ἀνδρὶ καλῷ ἅλῳ ἐπ' ἅλῳ
 οἱ μὲν ὑπὲρ δόξης σπασθῶν δυστέρεισιν ἔχοντες,
 οἱ δ' ἐπὶ κερδοσύνας τετραμμένοι ἔδνι κόσμῳ,
 Ἄλλοι δ' εἰς ἀνεσιν, καὶ σῶμα ἡμεῖς ἔργα,
 Ἀλλὰ ζῶντες πᾶνταρε, κελαινεφές, ἀρχαί κέραι,
 Ἀνθρώπους ὅς ἀπὸ σπῆρας ἀπὸ λυγρῆς,
 Ἦν σὺ πότερ σκέδασον ψυχῆς αἰπῆς, δὸς δὲ κερταί
 Γνώμης, ἢ πῶς σὺ δίκης μετὰ πάντα κυβερνᾷς.
 Ὅφρ' ἂν τιμωμένοι αἰεὶ ἀνδρῶν σε τιμῇ,
 Ὡς δὲ πᾶς ἔργα δινῆτ' ὥς ἐπείκει
 οὐκ ἔστιν ὅτι εἴτε βροτοῖς γέρας ἄλλοτε μῆζον,
 οὔτε θεοῖς, ἢ κοινὸν αἰεὶ νόμον ἐν δίκῃ ὑμνεῖν.

*Magne Pater Divum, cui Nomina Multa, sed Una
 Omnipotens semper Virtus, Tu Jupiter Autor
 Naturæ, certâ qui singula lege gubernas!
 Rex salve. Te nempe licet Mortalibus agris
 Cunctis compellare; omnes tua namque propago
 Nos sumus, æternæ quasi Imago vocis & Echo
 Tantum, quotquot humi spirantes repimus; Ergo
 Te cantabo, iunum & robur sine fine celebrans.
 Quippe tuo hic totus, terram qui circuit, orbis
 Paret (quoquo agis) imperio, ac obtemperat ultro
 Invisis Telum manibus tibi tale ministrum,
 Anceps, ignitum, haud moriturum denique fulmen.
 Idem etenim illius tota & natura tremiscit;
 Illo & Communem Rationem dirigis, & quæ
 Mundi agitat Molem, magno se corpore miscens:
 Tantus Tu rerum Dominus, Rectorque Supremus.
 Nec sine Te factum in terris, Deus, aut opus ullum,*

Æthere

*Æthere nec dio fit, nec per carula ponti,
 Errore acta suo, nisi quæ gens impia patrat.
 Confusa in sese, Tu dirigis ordine certo;
 Auspice Te ingratis & inest sua gratia rebus;
 Fælice harmonia, Tu scilicet, omnia in Unum
 Sic Bona mixta Malis compingis, ut una resurgat
 Cunctorum Ratio communis & usque perennans:
 Quam refugit, spernitque hominum mens læva malorum.
 Heu Miseri! bona qui quærunt sibi semper & optant,
 Divinam tamen hanc Communem & denique Legem,
 Nec spectare oculis, nec fando attendere curant:
 Cui si parerent poterant traducere vitam
 Cum ratione & mente bonam: nunc sponte feruntur
 In mala præcipites, trahit & sua quemque voluptas.
 Hunc agit ambitio, laudisque immensa cupido,
 Illum & avarities, & amor vesanus habendi,
 Blanda libido alium, Venerisque licentia dulcis:
 Sic aliè tendunt alii in diversa ruentes.
 At Tu, Jupiter alme, tonans in nubibus atris,
 Da sapere, & mentem miseris mortalibus aufer
 Insanam, hanc Tu pelle Pater; da apprendere posse
 Consilium, fretus quo Tu omnia rite gubernas:
 Nos ut honorati pariter, tibi demus honorem,
 Perpetuis tua facta hymnis præclara canentes,
 Ut fas est homini; nec enim mortalibus ullum,
 Nec Superis, majus poterit contingere donum,
 Quam canere æterno Communem carmine Legem.*

XXVI. It would be endless now to cite all the Testimonies of other Philosophers and Pagan Writers of Latter Times, concerning One Supreme and Universal Numen. Wherefore we shall content our selves only to instance in some of the most remarkable, beginning with *M. Tull. Cicero*. Whom though some would suspect to have been a *Sceptick* as to *Theism*, because in his *De Natura Deorum*, he brings in *Cotta* the *Academick*, as well opposing *Q. Lucil. Balbus* the *Stoick*, as *C. Velleius* the *Epicurean*; yet from sundry other places of his writings, it sufficiently appears, that he was a *Dogmatick* and *Heartly Theist*, as for example, this in his second Book *De Divin. Esse præstantem aliquam, Æternamque naturam, & eam suspiciendam admirandamque hominum generi, Pulchritudo Mundi, ordoque rerum Cælestium cogit confiteri*; That there is some Most Excellent and Eternal Nature, which is to be admired and honoured by mankind, the *Pulchritude of the World*, and the order of the *Heavenly Bodies* compell us to confess. And this in his Oration *De Haruspicum responsis*; *Quis est tam vecors, qui cum suspexerit in Cælum, Deos esse non sentiat, & ea quæ tanta Mente sunt, ut vix quisquam Arte ulla, Ordinem rerum ac Vicissitudinem persequi possit, casu fieri putet? Who is so mad or stupid, as when he looks up to Heaven, is not presently convinced that there are Gods? or can persuade himself, that those things which are made with so much Mind and Wisdom, as that no humane skill is able to reach and comprehend the artifice and contrivance of them, did all happen by chance? To which purpose*

pose more places will be afterwards cited. However in his Philosophick Writings, it is certain that he affected to follow the way of the New Academy, set on foot by *Carneades*, that is, to write Sceptically, partly upon Prudential accounts, and partly for other Reasons intimated by himself in these words, *Qui requirunt quid quaque de re ipsi sentiamus, curiosius id faciunt quam necesse est. Non enim tam Authoritatis in disputando quam Rationis momenta quarendum sunt. Quinetiam obest plerumque iis qui discere volunt, Auctoritas eorum qui se docere profitentur. Desinunt enim suum iudicium adhibere, idque habent ratum, quod ab eo quem probant, iudicatum vident: They who would needs know, what we our selves think concerning every thing, are more curious than they ought, because Philosophy is not so much a matter of Authority as of Reason; and the Authority of those who profess to teach, is oftentimes an hindrance to the Learners, they neglecting by that means to use their own Judgment, securely taking that for granted, which is judged by another whom they value. Nevertheless Cicero in the Close of this discourse *De Natura Deorum* (as *St. Austin* also observes) plainly declares himself to be more propense and inclinable to the Doctrine of *Balbus* than either that of *Velleius* or *Cotta*, that is, though he did not assent to the Stoical Doctrine or Theology in every Point (himself being rather a Platonist than a Stoick) yet he did much prefer it before not only the Epicureism of *Velleius*, but also the Scepticism of *Cotta*. Wherefore *Augustinus Steuchus* and other Learned men, quarrel with sundry passages of Cicero's upon another account, not as Atheistical, but as seeming to favour a Multitude of Independent Gods; he sometimes attributing not only the Government of the World, and the making of Mankind, but also the first Constitution and Fabrick of the whole World, to Gods Plurally. As when he writeth thus, *Ut perpetuus Mundi esset ornatus, magna adhibita cura est à Providentia Deorum; For the perpetual adorning of the World, great care hath been taken, by the Providence of the Gods: And A Diis Immortalibus Hominibus provisum esse, &c. That the Immortal Gods have provided for the Convenience of Mankind, appears from the very Fabrick and Figure of them: And that place before cited, Dico igitur Providentia Deorum, Mundum & omnes Mundi partes initio constitutas esse, I say that the World and all its parts were at first constituted by the Providence of the Gods. And Lastly, where he states the Controversie of that Book *De N. D.* thus; *Utrum Dii nihil agant, nihil moliantur? An contra ab His, & à Principio Omnia facta, & constituta sint, & ad infinitum tempus regantur atque moveantur? Whether the Gods do nothing at all, but are void of care and trouble? or whether all things were at first Made and Constituted, and ever since are Moved and Governed by them? Notwithstanding which it is Evident that this Learned Orator and Philosopher, plainly acknowledged the Monarchy of the Whole, or One Supreme and Universal Numen over all. And that first from his so often using the word God in the Singular, Emphatically and by way of Eminency; as *Ipsi Deo nihil minus gratum, quam non omnibus patere ad se Placandum & Colendum viam; Nothing can be less grateful to God himself, than that there should not be a liberty open to all (by reason of the Costliness of Sacrifices) to worship and appease him; And Nisi juvante Deo, ta-****

De N. D. L. 13

De N. D. 125.

P. 195. Lamb.

2 Lesp. 335.

D. N. D. L. 1

- les non fuerunt Curius, Fabricius, &c. Curius and Fabricius had never been such men as they were, had it not been for the Divine assistance.
- pro S. Ros. Again, *Commoda quibus utimur, Lucemque quâ fruimur, Spiritumque quem ducimus, à Deo nobis dari atque impertiri videmus*, We must needs acknowledge that the benefits of this life, the light which we enjoy, and the spirit which we breath, are imparted to us from God. And to mention no more, in his Version of Plato's *Timæus*, *Deos alios in Terra, alios in Luna, alios in reliquis mundi partes spargens Deus quasi ferebat*, God distributing Gods to all the parts of the World, did as it were sow some Gods in the Earth, some in the Moon, &c. Moreover by his making such descriptions of God as plainly imply his Oneness
- P. 556. Lamb. and Singularity, as in his Orat. pro Milone, *Est, est profectò Illa Vis; neque in his Corporibus atque in hac Imbecillitate nostrâ, inest quiddam quod vigeat & sentiat, & non inest in hoc tanto Naturæ tamque præclaro motu. Nisi fortè idcirco esse non putant, quia non apparet nec cernitur: proinde quasi nostram ipsam mentem qua sapimus, qua providemus, qua hæc ipsa agimus & dicimus, videre, aut planè qualis & ubi sit, sentire possumus*: There is, there is certainly, such a divine Force in the world; neither is it reasonable to think, that in these gross and frail Bodies of ours, there should be something which hath Life, Sense and Understanding; and yet no such thing in the whole Universe; unless men will therefore conclude, that there is none, because they see it not; as if we could see our own mind (whereby we order and dispose all things and whereby we reason and speak thus) and perceive what kind of thing it is and where it is lodged. Where, as there is a strong asseveration of the Existence of a God, so is his Singularity plainly implied, in that he supposes him to be One Mind or Soul acting and governing the whole World, as our
- L. 1 p. 126. Mind doth our Body. Again in his Tusculan Questions, *Nec verò Deus ipse alio modo intelligi potest, nisi Mens Soluta quædam, & Libera, segregata ab omni Concretionem mortali, omnia sentiens & movens*; Neither can God himself be understood by us otherwise, than as a certain Loose and Free Mind, segregated from all mortal Concretion, which both perceives and moves all things. So again in the same Book, *Hæc igitur & alia innumerabilia cum cernimus, possumusne dubitare, quin his præsit aliquis vel Effector, si hæc nata sunt ut Platoni videtur; vel si semper fuerint ut Aristoteli placet, Moderator tanti operis & muneris?* When we behold these and other wonderful works of Nature, can we at all doubt, but that there presideth over them, either One Maker of all, if they had a beginning as Plato conceiveth; or else if they always were as Aristotle supposeth, One Moderator and Governour? And in the Third
- P. 343. De Legibus, *Sine Imperio nec Domus ulla, nec Civitas, nec Gens, nec Hominum universum Genus stare, nec rerum Natura omnis, nec ipse Mundus potest. Nam & hic Deo paret, & huic obediunt Maria Terræque, & hominum vita jussis suprema legis obtemperat*: Without Government, neither any House, nor City, nor Nation, nor Mankind in general, nor the whole Nature of things, nor the World it self could subsist. For This also obeyeth God, and the Seas and Earth are subject to him, and the Life of man is disposed of, by the Commands of the Supreme
- Tusc. Q. L. 1. Law. Elsewhere he speaks of *Dominans ille nobis Deus, qui nos vetat hinc injussu suo demigrare*, That God who rules over all Mankind and forbids them to depart hence without his lieve. Of Deus, cujus numini
- De Div. parent

parent omnia, *That God, whose Divine Power all things obey.* We read also in Cicero, of *Summus* or *Supremus Deus*, the Supreme God, to whom the First making of Man is properly imputed by him; of *Summi Rectoris & Domini Numen*, The Divine Power of the Supreme Lord and Governour; of *Deus præpotens*, and *Rerum omnium præpotens* Somn. Scip. De Leg. De Div. Jupiter, The most Powerful God, and Jupiter who hath power over all things; of *Princeps ille Deus, qui omnem hunc mundum regit, sicut Animus humanus id corpus cui præpositus est*, That Chief or Principal God, who governs the whole world in the same manner as a Humane Soul governeth that Body which it is set over. Wherefore as for those Passages before objected, where the Government of the World, as to the concernments of Mankind at least, is ascribed by Cicero to Gods Plurally, this was done by him and other Pagans, upon no other account but only this, because the Supreme God was not supposed by them to do all things himself immediatly in the Government of the World, but to assign certain Provinces to other Inferiour Gods, as Ministers under him, which therefore sharing in the Oeconomy of the World, were look'd upon as Co-governours thereof with him. Thus when Balbus in Cicero to excuse some seeming defects of Providence, in the Prosperities of wicked and the Adversities of good men, pretended, *Non animadvertere omnia Deos, nè Reges quidem*, That the Gods did not attend to all things, as neither do Kings, Cotta amongst other things replied thus; *Fac Divinam Mentem esse distentam, Cælum versantem, terram tuentem, maria moderantem, cur tam multos Deos nihil agere & cessare patitur? Cur non rebus humanis aliquos otiosos Deos præfecit, qui à te Balbe Innumerabiles explicati sunt?* De N. D. L. 3. Should it be granted, that the Divine Mind (or Supreme Deity) were distracted with turning round the Heavens, observing the Earth, and Governing the Seas, yet why does he let so many other Gods to do nothing at all? Or why does he not appoint some of those Idle Gods over Humane affairs, which according to Balbus and the Stoicks are innumerable? Again when the Immortal Gods are said by Cicero to have Provided for the convenience of Mankind in their First Constitution, this doubtless is to be understood according to the Platonick Hypothesis, that the Gods and Demons being first made, by the Supreme God, were set a work and employed by him afterward in the making of man and other mortal Animals. And lastly, as to that which hath the greatest difficulty of all in it, when the whole World is said by Cicero to have been made by the Providence of the Gods, this must needs be understood also of those Eternal Gods of Plato's, according to whose Likeness or Image the World and Man are said to have been made, that is, of the Trinity of Divine Hypostases, called by Amelius, Plato's Three Minds and Three Kings, and by others of the Platonists, the First and Second and Third God, and the τὸ πρῶτον αἰτίον, and τὸ δεύτερον αἰτίον, &c. The First and Second Cause, &c. And it may be here observed, what we learn from S. Cyril, that some Pagans endeavoured to justify this Language and Doctrine of theirs, even from the Mosaick Writings themselves, *θεοὶς ἐπέεσι* Contra Jul. L. 1. ὑποπολάζουσιν ὅτι ὁ ὅλων φᾶναι θεὸν, ποιῶσα μὲν ἀνθρώπου κατ' εἰκόνα ἡμετέραν, καὶ καθ' ὁμοίωσιν, they suspecting, that the God of the Universe being about to make man, did there bespeak the other Gods, (τοῖς μετ' ἐαυτ' ὁδοῦ τοῖς

ἐκ τοῦ μετῴντος ἑαυτοῦ, which were Secondary and Inferiour to him) after this manner, Let Us make man according to Our own Image and likeness. Which S. Cyril and other Christian Writers understand of the Trinity. Now those Eternal Gods of Plato, according to whose Image, the World and Man is said by him to have been made, and which (though one of them were properly called the *Demiurgus*) yet had all an Influence and Causality upon the making of it, were (as hath been already observed) not so many Independent and Self-originated Deities, but all derived from One First Principle. And therefore Cicero following Plato in this, is not to be suspected upon that account, to have been an Asserter of Many Independent Gods, or Partial Creators of the World; especially since in so many other places of his Writings, he plainly owns a Divine Monarchy.

Aug. de Civ.
D.L. 6. c. 5.

We pass from *M. Tullius Cicero*, to *M. Terentius Varro* his Equal, a man famous for *Polymathy* or Multifarious Knowledge, and reputed unquestionably (though not the most Eloquent, yet) the most Learned of all the Romans, at least as to Antiquity. He wrote One and Forty Books concerning the Antiquities of Humane and Divine things; wherein he transcended the Roman Pontifices themselves, and discovered their Ignorance as to many points of their Religion. In which Books he distinguished Three Kinds of Theology, the First *Mythical* or *Fabulous*, the Second *Physical* or *Natural*, and the Last *Civil* or *Popular*: The First being most accommodate to the Theatre or Stage; the Second to the World or the Wiser men in it; the Third to Cities or the Generality of the Civilized Vulgar. Which was agreeable also to the Doctrine of *Scævola* that Learned Pontifex, concerning Three Sorts of Gods, Poetical, Philosophical and Political. As for the Mythical and Poetical Theology it was censured after this manner by Varro, *In eo sunt multa contra Dignitatem & Naturam immortalium ficta. In hoc enim est ut Deus alius ex capite, alius ex femore sit, alius ex guttis sanguinis natus. In hoc ut Dii furati sint, ut adulteraverint, ut servierint homini. Denique in hoc omnia Diis attribuuntur, quæ non modo in hominem, sed etiam in contemptissimum hominem cadere possunt: That, according to the Literal Sense, it contained many things contrary to the Dignity and Nature of Immortal Beings. The Genealogy of one God being derived from the Head, of another from the Thigh, of another from drops of Blood: Some being represented as Thieves, others as Adulterers, &c. and all things attributed to the Gods therein that are not only incident to men, but even to the most contemptible and flagitious of them. And as for the Second, the Natural Theology which is the True, this Varro conceived to be above the capacity of Vulgar Citizens, and that therefore it was expedient, there should be another Theology calculated, more accommodate for them, and of a middle kind betwixt the Natural and the Fabulous, which is that which is called Civil. For he affirmed, *Multa esse vera quæ vulgo scire non sit utile, & quedam quæ tametsi falsa sint, aliter existimare populum expediat; that there were many things true in Religion, which it was not convenient for the Vulgar to know; and again some things which though false, yet it was expedient they should be believed by them. As Scævola the Roman Pontifex in like manner, would not have the Vulgar to know, that**

Aug. Civ. D.
L. 4. c. 31.

that the True God had neither Sex, nor Age, nor Bodily Members. *Expedire igitur existimat (saith St. Austin of him) falli in Religione Civ. D. L. 4. Civitates, quod dicere etiam in Libris Rerum Divinarum, ipse Varro non dubitat, Scævola therefore judgeth it expedient that Cities should be deceived in their Religion; which also Varro himself doubteth not to affirm in his Books of Divine Things. Wherefore this Varro though disapproving the Fabulous Theology, yet out of a pious design as he conceived, did he endeavour to assert as much as he could, the Civil Theology, then received amongst the Romans, and to vindicate the same from Contempt: yet nevertheless so, as that, Si eam Civitatem novam constitueret, ex Naturæ potiùs Formulâ, Deos & Deorum nomina se fuisse dedicaturum, non dubitet confiteri; If he were to constitute a New Rome himself, he doubts not to confess, but that he would dedicate Gods and the Names of Gods after another manner, more agreeably to the Form of Nature or Natural Theology. Now what Varro's own sense was concerning God, he freely declared in those Books of Divine Things; namely, That he was the Great Soul and Mind of the whole World: Thus St. Austin, Hi soli Varroni videntur animadvertisse quid esset Deus, qui crediderunt eum esse Animam, Motu ac Ratione mundum gubernantem: These alone seem to Varro to have understood what God is, who believed him to be a Soul, governing the whole World by Motion and Reason. So that Varro plainly asserted One Supreme and Universal Numen, he erring only in this (as St. Austin conceives) that he called him A Soul, and not the Creator of Soul, or a Pure and Abstract Mind. But as Varro acknowledged One Universal Numen, the Whole Animated World, or rather the Soul thereof, which also he affirmed to be called by several Names, as in the Earth Tellus, in the Sea Neptune, and the like; so did he also admit (together with the rest of the Pagans) other Particular Gods, which were to him nothing but Parts of the World Animated with Souls Superiour to men; A summo Circuitu cæli, usque ad Circulum Lunæ, æthereas Animas esse Astra ac Stellæ, eosque cælestes Deos, non modo intelligi esse sed etiam videri: Inter Lunæ verò gyrum & nimborum cacumina Aereas esse Animas, sed eas animo non oculis videri; & vocari Heroes & Lares & Genios: That from the highest Circuit of the heavens to the Sphere of the Moon, there are Ethereal Souls or Animals, the Stars, which are not only understood but also seen to be Celestial Gods: And between the Sphere of the Moon and the Middle Region of the Air, there are Aereal Souls or Animals, which though not seen by our Eyes, yet are discovered by our Mind and called Heroes, Lares, and Genii. So that according to Varro the only True Natural Gods, were as himself also determined, Anima Mundi, ac Partes ejus, First the great Soul and Mind of the whole world which comprehendeth all; and secondly the Parts of the World Animated superiour to men. Which Gods also he affirmed to be worshipped Castius more purely, and chastly without Images, as they were by the first Romans for one hundred and seventy years: he concluding, qui primi simulachra Deorum populi posuerunt, eos civitatibus suis & metum dempsisse & errorem addidisse: prudenter existimans (saith St. Austin) Deos facile posse in Simulachrorum stoliditate contemni: That those Nations who first set up Images of the Gods, did both take away Fear from their Cities and add*
Error

Civ. D. L. 4.

c. 27.

Civ. D. L. 4.

c. 31.

Civ. D. L. 4. c. 3

Civ. D. L. 7. c. 6

De Civ. D. L.

4. c. 31.

Error to them: he wisely Judging, that the Foppery of Images, would easily render their Gods contemptible.

Nat. Q. L. 2.
c. 45.

P. 442. Lipf.

Civ. D. L. 6.
c. 10.

L. 7. 6. 3.

L. Annæus Seneca the Philosopher, was contemporary with our Saviour Christ and his Apostles, who, though frequently acknowledging a Plurality of Gods, did nevertheless plainly assert One Supreme, he not only speaking of him Singularly, and by way of Eminency, but also plainly describing him as such; as when he calls him, Formatorem Universi; Rectorem & Arbitrum & Custodem Mundi; Ex quo suspensa sunt omnia; Animum ac Spiritum Universi; Mundani hujus operis Dominum & Artificem; Cui nomen omne convenit; Ex quo nata sunt omnia; Cujus Spiritu vivimus; Totum suis partibus inditum, & se sustententem sua vi; Cujus Consilio huic mundo providetur, ut inconcussus eat, & actus suos explicet; Cujus Decreto omnia fiunt; Divinum Spiritum per omnia maxima & minima equali intentione diffusum; Deum potentem omnium; Deum illum maximum potentissimumque, qui ipse vehit omnia; Qui ubique & omnibus præsto est; Cæli & Deorum omnium Deum, a quo ista Numina quæ singula adoramus & colimus, suspensa sunt; and the like: The Framer and Former of the Universe; the Governour, Disposer and keeper thereof; Him upon whom all things depend; The Mind and Spirit of the World; The Artificer and Lord of this whole Mundane Fabrick; To whom every name belongeth; From whom all things spring; By whose Spirit we live; Who is in all his parts and susteineth himself by his own force; By whose Counsel the World is provided for, and carried on in its Course constantly and uninterruptedly; By whose Decree all things are done; The Divine Spirit that is diffused through all things both great and small with equal Intention; The God whose power extends to all things; The Greatest and most Powerful God who doth himself support and uphold all things; Who is present every where to all things; The God of Heaven and of all the Gods, upon whom are suspended all those other Divine Powers, which we singly worship and adore. Moreover we may here observe from St. Austin, that this Seneca in a Book of his, against Superstitions (that is now lost) did not only Highly extol the Natural Theology, but also plainly censure and condemn the Civil Theology then received amongst the Romans, and that with more Freedom and Vehemency, than Varro had done the Fabulous or Theatrical and Poetical Theology. Concerning a great part whereof he pronounced, that a wise man would observe such things, tanquam Legibus jussa, non tanquam Diis grata, only as commanded by the Laws (he therein exercising Civil Obedience) but not at all, as Grateful to the Gods.

M. Fabius Quintilianus, though no admirer of Seneca, yet fully agreed with him in the same Natural Theology, and sets down this, as the generally received Notion or Definition of God, Deum esse Spiritum omnibus partibus immistum, That God is a Spirit mingled with and diffused through all the parts of the World; he from thence inferring Epicurus to be an Atheist, notwithstanding that he verbally asserted Gods, because he denied a God according to this Generally received Notion, he bestowing upon his Gods a circumscribed humane form, and placing them between the Worlds. And the Junior Pliny though

though he were a Persecutor of the Christians, he concluding, *quale- Ip. 97.*
cunque esset quod faterentur, pervicaciam certè & inflexibilem obstina-
tionem debere puniri, that whatsoever their Religion were, yet notwith-
standing their Stubbornness and Inflexible Obstinacy ought to be punish-
ed, and who compelled many of them to worship the Images of the
Emperour, and to sacrifice and pray to the Statues of the Pagan
Gods, and lastly to blaspheme Christ; yet himself plainly acknow-
ledged also One Supreme Universal Numen, as may sufficiently ap-
pear from his Panegyrick Oration to Trajan, where he is called
Deus ille, qui manifestus ac præsens Cælum ac Sydera insidet; that
*God who is present with, and inhabits the whole Heaven and Stars**; *And *Mundus*
himself making a Solemn Prayer and Supplication to him, both in the *Parens, and*
beginning and close thereof, and sometimes speaking of him therein *Parens Homi-*
Singularly and in way of Eminency; as in these words, *Occultat u-*
trorumque Semina Deus, & plerumque Bonorum Malorumq; Causæ, sub
diversâ specie latent: God hideth the Seeds of good and evil, so that
the causes of each often appear disguised to men. L. Apuleius also, whose
pretended Miracles the Pagans endeavoured to confirm their Reli-
gion by, as well as they did by those of Apollonius, doth in sundry
places of his writings, plainly assert One Supreme and Universal Nu-
men, we shall only here set down one, *Cum Summus Deorum, cuncta hæc De Philof.*
non solum cogitationum ratione consideret; sed Prima, Media, & Ulti-
ma obeat; compertaque intimæ Providentiæ ordinationis universitate
& Constantia regat; Since the Highest of the Gods, does not only con-
sider all these things in his mind and Cogitation, but also pass through
and comprehend within himself the Beginning Middle and End of all
things, and constantly Govern all by his occult Providence. Lastly Sym-
machus, who was a zealous Stickler for the Restitution of Paganism,
declared the Pagans to worship One and the same God with the
Christians, but in several ways, he conceiving, that there was no
necessity God should be worshipped by all after the same manner.
Æquum est, quicquid omnes colunt, UNUM putari: Eadem spectamus P. 306.
Astra; Commune Cælum est; Idem nos Mundus involvit: Quid inter-
est, qua quisque prudentia Verum requirat? Uno Itinere non potest per-
veniri ad tam grande Secretum: We ought in reason to think, that it
is One and the same Thing, which all men worship: As we all behold the
same Stars, have the same Common Heaven, and are involved within
the same World. Why may not men pursue One and the same thing in
different ways? One Path is not enough to lead men to so Grand a Secret.
The Sence whereof is thus elegantly exprest by Prudentius.

Uno omnes sub sole siti, vegetamur eodem
Aere, Communis cunctis divitibus Aura.
Sed quid sit qualisque Deus, diversa secuti.
Quærimus; atque Viis longè distantibus Unum
Imus ad Occultum; suus est mos cuique genti,
Per quod iter properans, eat ad tam Grande Profundum.

P. 285.

And again afterward,

P. 308.

Secretum sed grande nequit Rationis operta

Quæri

*Quæri aliter, quàm si sparsis via multiplicetur
Tramitibus, & centenos terat orbita calles,
Quæstura Deum variata indage latentem.*

And the beginning of Prudentius his Confutation is this,

*Longè aliud verum est. Nam multa ambago viarum
Anfractus dubios habet, & perplexius errat.
Sola errore caret simplex via, nescia flecti
In diverticulum, bivius nec pluribus anceps, &c.*

c. 6.

We shall now instance also in some of the Latter Greek Writers. Though the Author of the Book *De Mundo*, were not Aristotle, yet that he was a Pagan, plainly appears from some passages thereof, as where he approves of *Sacrificing to the Gods*, and of *Worshipping Heroes and Dead men*; as also because Apuleius would not otherwise have translated so much of that book, and incorporated it into his *De Mundo*. He therefore does not only commend this of Heraclitus, ἐκ πάντων ἓν, καὶ ἕξ ἐνός πάντα, That there is one Harmonious System made out of all things, and that All things are derived from One; But doth himself also write excellently, concerning the Supreme God, whom he calleth τὴν αἰτίαν συνεντινὴν αἰτίαν, the Cause which Containeth all things, and τὸ τῷ κόσμῳ κυριώτατον, The Best and Most excellent part of the World; he beginning after this manner; ἀρχαῖος μὲν ἐν τῇ λόγῳ καὶ πάτερ, ὅς ἐστι πάντων ἀνθρώπων, ὡς καὶ θεὸς τὰ πάντα, καὶ διὰ θεοῦ ἡμῶν συνέστηκε. ἡδεῖα δὲ φύσις, αὐτὴ καὶ ἑαυτῷ αὐτάρχης, ἐξημαρτέοντα ἃ ἐκ τῶν αἰώνων, It is an ancient Opinion or Tradition, that hath been conveyed down to all men from their Progenitors, that all things are from God, and consist by him; and that no Nature is sufficient to preserve it self, if left alone, and devoid of the Divine assistance and influence. Where we may observe, that the Apuleian Latin Version, altering the sense, renders the words thus, *Vetus opinio est, atq; in cogitationes omnium hominum penitus incidit, Deum esse: Originis non habere auctorem: Deumque esse salutem & perseverantiam Earum, quas effecerit, rerum*: So that whereas, in the Original Greek, This is said to be the general Opinion of all mankind, That all things are from God and subsist by him, and that nothing at all can conserve it self in being without him, Apuleius correcting the words, makes the general sense of mankind to run no higher than this; That there is a God; who hath no author of his original; and who is the safety and preservation of all those things that were made by himself. From whence it may be probably concluded, that Apuleius, who is said to have been of Plutarch's Progeny, was infected also with those Paradoxical Opinions of Plutarch's, and consequently did suppose, All things not to have been made by God, nor to have depended on him (as the Writer *De Mundo* affirmeth) but that there was something besides God, as namely the Matter and an Evil Principle, Uncreated and Self-existent. Afterwards the same Writer *De Mundo*, elegantly illustrates by Similitudes, how God by One Simple Motion and Energy of his own, without any labour or toil, doth produce and govern all the Variety of Motions in the Universe; and how he doth συνέχειν τὴν

τῶν ὅλων ἀρμονίαν τε καὶ σωτηρίαν, *contain the Harmony and Safety of the whole.* And lastly he concludes, ὅς ἐστι νηὶ κυβερνήτης, ἐν ἀρμολίᾳ δὲ ἡνίοχος, ἐν χορῶν κορυφαῖος, ἐν πόλει νόμος, ἐν στρατοπέδῳ ἡγεμὼν, τὸ αὐτὸ θεὸς ἐν κόσμῳ, *That what a Pilot is to a ship, a Charioteer to a Chariot, the Coryphaeus to a Quire, Law to a City, and a General to an Army; the same is God to the World.* There being only this difference, that whereas the Government of some of them is toilsom and solicitous, the Divine Government and Steerage of the World, is most easie and facil: for as this Writer adds, *God being himself Immovable, Moveth all things; in the same manner as Law, in it self Immovable, by Moving the minds of the Citizens, orders and disposes all things.*

Plutarchus Cheronensis (as hath been already declared) was Unluckily engaged in *Two False Opinions*, The First of *Matters being Ingenit or Uncreated*, upon this Pretence, *Because Nothing could be made out of Nothing*; the Second of *a Positive Substantial Evil Principle*, or an *Irrational Soul and Demon Self-existent*, upon this Ground because τὴν κακίαν γενέσθαι τὴν τῶν θεῶν πρόνοιαν, ὥς ποτε τὸ φαῦλον ἐπὶ ἡγεμονίᾳ καὶ τὴν τῶν ποιητῶν βέλῃσιν, πᾶσαν ἐπὶ νόμιον ἀτοπίας ὑπερέβη. *There is no greater Absurdity imaginable, than that Evil should proceed from the Providence of God, as a Bad Epigramm from the will of the Poet.* In which respect he was before called by us a *Ditheist*. *Plutarch* was also a Worshipper of the Many Pagan Gods, himself being a Priest of the Pythian *Apollo*. Notwithstanding which, he unquestionably asserted One Sole Principle of All Good, the Cause of all things, (*Evil and Matter only excepted*) the *Framer of the Whole World, and Maker of all the Gods in it*; who is therefore often called by him, *God*, in way of Eminency, as when he affirmeth αὐτὸν γεωμετρεῖν τὸ θεόν *that God doth always act the Geometrician*, that is, do all things in Measure and Proportion; and again πάντα κατ' ἀρμονίαν ὑπὸ τῶν θεῶν κατασκευάζεσθαι, *That all things are made by God according to Harmony*; and that ὁ θεὸς ἀρμονικῶς καλεῖται καὶ μουσικός, *God is called a Harmonist and Musician*: And he hath these Epithets given him, ὁ μέγας θεός, *The Great God*, and ὁ ἀνωτάτω θεός, *The Highest or Uppermost God*, and ὁ πρῶτος θεός, *The First God*, and ὁ ἀλόγιστος θεός, *The Unmade Self-existent God*; all the other Pagan Gods, according to him, having been made in Time, together with the World. He is likewise stiled by *Plutarch*, πέλαγος τῆς καλῆς, *The Sea of Pulchritude*: and his Standing and Permanent Duration; without any Flux of Time, is excellently described by the same Writer, in his Book concerning the Delphick Inscription. Lastly *Plutarch* affirmeth, that men generally pray to this Snpreme God, for whatsoever is not in their own power, ὅσα μὴ παρ' ἡμῖν εἶναι, ἀρχόμεθα τὸ θεὸν διδόναι.

Dio Chrysostomus, a Sophist, *Plutarch's* Equal, though an acknowledge of *Many Gods*, yet nevertheless asserteth, βασιλευσθαι τὸ ὅλον, *P. 199. that the whole World is under a Kingly Power or Monarchy*, he calling the *Supreme God*, sometime, τὸ κοινὸν ἀνθρώπων καὶ θεῶν βασιλέα, *P. 210. the common King of Gods and Men, their Governour, and Father*, τὸ πάντων κρατῆντα θεόν, *the God that rules over all*, τὸν πρῶτον καὶ μέγιστον θεόν, *The First and Greatest God*, τὸν κορυφαῖον *P. 203.*

P. 446.

P. 201.

εἰς τὰ τῶν ὅλων, καὶ καθ' ὅλην τὴν ἀπαντα ἔργον καὶ κόσμον, &c. *The chief President over all things, who orders and guides the whole Heaven and World, as a wise Pilot doth a Ship, καὶ τὸ ξύμπαντον ἡγεμόνα ἔχοντα, καὶ τὸ ὅλης δεσπότην ἑξίας, the Ruler of the whole Heaven, and Lord of the Whole Essence; and the like. And he affirming that there is a Natural Prolepsis in the Minds of men concerning him, καὶ δὲ θεῶν τὸ τε καθόλου φύσεως, καὶ μάλιστα τὸ πάντων ἡγεμόνα, πρώτων μὲν καὶ ἐν πρώτοις δόξα καὶ ἑπαιτία κοινῇ τῷ ξυμπαντός ἀνθρωπίνης γένους. ὁμοίως μὲν ἑλλήνων ὁμοίως ἢ βαρβάρων, ἀναγκαία καὶ ἐμφυῖται ἐν παντὶ τῷ λογικῷ γιγνομένη καὶ φύσιν, ἀνδρὶ θνητῷ διδασκαλίας καὶ μυσαγωγῶν. Concerning the nature of the Gods in general, but especially of that Supreme Ruler over all; there is an opinion in all humane kind, as well Barbarians as Greeks; that is naturally implanted in them as rational Beings, and not derived from any mortal Teacher. The meaning whereof is this, that men are naturally possessed with a Perswasion, that there is One God, the Supreme Governour of the whole World, and that there are also below him, but above men, Many other Intellectual Beings, which these Pagans called Gods.*

P. 402.

That Galen was no Atheist, and what his Religion was; may plainly appear from this one passage out of his third Book *De Usu Partium*, to omit many others, ἀλλὰ ὅς τις εἰς πλεον τοῦτων μνημονεύοιμι βουκιμαμάτων, οἱ σωφρονεῖντες ὁρθῶς ἂν μοι μέμνησιντο, καὶ μάλιστα φαῖεν ἰερὸν λόγον, ὃν ἐγὼ τῷ δημοκρεγόναίῳ ἡμᾶς ὕμνον ἀληθινὸν συντήσω, καὶ νομίζω τὸτ' εἶναι τιτὸ ὅπως εὐσεβεῖαν. ἔχι εἰ ταύρων ἐκατόμβας αὐτῷ παμπόλλας καταδύομαι, καὶ τὰ ἅλλα μυρία μύρια θυμᾶσαι καὶ καζίας, ἀλλ' εἰ γούτω μὲν αὐτὸς πρώτος, ἑπτά καὶ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἐξηγοσάμην, οἷός μὲν ὅτι τιτὸ σοφίαν, οἷός μὲν ὅτι τιτὸ δύναμιν, ὁποῖός μὲν ὅτι τιτὸ χρηστότητα. τὸ μὲν ὅς τις ἐθέλει κοσμεῖν ἀπαντα καὶ ἐνδεχόμενον κόσμον καὶ μηδενὶ φθονεῖν τῶν ἀγαθῶν, τὸ τελευτάτης χρηστότης ἐγὼ δαίγμα τίθεμαι, ταύτη μὲν ὡς ἀρχὴς ἡμῶν ὑμνεῖται. τὸ δ' ὡς ἂν μάλιστα κοσμηθεῖν, πᾶν ἐξελθεῖν, ἀκρας σοφίας. τὸ καὶ δοῦναι παντὶ ὅσα προέλτετο, δυνάμεως ἀνηγήτῃ. *Should I any longer insist upon such Brutish Persons as those, the wise and sober might justly condemn me, as defiling this Holy Oration, which I compose as a True Hymn to the praise of him that made us; I conceiving true Piety and Religion towards God to consist in this, not that I should sacrifice many Hecatombs, or burn much Incense to him, but that I should my self first acknowledge, and then declare to others, how great his Wisdom is, how great his Power, and how great his Goodness. For that he would adorn the whole world after this manner, envying to nothing that good which it was capable of, I conclude to be a demonstration of most absolute Goodness, and thus let him be praised by us as Good. And that he was able to find out, how all things might be adorned after the best manner, is a Sign of the Greatest Wisdom in him. And Lastly to be able to effect and bring to pass all those things which he had thus decreed, argues an insuperable Power.*

Maximus Tyrinus in the close of his first Dissertation, gives us this short Representation of his own Theology, βέλομαι δὲ σοὶ δεῖξαι τὸ λεγόμενον σαφεστέρῃ ἐκόντι. ἐννόμω μεγάλῃ ἀρχῇ καὶ βασιλείᾳ ἐξωμώμενον πρὸς μίαν ψυχὴν βασιλείας τὸ αἰεὶς καὶ πρᾶσυντατὸς συμπάντων νεοδύκων ἐκόντων. ὁ

εὐν ὃ τ' ἀρχῆς ἐκ ἄλλων ποταμῶν, ὃ δὲ ἐλλήσποντον, ὃ δὲ τὴν μαϊῶτιν, ὃ δὲ τὰς ἑπὶ τὰς
 ἀκκωνῶν ἡϊόνας ἀλλὰ ἔργον ἐν γῆν τ' μὲν ὑπὸ τῷ δ' ἐνεργεῖν· βασιλέα δ' αὐτ' δὴ
 τ' μέγαν ἀτρέμεντα, ὃς πᾶσι νόμον παρέχοντα τοῖς πεπομπέοις, σωτηρίαν ὑπάρχου-
 σαν αὐτῷ, καὶ κοινῶν τ' ἀρχῆς, πολλὰς μὲν ὁρατὰς θεάς, πολλὰς δ' ἀφανεῖς·
 τὰς μὲν ὧς τὰ πρὸς αὐτὰ εἰλημμένας, οἷον εἰσαγγελάς τινας καὶ βασιλεῖς
 συγγενεστάτας, ὁμοτραπέζας αὐτὰς καὶ συνεστας· τὰς δ' ἐπὶ τῶν ὑπηρετῶν, τὰς δ' ἐπὶ
 τῶν κατὰδεσφύων· διαδοχῶν ὁρᾶς καὶ τάξιν ἀρχῆς κατὰβαίνουσιν ἐκ τῶν θεῶν
 μέχρι γῆς· *I will now more plainly declare my sence by this similitude.*
Imagine in your mind, a great and powerful Kingdom or Principality;
in which all the rest freely and with one consent conspire to direct their
actions, agreeably to the will and command of one Supreme King, the
Oldest and the best. And then suppose the bounds and limits of this Em-
pire, not to be the River Halys, nor the Hellespont, nor the Meotian
Lake, nor the Shores of the Ocean; but Heaven above, and the Earth be-
neath. Here then let that great King sit Immovable, prescribing Laws
to all his subjects, in which consists their safety and security: the Consorts
of his Empire, being many both Visible and Invisible Gods; some of
which that are nearest to him and immediately attending on him, are
in the highest Royal dignity, feasting as it were at the same table with him:
others again are their Ministers & Attendants; and a Third Sort, in-
feriour to them both. And thus you see, how the order and chain of this
government descends down by steps and degrees, from the Supreme God
to the Earth and Men. In which Resemblance, we have a plain ac-
knowledgment of One Supreme God, the Monarch of the whole
World, and Three subordinate ranks of Inferiour Gods, as his Mini-
sters, in the Government of the World; whom that Writer there
also calls, θεοὶ θεῶν παῖδες, καὶ φίλοι, Gods the Sons and Friends of
God.

Aristides the famous Adrianean Sophist and Orator, in his first O-
 ration or Hymn vowed to *Jupiter*, after he had escaped a great
 tempest, is so full to the purpose, that nothing can be more; he after
 his Proeme beginning thus, Ζεὺς τὰ πάντα ἐποίησε, καὶ Διὸς ἔστιν ἔργα
 ὅσα ἔστι πάντα, καὶ ποταμοί, καὶ γῆ, καὶ θάλασσα, καὶ ἔργον· καὶ ὅσα τῶν με-
 ταξὺ ἄνω, καὶ ὅσα ὑπὸ ταῦτα· καὶ θεοὶ καὶ ἄνθρωποι, καὶ ὅσα ψυχὴ ἔχει, καὶ ὅσα
 εἰς ὧν ἀφικνέται, καὶ ὅσα δὲ νοῦς λαβεῖν. Ἐποίησε δ' ἐπὶ αὐτῷ αὐτὸς ἐαυτ'
 καὶ Κρήτης ἐν δώδεσσιν ἄντροις τετραφείς· ὃ δ' ἐμέλλησεν αὐτ' ἐκείνῳ κατὰπνι-
 σθαι· ἀντ' ἐκείνης λίθον κατέπνιεν, ὃ δ' ἐκινδύνουσε Ζεὺς, ὃ δὲ μήποτε κινδυνούσιν·
 ὃ δ' ἐστὶν πρεσβύτερον ὃ δὲν Διὸς· ὃ δὲ μᾶλλον γε ἢ ἡμεῖς τε πατέρων πρεσβύτεροι γέ-
 νοιτ' ἂν, καὶ τὰ γινόμενα τῷ ποιῶν· ἀλλ' ὅδε ἔστι πρῶτον τε καὶ πρεσβύ-
 τατος, καὶ ἀρχαίτης τῷ πάντων· αὐτὸς ἐξ αὐτῶν γινόμενον· ὅποτε δ' ἐξ ἡλίου,
 ἐκ ἐστὶν εἰπεῖν ἀλλ' ἢ τε ἀρχὴ ἐξ ἀρχῆς καὶ ἔστι εἰσαεῖς αὐτοπλάτωρ τε καὶ μέ-
 ζων ἢ ἐξ ἄλλων γεγενῆσθαι. Καὶ ὡς πᾶσι τῷ Ἀθηνᾶν ἄρα ἐκ τῆς κεφαλῆς ἐφυσε,
 καὶ ῥαμὶς ὃ δὲν προσεδέχθη εἰς αὐτὴν, ὅπως ἐπὶ πρῶτον αὐτὸς ἐαυτ' ἐξ ἐαυτῶν
 ἐποίησε, καὶ ὃ δὲν προσεδέχθη ἑτέρας εἰς τὸ εἶναι· ἀλλ' αὐτὸ τὸ θανάσιον πάντα εἶναι ἀπ'
 ἐκείνης ἡγεῖσθαι, καὶ ἐκ ἐστὶν ἐκείνῳ εἰπεῖν· Οὐτε γὰρ ἐκείνῳ ἦν παρ' ὅτε μὲν
 ἄλλο μὲν· δημιουργὸς γὰρ ἔργον ὃ δὲν ἔστι πρεσβύτερον· ὅπως δὲ ἀρχὴ μὲν ἀπάν-
 των Ζεὺς καὶ ἐκ Διὸς πάντα, ἅτε δὲ ἂν ἐκείνῳ τε κρείστων, καὶ ὃ δὲνα ἔχων τ' ἀν-
 τιβολῆσθαι, αὐτὸς τε οὐκ ἐκ ἐκείνῳ ἦν, ὅπως ταχὺ πάντα ἐποίησε, ἐποίησε δ' ὡς
 &c. *Jupiter made all things, and all things whatsoever exist are the*
works of Jupiter, Rivers, and Earth and Sea and Heaven, and what

How God was
said to be Self-
made: See p.
405 and 406.

are between these, and Gods and Men and all Animals, whatsoever is perceivable either by sense or by the mind. But Jupiter first of all made himself; for he was not Educated in the flowery and odoriferous Caves of Crete, neither was Saturn ever about to devour him, nor instead of him did he swallow down a stone. For Jupiter was never in danger, nor will he be ever in danger of any thing. Neither is there any thing older than Jupiter, no more than there are sons older than their parents, or works than their Opificers. But he is the First and the Oldest, and the Prince of all things, he being made from himself; nor can it be declared when he was made, for he was from the beginning, and ever will be, his own Father, and greater than to have been begotten from another. As he produced Minerva from his brain and needed no wedlock in order thereunto, so before this did he produce himself from himself, needing not the help of any other thing for his being. But on the contrary, all things began to be from him, and no man can tell the time; since there was not then any time when there was nothing else besides, and no work can be older than the maker of it. Thus was Jupiter the beginning of all things and all things were from Jupiter, who is better than Time, which had its beginning together with the World. And again, ὡς ὃ καὶ θεῶν ὅσα φύλα ἀποβέβηκεν τῷ Διὶ πάντων πατέρες δυνάμειος ἕκαστα ἔχει, καὶ ἀτεχνῶς καὶ τῷ Ὁμήρῳ σφεδρῶν, ἀπαντα εἰς αὐτὸν διήγρηται, καὶ πάντα ἐξ αὐτοῦ ἔξῃπται. ἐρωτά τε καὶ ἀνάγκη δὴ οὗτοσδε συναρχωτάτω καὶ ἰσχυροτάτω ἐν τοῖς πρώτοις ἐγγίνεσθαι, ὅπως αὐτῷ τὰ πάντα συνέχοιεν, &c. ἐπιτεθεὶς μὲν, ἀνθρώπων ἐπιμελητάς, ἀνθρώπων δὲ θεῶν διαγροῦσθαι τε καὶ ὑπομετάσθαι, &c. πάντα ὃ πάντα καὶ Διὶ μετὰ, καὶ ἀπὸ πάντων θεῶν διαγροῦσθαι, Διὶ εἰσὶν ἔργα, &c. All the several kinds of Gods, are but a Desfluxion and Derivation from Jupiter, and according to Homer's Chain all things are connected with him and depend upon him. He amongst the first produced Love and Necessity, Two the most powerful Holders of things together, that they might make all things firmly to cohere. He made Gods to be the Curators of men, and he made men to be the Worshipers and Servers of those Gods. All things are every where full of Jupiter, and the Benefits of all the other Gods, are his work, and to be attributed to him, they being done in compliance with that order which he had prescribed them.

It is certain that all the Latter Philosophers after Christianity, whether Platonists or Peripateticks, though for the most part they asserted the Eternity of the World, yet Universally agreed in the acknowledgment of One Supreme Deity, the Cause of the whole World, and of all the other Gods. And as Numenius, Plotinus, Amelinus, Porphyrius, Proclus, Damascius and others, held also a Trinity of Divine Hypostases, so had some of those Philosophers excellent Speculations concerning

En. 2. L. 9. c. 9. the Deity, as particularly Plotinus; who notwithstanding that he derived Matter and All things, from One Divine Principle, yet was a Contender for Many Gods. Thus in his Book inscribed, against the Gnosticks: καὶ ὡς ἀρεσκον μὲν αὐτὸν περιεῖναι γινεσθαι, μὴ μόνον δὲ αὐτὸν νομίζειν ἀρεσκον δύνασθαι ἡγεῖσθαι, ὅτι γὰρ ἑποῦ ἀρεσκος, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀνθρώπων ἀλλος ἀρεσκος, ἐπὶ καὶ δαίμονας ἀγαθὸς εἶναι. πολὺ δὲ μάλλον θεός, τὸς περὶ τὰ θεοῦ οὐσίας καὶ ἐκείνους. πάντων δὲ μάλιστα τὸ ἡγεμονικὸν τῶνδε τῶν πάντων, ψυχῶν μακάριστα τῶνδε. ἐπεὶ οὖν καὶ ἡδὴ καὶ τὸς νοῦντας ὑμῶν θεός, ὑφ' ἑαυτοῦ ὃ ἡδὴ

τὸ μέγα καὶ ἐκεί βασιλεία· καὶ ἐν ταῖς πλείοσι μάλιστ' αὐτῷ θεῶν, τὸ μέγα αὐτῷ εὐ-
 δαιμονεύουσιν. οὐ γὰρ τὸ σπεύδειν εἰς ἓν, ἀλλὰ τὸ δαΐσαι πολὺ τὸ θεῖον ὅσον ἐδιδ-
 ξεν αὐτός, τότε δὲ δύναμιν θεῶν ἐδιδότων, ὅταν μέγα ὅς ἐστι, πολλὰ ποιῇ, πάν-
 τας εἰς αὐτὸ ἀνηγετημένους, καὶ δι' ἐκείνον καὶ παρ' ἐκείνου ὄντας· καὶ ὁ κόσμος
 ὅδε δι' ἐκείνον ὅς ἐστι καὶ κεῖ βλέπει, καὶ πᾶς, καὶ θεῶν ἕκαστος· Every man ought
 to endeavour with all his might, to become as Good as may be, but yet
 not to think himself to be the only thing that is good, but that there are
 also other Good men in the World, and Good Demons, but much more
 Gods: who though inhabiting this inferiour world, yet look up to that
 Superiour; and most of all, the Prince of this Universe, that most Hap-
 py Soul. From whence he ought to ascend yet higher, and to praise those
 Intelligible Gods, but above all that great King and Monarch; declar-
 ing his Greatness and Majesty by the Multitude of Gods which are un-
 der him. For this is not the part of them who know the power of God,
 to contract all into one, but to shew forth all that Divinity which him-
 self hath displayed, who remaining One makes Many depending on him;
 which are by him and from him. For this whole World is by him, and
 looks up perpetually to him, as also doth every one of the Gods in it.
 And Themistius the Peripatetic, (who was so far from being a Chri-
 stian, that as Petavius probably conjectures, he perstringes our Savi-
 our Christ under the Name of Empedocles, for making himself a God) doth
 not only affirm, that one and the same Supreme God, was worshipped by
 Pagans, and the Christians, and all Nations, though in different manners;
 but also, that God was delighted with this Variety of Religions: ταύτῃ νόμιζε γάμνασθαι τῇ ποικιλίᾳ καὶ τῇ παντὶς Orat. 12.
 ἀρχηγέτῳ· ἄλλως Σύρες ἐδέλει πολιτεύεσθαι, ἄλλως Ἑλλήνας, ἄλλως Αἰγυπτί-
 οὺς, καὶ ὅδ' αὐτὸς Σύρες ὁμοίως, ἀλλ' ἔτι κατακεκερματιστοὶ εἰς μυριάς· The
 Author and Prince of the Universe, seems to be delighted with this Va-
 riety of Worship; He would have the Syrians worship him One way, the
 Greeks another, and the Egyptians another; neither do the Syrians (or
 Christians) themselves all agree, they being subdivided into many Sects.

We shall conclude therefore with this full Testimony of St. Cyril, in P. 23.
 his First Book against Julian, ἀπασιν εὐαργεῖς, ὅτι καὶ τοῖς ταῖς Ἑλλήνων φιλο-
 σοφίᾳ εὐαδόσιν, ἕνα μὲν ἐδίδου θεὸν εἶναι συναμολογεῖν, καὶ τῷ ὅλῳι δημοκρεῖν, καὶ
 πολλῶν ἐπέκεινα καὶ φύσιν, πεποιήσθαι ἢ παρ' αὐτῷ, καὶ παρῆχθαι πρὸς ἄλλους
 ἑτέρας τινας οὐδὲς, καθὰ φαίνονται, κωτάς τε καὶ αἰδομένους· It is manifest
 to all, that amongst those who Philosophize in the Greek way, it is Uni-
 versally acknowledged, that there is One God, the Maker of the Uni-
 verse, and who is by Nature above all things; but that there have been
 made by him, and produced into generation, certain other Gods (as they
 call them) both Intelligible and Sensible.

XXVII. Neither was this the Opinion of Philosophers and
 Learned Men only, amongst the Pagans, but even of the Vulgar al-
 so. Not that we pretend, to give an account of all the most sottish
 Vulgar amongst them, who as they little considered their Religion,
 so probably did they not understand that Mystery of the Pagan The-
 ology (hereafter to be declared) that Many of their Gods, were no-
 thing but several Names and Notions of one Supreme Deity, accord-
 ing to its various Manifestations and Effects: but because, as we con-
 ceive,

L. 8. c. 5.

Orat. 36 p. 447

ceive this Tradition of One Supreme God, did run currant amongst the Generality of the Greek and Latin Pagans at least, whether Learned or Unlearned. For we cannot make a better judgment concerning the *Vulgar* and *Generality* of the ancient Pagans, than from the Poets and Mythologists, who were the chief Instructors of them. Thus *Aristotle* in his *Politicks*, writing of Musick, judgeth of mens Opinions concerning the Gods, from the Poets, σκοπεῖν δ' ἐξ ἑστὶ τῶν ὑπολήψαν ἢν ἐχομεν ὡς ἐπὶ θεῶν, ὃ δὲ Ζεὺς αὐτὸς ἄδῃ καὶ κιθαρίζει τοῖς ποιηταῖς. *We may learn what opinion men have concerning the Gods, from hence, because the Poets never bring in Jupiter, Singing or Playing upon an Instrument.* Now we have already proved from sundry Testimonies of the Poets, that (however they were Depravers of the Pagan Religion, yet) they kept up this Tradition of one Supreme Deity, one *King and Father of Gods*: To which Testimonies many more might have been added, as of *Seneca* the Tragedian, *Statius*, *Lucan*, *Silius Italicus*, *Persius*, and *Martial*, but that we then declined them to avoid tediousness. Wherefore we shall here content our selves only to set down this Affirmation of *Dio Chrysostomus*, concerning the Theology of the Poets, ἔστι δ' ἐν παντί οἱ ποιηταὶ καὶ τὰ ταῦτα, τὸ πρῶτον καὶ μέγιστον θεὸν πάντεσσι καλεῖσθαι καὶ συλλύεσθαι ἅπαντας τὸ λογικὸν γένος, καὶ δὴ καὶ βασιλέα· οἷς πεθόμενοι οἱ ἄνθρωποι διὰς βασιλείας ἰδρύσασθαι βωμούς· καὶ δὴ καὶ πατέρας αὐτῶν ὡς ὄντας προσαγορεύοντες αὐτοὺς διχαίς. *All the Poets call the First and Greatest God, the Father, universally, of all the Rational Kind; as also the King thereof. Agreeably with which of the Poets, do men erect Altars to Jupiter King, and stick not to call him Father in their Devotions.*

Diff. 1. p. 45.

Moreover *Aristotle* himself hath recorded this in his *Politicks*, πάντες λέγουσι θεὸς βασιλεύειν, *That all men affirmed the Gods to be under a Kingly power, or that there is one Supreme King and Monarch over the Gods.* And *Maximus Tyrinus* declareth, that as well the Unlearned as the Learned, throughout the whole Pagan world, universally agreed in this, that there was one *Supreme God, the Father of all the other Gods*: Εἰ συναγαγὼν ἐκκλησίαν ἑπὶ τεχνῶν τέτων, καλεῖσθαι ἅπαντας ἀθεοὺς διὰ ψήφισματι ἐνὸς ἀποκρίνασθαι ὡς ἐπὶ θεῶ, οἷα ἄλλο μὲν ἐν τῇ γραφέα εἶπεν, ἄλλο δὲ καὶ τὸ ἀγαλματοποιόν, καὶ τὸ ποιητὴν ἄλλο, καὶ τὸ φιλόσοφον ἄλλο; ἀλλ' ὅδε μὰ Δία τὸ συνέβη, ὅδε τὸ Ἑλλῶνα, ὅδε τὸ Πέρσιν, ἢ τὸ Ἰνδοῦ περιόρειον· ἀλλὰ ἰδοὺς ἂν ἐν μὲν τοῖς ἄλλοις, ἐν δὲ τοῖς ἄλλοις, καὶ ἐν ταῦτα ψήφισμα τὸς ἀνθρώπους, πάντας δὲ πᾶσι διαφορομένους· ὃ τὸ ἀγαθὸν τὸ αὐτὸ πάντες τὸ κακὸν ὁμοῖον, ὃ τὸ αἰχρὸν, ὃ τὸ καλὸν· νόμος μὲν γὰρ δὴ καὶ δικὴ ἄνω καὶ κάτω φέρεται διασπώμενα καὶ σπαρασσόμενα· μὴ γὰρ ὅτι γένος γένει ὁμολογεῖ ἐν τέτοις, ἀλλ' ὅδε πόλις πόλει, ἀλλ' ὅδε οἶκος οἴκῳ, ὅδε ἀνὴρ ἀνδρὶ, ὅδε αὐτὸς αὐτῷ· ἐν τῷ ἑστῶτι καὶ πολέμῳ καὶ εἰρήνῃ καὶ διαφωνίᾳ, ἕνα ἰδοὺς ἂν ἐν πόλει καὶ ὁμοφώνον νόμον καὶ λόγον, ὅτι ΘΕΟΣ Εἰς ΠΑΝΤΩΝ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΚΑΙ ΠΑΤΗΡ, καὶ θεοὶ πολλοὶ θεῶν παῖδες, συνάρχοντες θεῶ· ταῦτα δὲ ὁ Ἑλλῶνα λέγει καὶ ὁ βάρβαρος λέγει, καὶ ὁ ὑπεράτης καὶ ὁ θαλάσσιος, καὶ ὁ σοφὸς καὶ ὁ ἄσοφος. *If there were a meeting called of all these several Trades and Professions, a Painter, a Statuary, a Poet, and a Philosopher, and all of them were required to declare their sence concerning God, do you think that the Painter would say one thing, the Statuary another, the Poet another, and the Philosopher another? No nor the Scythian neither, nor the Greek,*

nor the Hyperborean. In other things, we find men speaking very discordantly to one another, all men as it were differing from all. The same thing is not Good to all nor Evil, Honest nor Dishonest. For Law and Justice it self, are different every where, and not only one Nation doth not agree with another therein, but also not one City with another City, nor one House with another House, nor one man with another man, nor lastly any one man with himself. Nevertheless, in this so great war, contention, and discord, you may find every where throughout the whole world, One agreeing Law and Opinion, That THERE IS ONE GOD THE KING AND FATHER OF ALL, and Many Gods, the Sons of God, Co-reigners together with God. These things both the Greek and the Barbarian alike affirm, both the Inhabitants of the Continent and of the Sea-coast, both the Wise and the Unwise. Nothing can be more full than this Testimony of *Maximus Tyrius*, that the Generality of the Pagan world, as well *Vulgar* and *Illiterate*, as *Wise* and *Learned*, did agree in this, that there was *One Supreme God, the Creator and Governour of all*. And to the same purpose was that other Testimony before cited out of *Dio Chrysostomus*, *ὅτι δὲ θεῶν ἓ τε καὶ δὲ φύσεως, καὶ μάλιστ' ἅ πέντε ἡμεῶν, δόξα ἔστιν ὅτι οἱ πάντες τῶν ἐν τῇ οὐρανῷ ἀνθρώπων γένεσι, ὁμοίως δὲ Ἑλλήνων, ὁμοίως δὲ βαρβάρων, &c.* *Orat. 12. p. 201.* That concerning the nature of the Gods in General, but especially concerning that Prince of all things, there was One agreeing Perswasion in the minds of all Mankind, as well Barbarians as Greeks. Where *Dio* plainly intimates also, that there was a more universal consent of Nations, in the belief of *One God*, than of *Many Gods*.

It hath been already observed, that the several Pagan Nations, had vulgarly their peculiar Proper Names for the *One Supreme God*. For as the Greeks called him *Zeus* or *Zen*, the Latins *Jupiter* or *Jovis*, so did the Egyptians, Africans and Arabians, *Hammon*. Which *Hammon* therefore was called by the Greeks the *Zeus* of the Africans, and by the Latins their *Jupiter*. Whence is that in *Cicero's De Natura Deorum*, *Jovis Capitolini Nobis alia species, alia Afris Ammonis Jovis, the form of the Capitoline Jupiter with us Romans, is different from that, of Jupiter Ammon with the Africans*. The Name of the Scythian *Jupiter* also, as *Herodotus* tells us, was *Pappæus* or *Father*. The Persians likewise had their *زδς πατερος*, as *Xenophon* styles him, their Country-*Zeus* or *Jupiter* (namely *Mithras* or *Oromasdes*) who in the same *Xenophon*, is distinguished from the Sun, and called in *Cyrus* his Proclamation in the Scripture, *The Lord God of Heaven, who had given him all the Kingdoms of the Earth*. Thus the *Babylonian Bell* is declared by *Berosus* (a Priest of his) to have been that God, who was the Maker of Heaven and Earth. And Learned men conceive, that *Baal* (which is the same with *Bel*, and signifies Lord) was first amongst the Phenicians also a Name for the *Supreme God*, the Creator of Heaven and Earth, sometimes called *Beel samen*, *The Lord of Heaven*. As likewise that *Molech* which signifies King, was amongst the Ammonites, the King of their Gods; and that *Marnas* (the chief God of the *Gazites*, who were Philistines) and signifies the Lord of men, was that from whence the Cretians derived their *Jupiter*, called the Father of Gods and Men.

L. I. c. II.

Origen indeed contended, that it was not lawful for Christians, to call the Supreme God by any of those Pagan Names, and probably for these Reasons, because those names were then frequently bestowed upon Idols; and because they were contaminated and defiled by Absurd and Impure Fables. Nevertheless that learned Father does acknowledge the Pagans really to have meant $\tau\ \delta\epsilon\ \delta\epsilon\ \nu\ \epsilon\ \nu\ \alpha\ \nu\ \tau\ \iota\ \nu\ \alpha\ \nu\ \nu$, *The God over all*, by those several Names. Which yet *Lactantius Firmianus* would by no means allow of as to the Roman *Jupiter*, worshipped in the Capitol, he endeavouring to confute it after this manner; *Vana est Persuasio eorum qui nomen Jovis Summo Deo tribuunt. Solent enim quidam errores suos hac excusatione defendere; qui convicti de Uno Deo, cum id negare non possunt, ipsum colere affirmant, verum hoc sibi placere ut Jupiter nominetur, quo quid absurdius? Jupiter enim sine Contubernio Conjugis Filiaeque, coli non solet. Unde quid sit apparet, nec fas est id nomen eo transferri, ubi nec Minerva est ulla nec Juno: It is a vain persuasion of those, who would give the name of Jupiter to the Supreme God. For some are wont thus to excuse their errors, when they have been convinced of one God, so as that they could not contradict it, by saying that themselves worshipped Him, he being called by them Jupiter: Than which, what can be more absurd? since Jupiter is not worshipped without the Partnership of his Wife and Daughter. From whence it plainly appears what this Jupiter is, and that the name ought not to be transferred thither, where there is neither any Minerva nor Juno. The ground of which argumentation of *Lactantius* was this, because the great Capitoline Temple of *Jupiter*, had three *sacella* or lesser Chappels in it, all contained under one roof, *Jupiter's* in the middle, *Minerva's* on the right hand, and *Juno's* on the left; according to that of the Poet.*

Trina in Tarpeio fulgent consortia Templo.

Which *Juno*, according to the Poetick Theology, is said to be the *Wife of Jupiter*, and *Minerva* his *Daughter*, begotten not upon *Juno* but from his own Brain. Where it is plain that there is a certain mixture of the *Mythical* or *Poetical Theology*, together with the *Natural*, as almost every where else there was, to make up that *Civil Theology* of the Pagans. But here (according to the more Recondit and Arcane Doctrine of the Pagans) these three Capitoline Gods, *Jupiter*, *Minerva*, and *Juno*, as well as some others, may be understood, to have been nothing else but *Several Names and Notions*, of *One Supreme Deity*, according to its several Attributes and Manifestations, *Jupiter* signifying the Divine Power and Sovereignty, as it were seated and enthroned in the Heavens; *Minerva* the Divine Wisdom and Understanding; and *Juno* the same *Deity* acting in these Lower parts of the world. Unless we would rather with *Macrobius*, Physiologize them all Three, and make *Minerva* to be the Higher Heaven, *Jupiter* the Middle Ether, and *Juno* the Lower Air and Earth, all Animated; that is, One God, as acting differently in these Three Regions of the world. Which yet seems not so congruous, because it would place *Minerva* above *Jupiter*.

Never-

Nevertheless it may justly be suspected, as *G. I. Vossius* hath already observed, that there was yet some higher and more sacred Mystery, in this Capitoline Trinity, aimed at; namely, a *Trinity of Divine Hypostases*. For these three *Roman or Capitoline Gods*, were said to have been First brought into *Italy* out of *Phrygia* by the *Trojans*, but before that into *Phrygia* by *Dardannus*, out of the *Samothracian Island*; and that within eight hundred years after the *Noachian Flood*, if we may believe *Eusebius*. And as these were called by the *Latins*, *Dii Penates*, which *Macrobius* thus interprets, *Dii Per quos Penitus spiramus, per quos habemus Corpus, per quos rationem animi possidemus*, that is, *The Gods by whom we live, and move, and have our being*; but *Varro* in *Arnobius*, *Dii qui sunt Intrinsecus, atque in Intimis Penetralibus Cæli*, the *Gods, who are in the most Inward recesses of Heaven*; so were they called by the *Samothracians* *Κάβειροι* or *Cabiri*, that is, as *Varro* rightly interprets the word, *Ἄδω δυνάτοι*, or *Divi Potes*, *The Powerful and Mighty Gods*. Which *Cabiri* being plainly the *Hebrew* *נְבִירִים*, gives just occasion to suspect, that this *Ancient Tradition of Three Divine Hypostases* (unquestionably entertained by *Orpheus*, *Pythagoras* and *Plato* amongst the *Greeks*, and probably by the *Egyptians* and *Persians*) sprung originally from the *Hebrews*. The First of these *Divine Hypostases*, called *Jove*, being the *Fountain of the Godhead*; and the Second of them called by the *Latins* *Minerva*, (which, as *Varro* interprets it, was that wherein *Idea & Exempla rerum*, the *Ideas and first Exemplars or Patterns of things were contained*) fitly expressing the *Divine Logos*; and the Third *Juno*, called *Amor ac Delicium Jovis*, well enough answering (as *Vossius* thinks) to the *Divine Spirit*.

*De Theol. Gen.
L. 8. c. 12.*

But *Lactantius* hath yet another objection against the *Roman Jupiter's* being the *Supreme God*, *Quid? quod hujus nominis proprietas, non Divinam vim sed Humanam exprimit? Jovem enim Junonemque à Juvando esse dictos Cicero interpretatur. Et Jupiter quasi Juvans Pater dicitur. Quod nomen in Deum minimè convenit, quia Juvare hominis est, &c. Nemo sic Deum precatur, ut se Adjuset, sed ut Servet, &c. Ergo non Imperitus modo, sed etiam Impius est, qui nomine Jovis Virtutem Summæ Potestatis imminuit.* What if we add that the propriety of this word *Jupiter*, does not express a *Divine*, but only a *Humane* force? *Cicero* deriving both *Jove* and *Juno* alike à *Juvando*, that is, from *Helping*; For *Juvans Pater* or a *Helping Father*, is not a *Good Description of God*; forasmuch as it properly belongeth to men to *Help*. Neither doth any one pray to *God*, to *Help him* only, but to *Save him*. Nor is a *Father*, said to *help his Son*, whom he was the *Begetter of*, &c. Wherefore he is not only *Unskilful* but *Impious* also, who by the Name of *Jove* or *Jupiter*, diminishes the power of the *Supreme God*. But as this of *Lactantius* seems otherwise weak enough; so is the Foundation of it absolutely ruinous, the true Etymon of *Jupiter* (though *Cicero* knew not so much) being without peradventure, not *Juvans Pater*, but *Jovis Pater*, *Jove the Father of Gods and Men*; which *Jovis* is the very *Hebrew Tetragrammaton* (however these *Romans* came by it) only altered by a *Latin Termination*. Wherefore as there could be

no impiety at all in calling the Supreme God *Jove* or *Jovis*, it being that very name which God himself chose to be called by: so neither is there any reason why the Latins should not as well mean the Supreme God thereby, as the Greeks did unquestionably by *Zeus*, which will be proved afterwards from irrefragable Authority.

Especially if we consider, that the Roman Vulgar, commonly bestowed these Two Epithets upon that Capitoline *Jupiter* (that is, not the senseless Statue, but that God who was there worshipped in a Material Statue) of *Optimus* and *Maximus*, the *Best* and the *Greatest*, they thereby signifying him to be a Being *Infinitely Good and Powerful*. Thus *Cicero* in his *De Nat. Deorum*, *Jupiter à Poetis dicitur Divum atque Hominum Pater, à majoribus autem nostris Optimus Maximus. That same Jupiter who is by the Poets styled, The Father of Gods and Men, is by our ancestors called, The Best The Greatest.* And in his *Orat. pro S. Roscio*, *Jupiter Optimus Maximus, cujus nutu & arbitrio, Cælum, Terra, Mariæque reguntur, Jupiter the Best the Greatest, by whose beck and command, the Heaven, the Earth and the Seas are governed.* As also the Junior *Pliny*, in his *Panegyrick Oration*, *Parens Hominum Deorumque, Optimi prius, deinde Maximi nomine colitur, The Father of Men and Gods, is worshipped under the Name, first of the Best, and then of the Greatest.* Moreover *Servius Honoratus* informs us, that the *Pontifices* in their publick Sacrifices, were wont to address themselves to *Jupiter* in this Form of words, *Omnipotens Jupiter, seu quo alio nomine appellari volueris, Omnipotent Jupiter, or by what other name soever thou pleasest to be called.* From whence it is plain, that the Romans under the name of *Jupiter* worshipped the Omnipotent God. And according to *Seneca* the ancient *Hetrurians*, who are by him distinguished from Philosophers, as a kind of Illiterate Superstitious persons (in these words, *Hæc adhuc Etruscis & Philosophis communia sunt, in illo dissentiunt*) had this very same Notion answering to the word *Jupiter*, namely, of the Supreme Monarch of the Universe. For First he sets down their Tradition concerning Thunderbolts in this manner, *Fulmina dicunt à Jove mitti, & tres illi manubias dant. Prima (ut aiunt) monet & placata est, & ipse consilio Jovis mittitur. Secundam quidem mittit Jupiter, sed ex Consilii sententiâ; Duodecim enim Deos advocat, &c. Tertiam idem Jupiter mittit. sed adhibitis in Consilium Diis quos Superiores & Involutos vocant, quæ vastat, &c.* The *Hetrurians* say, that the Thunderbolts are sent from *Jupiter*, and that there are three kinds of them; the First Gentle and Monitory and sent by *Jupiter* alone; the Second sent by *Jupiter*, but not without the counsel and consent of the Twelve Gods, which Thunderbolt doth some good, but not without Harm also; the Third sent by *Jupiter* likewise, but not before he hath called a Council of all the Superiour Gods: and this utterly waists and destroys both private and publick States. And then does he make a Commentary, upon this old *Hetrurian* Doctrine, that it was not to be taken literally, but only so as to impress an awe upon men and to signify that *Jupiter* himself intended nothing but Good, he inflicting evil not alone, but in partnership with others, and when the necessity of the case required. Adding in the last place, *Ne hoc quidem crediderunt (Etrusci) Jovem qualem in Capitolio, & in cæteris*
edibus

Nat. Q. L. 2.
 c. 41.

adibus colimus, mittere manu sua fulmina; sed eundem quem nos, Jovem intelligunt; custodem rectoremque Universi, Animum ac Spiritum, Mundani hujus operis Dominum & Artificem, cui nomen omne convenit. Neither did these *Hetrurians* believe, that such a Jupiter as we worship in the Capitol and in the other Temples, did sling Thunderbolts with his own hands, but they understood the very same Jupiter that we now do, the Keeper and Governour of the Universe, the Mind and Spirit of the whole, the Lord and Artificer of this Mundane Fabrick, to whom every name belongeth. And lastly, that the vulgar Romans afterwards about the beginning of Christianity, had the same Notion of Jupiter, as the Supreme God; evidently appears from what *Tertullian* hath recorded in his Book *ad Scapulam*, that when *Marcus Aurelius* in his German Expedition, by the prayers of the Christian Soldiers made to God, had obtained refreshing showers from Heaven in a great drought, *Tunc Populus adclamans JOVI DEO DEORUM, QUI SOLUS POTENS EST, in Jovis nomine Deo nostro testimonium reddidit;* That then the people with one consent crying out thanks be to JUPITER THE GOD OF GODS, WHO ALONE IS POWERFUL, did thereby in the name of Jove or Jupiter give testimony to our God. Where by the way we see also, that *Tertullian* was not so nice as *Lactantius*, but did freely acknowledge the Pagans by their Jupiter to have meant the True God.

As nothing is more frequent with Pagan Writers, than to speak of God singularly, they signifying thereby the One Supreme Deity, so that the same was very familiar with the *Vulgar Pagans* also, in their ordinary discourse and common speech, hath been recorded by divers of the Fathers. *Tertullian* in his Book *De Testimonio Animæ*, and his *Apologet.* instanceth in several of these Forms of Speech then vulgarly used by the Pagans, as *Deus videt, Deo commendo, Deus red-det, Deus inter nos judicabit, Quod Deus vult, Si Deus voluerit, Quod Deus dederit, Si Deus dederit*, and the like. Thus also *Minutius Felix*, *Cum ad Cælum manus tendunt, nihil aliud quàm Deum Dicunt. Et Magnus est, & Deus Verus est, &c. vulgi iste Naturalis sermo, an Christiani consistentis oratio?* When they stretch out their hands to Heaven, they mention only God; and these forms of speech, He is Great, and God is True. and If God grant (which are the natural language of the vulgar) are they not a plain confession of Christianity. And lastly *Lactantius*, *Cum Jurant, & cum Optant, & cum Gratias agunt, non Deos multos, sed Deum nominant;* aded ipsa veritas, cogente natura, etiam ab invitis pectoribus erumpit: When they swear, and when they wish, and when they give thanks, they name not Many Gods but God only; the Truth, by a secret force of nature, thus breaking forth from them whether they will or no. And again, *Ad Deum confugiunt, à Deo petitur auxilium, Deus ut subveniat oratur. Et si quis ad extremam mendicandi necessitatem reductus, victum precibus exposcit, Deum Solum obtestatur, & per ejus divinum atque unicum Numen hominum sibi misericordiam querit:* They fly to God, Aid is desired of God, they pray that God would help them; and when any one is reduced to extremest necessity, he begs for Gods sake, and by his Divine power alone implores the mercy of men. Which same thing is fully confirmed also, by Pro-

P. 286.

clus upon Plato's *Timæus*, where he observes, that the *One Supreme God*, was more *Universally* believed throughout the *World* in all *ages*, than the *Many Inferiour Gods* ; τάχα ὃ καὶ τὸ αὐτὸν εἶπος, ἐπὶ δὲ αἱ ψυχαὶ τῆς ἐαυταῖς προσεχέσθων θάλλον ἑπιλανθάνονται, τῆς ὅτι ὑψηλότερων ἀρχῶν μολλον μνημονεύουσι. Δεῖσι γὰρ μάλλον εἰς αὐτὰς δι' ὑψηλῶν δυνάμεως, καὶ δευδσιν αὐταῖς παρῆναι δι' ἐνέργειαν. ὃ δὲ καὶ ὡς τὴν ὅψιν γίνεται τὴν ὑψηλότεραν. πολλὰ γὰρ τῆς ἐν γῇ κειμένην ἔχον ὁράσεις, ὁμῶς αὐτῶν ὁρᾶν δευδόμεθα τὴν ἀπλανῆ, καὶ αὐτὰς τὰς ἀστέρας, διότι κατὰ λάμπουσιν ἡμᾶν τὴν ὅψιν τῆς ἐαυτῆς φασί. μάλλον ἔν καὶ τὸ ὅμμα τῆς ψυχῆς, λήθω ἵχει καὶ ἀπορρίπτει τῆς προσεχέσθων, ἢ τῆς ἀνωτέρων καὶ δευδότερων ἀρχῶν. ἔτω τὴν πραγματικὴν ἀρχὴν πᾶσαι δευδόμεθα καὶ αἰετοῦς συγχωρεῖν εἶναι, καὶ δευδὸν πάντες ἄνθρωποι ἑπικαλεῖσθαι βοῦνδόν. Δεὸς δὲ εἶναι μετ' αὐτὴν, καὶ πρόνοιαν ἀπ' αὐτῆς ἐν τῇ πᾶσι, καὶ πᾶσαι πισδύουσι. εἰσαργύσεσθιν γὰρ αὐταῖς κατὰ φαντασίαν τὸ ἐν τῇ πλήθει. And perhaps you may affirm, that Souls do sooner lose their knowledge of those things which are Lower and Nearer to them, but retain a stronger remembrance of those Higher Principles. Because these do act more vigorously upon them, by reason of the Transcendency of their Power, and by their Energy seem to be present with them. And the same thing happens as to to our bodily Sight ; for though there be many things here upon earth which none of us see, yet every one observes that Highest Sphere, and takes notice of the Fixed stars in it ; because these strongly radiate with their light upon our eyes. In like manner does the Eye of our Soul, sooner lose the sight and remembrance of the Lower than of the Higher and Diviner Principles. And thus all Religions and Sects, acknowledge that One Highest Principle of all, and men every where call upon God for their Helper ; but that there are Gods, after and below that Highest Principle, and that there is a certain providence descending down from these upon the Universe, all Sects do not believe ; the reason whereof is, because The One or Unity, appears more clearly and plainly to them than The Many or a Multitude.

L. 2. c. 7.

Moreover we learn from *Arianus* his *Epicetus*, that that very Form of Prayer which hath been now so long in use in the Christian Church, *Kyrie Eleeson*, Lord have mercy upon us, was anciently part of the *Pagans Litany* to the *Supreme God*, either amongst the *Greeks*, or the *Latins*, or Both, καὶ δευδὸν ἑπικαλεσόμενοι (saith *Epicetus*) δεόμεθα αὐτῷ, κύριε ἐλέησον, invoking God we pray to him after this manner, Lord have mercy upon us. Now this *Epicetus* lived in the times of *Adrian* the Emperour, and that this Passage of his, is to be understood of *Pagans* and not of *Christians*, is undeniably manifest from the context, he there speaking of those who used *Auguria* or Divination by Birds. Moreover in the writings of the *Greekish Pagans*, the Supreme God is often called κύριος, or Lord. For, not to urge that passage of the τέλειος λόγος or *Asclepian Dialogue*, cited by *Lactantius*, where we read of ὁ κύριος καὶ πάντων ποιητής, the Lord and Maker of all. *Menander* in *Iust. Martyr*, stileth the Supreme God, καὶ ὄντα πάντων κύριον χρηκώτατον, the most Universal Lord of all. And *Osiris* in *Plutarch* is called, ἀπάντων κύριος, the Lord of all things. And this is also done Absolutely, and without any Adjection, and that not only by the *Seventy*, and *Christians*, but also by *Pagan Writers* ; thus in *Plutarch's de Iside & Osiride*, we read of τὸ πρῶτον, καὶ κυρίου, καὶ

voh τῷ

νοῦ τῆς γνῶσις, *The knowledge of the first Intelligible, and the Lord, that is, of the Supreme God.* And Oromasdes is called ὁ Κύριος, *The Lord, in Plutarch's Life of Alexander*; as Νῆς also, Κύριος, by Aristotle, that is *De An. L. 1. the Supreme Ruler over all.* Thus likewise Plato in his Sixth Epistle *c. 7. ad Hermiam, &c.* styles his First Divine Hypostasis, or the Absolutely Supreme Deity, τὸ ὑπερβόν καὶ αἰτὶς πάντων Κύριον, *The Father of the Prince and Cause of the World, (that is, of the Eternal Intellect) The LORD.* Again Jamblichus writeth thus of the Supreme God, δ᾽ εἰν ὁ. *Vit. Pyth. p. 89. μολογέται ὅτι τὸ κυεῖς ἀγαθὸν ζητεῖν, It is confessed that every Good thing ought to be asked of the Lord, that is, the Supreme God, which words are afterwards repeated in him also. p. 129. but depraved in the printed Copy thus, δ᾽ εἰν ὁ μολογέται ὅτι τὸ κυεῖς τ' ἀγαθὸν ὅτι.* Lastly, Clemens Alexandrinus tells us, that the Supreme God was called not by one only name, but by divers diversly, namely, ἡ τοῦ Ἐν, ἡ τ' Ἀγαθόν, ἡ Νῆς, ἡ αὐτὸ τὸ Ὀν, ἡ Πατήρ, ἡ Θεόν, ἡ Δημιουργόν, ἡ Κύριον, *Either the One, or the Good, or Mind, or the very Ens, or the Father, or the Demiurgus, or the Lord.* Wherefore we conclude, that this Kyrie Eleeson, or Domine Misere, in Arrianus, was a Pagan Litany or Supplication to the Supreme God. Though from Mauritius the Emperors Stratagemata it appears that in his time a Kyrie Eleeson was *Rigalt. Gloss.* wont to be sung also by the Christian Armies before Battel.

And that the most Sottishly Superstitious and Idolatrous of all the Pagans, and the Worshippers of never so many Gods amongst them; did notwithstanding generally acknowledge, One Supreme Deity over them all, One Universal Numen, is positively affirmed, and fully attested by Aurelius Prudentius, in his Apotheosis, in these words;

Vers. 254i

*Equis in Idolio recubans inter sacra mille,
 Ridiculosque Deos venerans, sale, cæspite, thure,
 Non putat esse Deum Summum, & super omnia Solum?
 Quamvis Saturnis, Junonibus, & Cytheræis,
 Portentisque aliis, fumantes consecrat aras;
 Attamen in Cælum quoties suspexit, in Uno
 Constituit jus omne Deo, cui serviat ingens
 Virtutum ratio, Variis instructa Ministris.*

We are not ignorant that Plato in his Cratylus, where he undertakes to give the Etymologies of words, and amongst the rest of the word Θεοι, writeth in this manner, concerning the First and most Ancient Inhabitants of Greece; That they seemed to him, like as other Barbarians at that time, to have acknowledged no other Gods, than such as were Visible and Sensible, as the Sun and the Moon, and the Earth, and the Stars, and the Heaven. Which they perceiving to run round perpetually, therefore called them θεῶς, from θεῶ, that signifies to run. But that when afterward, they took notice of other Invisible Gods also, they bestowed the same name of Θεοι upon them likewise. Which Passage of Plato's Eusebius somewhere would make use of, to prove that the Pagans universally acknowledged no other Gods, but Corporeal and Inanimate; plainly contrary to that Philosophers meaning, who as he nowhere affirms, that any Nation ever was so barbarous, as to worship senseless and Inanimate Bodies, as such, for Gods, but the contrary; so doth

doth he there distinguish, from those First Inhabitants of Greece and other Barbarians, the afterward Civilized Greeks, who took notice of *Invisible Gods* also. However, if this of *Plato* should be true, that some of the ancient Pagans, worshipped none but *Visible* and *Sensible Gods* (they taking no notice of any *Incorporeal Beings*) yet does it not therefore follow, that those Pagans had no Notion at all amongst them, of *One Supreme and Universal Numen*. The contrary thereunto being manifest, that some of those *Corporealists* looked upon the whole *Heaven* and *Ether Animated*, as the *Highest God*, according to that of *Euripides* cited by *Cicero*,

De N. D. p.
223.

*Vides Sublime fufum, immoderatum aethera,
Qui tenero terram circumveftu amplectitur,
Hunc Summum habeto Divum, hunc perhibeto Jovem.*

As also that others of them conceived that *Subtil Fiery Substance*, which permeates and pervades the whole World, (supposed to be *Intellectual*) to be the *Supreme Deity* which governs all; this Opinion having been entertained by Philosophers also, as namely the *Heraclicks* and *Stoicks*. And lastly, since *Macrobius* in the Person of *Vettius Pretextatus*, refers so many of the Pagan Gods, to the Sun, this renders it not improbable, but that some of these Pagans might adore the *Animated Sun*, as the Sovereign Numen, and thus perhaps invoke him in that Form of Prayer there mentioned *Ἡλίου παντοκράτορος, ὁμολογῶν πνεύμα, O Omnipotent Sun, the Mind and Spirit of the whole World, &c.* And even *Cleanthes* himself, that Learned Stoick, and Devout Religionist, is suspected by some to have been of this Perwasion.

Nevertheless we think it opportune here to observe, that it was not *Macrobius* his Design in those his *Saturnalia*, to defend this, either as his own opinion, or as the opinion of the Generality of Pagans, That the *Animated Sun*, was Absolutely *The Highest Deity*; (as some have conceived) nor yet to reduce that Multiplicity of Pagan Gods, by this device of his, into a seeming Monarchy and nearer compliance with Christianity; he there plainly confining his Discourse, to the *Dii duntaxat qui sub Cælo sunt*, that is, *the Lower sort of Mundane Gods*, and undertaking to shew, not that all of these neither, but only that many of them, were reducible to the Sun, as *Polyonymous*, and called by several Names, according to his Several *Vertues* and *Effects*. For, what *Macrobius* his own opinion was, concerning the *Supreme Deity*, appeareth plainly from his other Writings, particularly this Passage of his Commentary upon *Scipio's Dream*, where the *Highest Sphere* and *Starry Heaven* was called *Summus Deus*, *the Supreme God*; *Quod hunc Extimum Globum, Summum Deum vocavit, non ita accipiendum est, ut iste Prima Causa, & Deus ille Omnipotentissimus existimetur; cum Globus ipse, quod Cælum est, Anima sit Fabrica, Anima ex Mente processerit, Mens ex Deo, qui verè Summus est, procreata sit. Sed Summum quidem dixit ad Cæterorum Ordinem qui subjecti sunt: Deum verò quòd non modò Immortale Animal ac Divinum sit, plenum inclytæ ex illa purissimâ Mente rationis, sed quòd &*

L. I. c. 17.

virtutes

*virtutes omnes, quæ illam Primæ Omnipotentiam Summitatis sequantur, aut ipse faciat, aut contineat; Ipsum denique Jovem veteres vocaverunt, & apud Theologos Jupiter est mundi Anima: That the Outmost Sphere is here called The Supreme God, is not so to be understood, as if this were thought to be The First Cause, and The Most Omnipotent God of all. For this Starry Sphere being but a part of the Heaven, was made or produced by Soul. Which Soul also proceeded from a Perfect Mind or Intellect; and again Mind was begotten from that God, who is Truly Supreme. But the Highest Sphere is here called the Supreme God, only in respect to those Lesser Spheres or Gods, that are contained under it; and it is styled a God, because it is not only an Immortal and Divine Animal, full of Reason derived from that Purest Mind, but also because it maketh or containeth within it self, all those Vertues which follow that Omnipotence of the First Summity. Lastly, this was called by the ancients Jupiter, and Jupiter to Theologers is the Soul of the World. Wherefore though Macrobius, as generally the other Pagans, did undoubtedly worship the Sun as a Great God, and probably would not stick to call him Jupiter nor *παντοκράτωρ* neither (in a certain sense) Omnipotent or the Governour of all, nor perhaps Deum Summum, as well as the Starry Heaven was so styled in Scipio's Dream, he being the Chief Moderator in this Lower World; yet nevertheless it is plain that he was far from thinking the Sun to be *Primam Causam*, or Omnipotentissimum Deum; The First Cause, or the most Omnipotent God of all. He acknowledging above the Sun and Heaven, First, an Eternal Psyche, which was the Maker or Creator of them both; and then above this Psyche, a Perfect Mind or Intellect, and Lastly above that Mind a God who was Verè Summus, Truly and Properly Supreme, The First Cause, and the most Omnipotent of all Gods. Wherein Macrobius plainly Platonized, asserting a Trinity of Archical or Divine Hypostases. Which same Doctrine is elsewhere also further declared by him after this manner; *Deus qui Prima Causa est & vocatur, Unus omnium, quæque sunt quæque videntur esse, Principium & Origo est. Hic superabundanti Majestatis fecunditate de se Mentem creavit. Hæc Mens quæ Nûs vocatur, qua Patrem inspicit, plenam similitudinem servat auctoris, Animam verò de se creat posteriora respiciens. Rursus Anima partem quam intuetur induitur, ac paulatim regrediente respectu in fabricam corporum, in corporea ipsa degenerat: God who is and is called, the First Cause, is alone the Fountain and Original of all things that are or seem to be; He by his superabundant Fecundity, produced from himself Mind, which Mind, as it looks upward towards its Father, bears the perfect resemblance of its Author, but as it looked downward, produced Soul. And this Soul again as to its superiour part resembles that Mind from whence it was begotten; but working downwards, produced the Corporeal Fabrick, and affecteth upon Body. Besides which the same Macrobius tells us, that Summi & Principis omnium Dei, nullum Simulachrum finxit Antiquitas, quia supra Animam & Naturam est, quo nihil fas est de fabulis pervenire; de Diis autem cæteris, & de Anima, non frustra se ad fabulosa convertunt: The Pagan Antiquity made no Image at all of the Highest God, or Prince of all things, because he is above Soul and Nature, where it is not lawful for any Fabulosity to be intromitted. But as to the other Gods, the Soul of the World, and those below**

Somn. Scip.
L. 1. c. 14.

below it, they thought it not inconvenient here, to make use of Images, and Fiction or Fabulosity. From all which it plainly appears, that neither *Macrobius* himself, nor the Generality of the ancient Pagans according to his apprehension did look upon the *Animated Sun*, as the *Absolutely Supreme and Highest Being*.

L. I N. 131.

Cyri Ins. L. 8.
P. 184.

De Fort. A.
l. x. L. 2

And perhaps it may not be amiss to suggest here, what hath been already observed; that the Persians themselves also, who of all Pagan Nations, have been most charged with this, the Worshipping of the Sun as the *Supreme Deity*, under the name of *Mithras*, did notwithstanding if we may believe *Eubulus* (who wrote the History of *Mithras* at large) acknowledge another *Invisible Deity* Superiour to it, (and which was the *Maker thereof and of the whole World*) as the *True and Proper Mithras*. Which opinion, is also plainly confirmed, not only by *Herodotus*, distinguishing their *Jupiter* from the Sun, but also by *Xenophon* in sundry places, as particularly where he speaks of *Cyrus* his being admonished in a Dream of his approaching death, and thereupon addressing his Devotion by Sacrifices and Prayers; first to the Ζεύς πατρίων, the *Persian Jupiter*, and then to the Sun, and the other Gods. Ἐδου δὲ τι πατρίων καὶ ἡλίου καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις θεοῖς ἕπι τῶν ὀρέων, ὡς πέσσαι θύουσιν, ὧδε ἐπαρχόμενος, Ζεὺς πατρίων καὶ ἡλίου καὶ πάντες θεοί, δέχεσθαι τὰς χειρῶν, &c. He sacrificed to their Country (or the Persian) Jupiter, and to the Sun, and to the other Gods, upon the Tops of the Mountains, as the custom of the Persians is; praying after this manner; Thou our Country Jupiter (that is, thou *Mithras* or *Oromasdes*) and thou Sun, and all ye other Gods; accept, I pray you, these my *Eucharistick Sacrifices*, &c. And we find also the like Prayer used by *Darius* in *Plutarch* Ζεὺς πατρίων Πεσών, Thou our Country Jupiter, or supreme God of the Persians. Moreover *Herodotus* and *Curtius* record, that in the Persian Pomp and Procession, there was wont to be drawn a Chariot sacred to *Jupiter*, distinct from that of the Sun. But *Cyrus* his Proclamation in the Book of *Esdras*, putteth all out of doubt; since That Lord God of Heaven, who is there said, to have given *Cyrus* all the Kingdoms of the Earth, and commanded him to build Him a House at *Jerusalem*, cannot be understood of the Sun.

L. 17. p. 822.

See Sched. de
Dij. Germ.

The Ethiopians in *Strabo's* time, may well be look'd upon as Barbarians, and yet did they not only acknowledge *One Supreme Deity*, but also such as was distinct from the world, and therefore *Invisible*, he writing thus concerning them, θεὸν νομίζουσι τὸ μὲν ἀθάνατον, τὸν δὲ εἶναι τὸ αἰώνιον τῶν πάντων, τὸ δὲ θνητὸν ἀνάνυμὸν πᾶσι, ὡς δ' ἑπιτεπολὺ τὰς δι-εργίας καὶ βασιλικὰς θεὸς νομίζουσι. They believe, that there is *One Immortal God*, and this the Cause of all things; and another *Mortal one*, anonymous; but for the most part they account their Benefactors and Kings, Gods also. And though *Cæsar* affirm of the ancient Germans, *Deorum numero eos solos ducunt, quos cernunt, & quorum opibus aperte juvantur, Solem, & Vulcanum, & Lunam*, yet is he contradicted by *Tacitus*, who coming after him had better information; and others have recorded, that they acknowledged *One Supreme God*, under the name of *Thau* first, and then of *Thantes*, and *Theutates*. Lastly, the Generality of the Pagans at this very day, as the *Indians*, *Chinese*,

Chineses, Siamenses and Guineans; the Inhabitants of Peru, Mexico, Virginia, and New England, (some of which are sufficiently Barbarous) acknowledge One Supreme or Greatest God; they having their several Proper Names for him, as Parmiscer, Fetisso, Wiracocha, Pachacamac, Vitziliputzti, &c. though worshipping withal, other Gods and Idols. And we shall conclude this with the Testimony of Josephus Acoſta: De Proc. Ind. Hoc commune apud omnes penè Barbaros eſt, ut Deum quidem Omnium rerum Supremum & ſummè Bonum, fateantur; Spirituum vero quorundam perversorum non obſcura opinio ſit, qui à noſtris Barbaris Zupay vocari ſolent. Igitur & quis ille Summus, idemque Sempiternus rerum omnium Opifex, quem illi ignorantes colunt, per omnia doceri debent, mox quantum ab illo illiusque fidelibus Miniſtris Angelis, abſint gens peſſima Cacodemonum. This is common almoſt to all the Barbarians, to confeſs one Supreme God over all, who is perfectly Good; as alſo they have a Perſwaſion amongſt them of certain Evil Spirits, which are called by our Barbarians Zupay. Wherefore they ought to be firſt well inſtructed, what that Supreme and Eternal Maker of all things is, whom they ignorantly worſhip; and then how great a difference there is, betwixt thoſe wicked Demons, and his faithful Miniſters, the Angels.

XXVIII. It hath been already declared, that according to *The- miſtius* and *Symmachus*, two zealous Pagans, One and the ſame Supreme God, was worſhipped in all the ſeveral Pagan Religions throughout the world, though after different manners. Which Diversity of Religions, as in their opinion, it was no way inconvenient in it ſelf, ſo neither was it Ungrateful nor Unacceptable to Almighty God, it being more for his Honour, State and Grandeur, to be worſhipped with this Variety, than after one only Manner. Now that this was alſo the opinion of other ancients Pagans before them, may appear from this remarkable Teſtimony of *Plutarch's* in his Book *De Iſide*, where defending the Egyptian Worſhip (which was indeed the main deſign of that whole Book;) but withal declaring, that no Inanimate thing ought to be look'd upon or worſhipped as a God, he writeth thus: P. 377.

ὅτι οὐδὲ ἀνθρώποις ὁ θεός, τὸς ἡ διατελέους ἡμῶν καὶ παρὰ χροῖας ἀνθρώπων καὶ διακρί, θεός ἐνομιμα μὲν, ὅτι ἑτέροις παρ' ἑτέροις, ὅτι παρὰ ἑτέροις καὶ ἑλ- λῶνας, ὅτι νοτίους καὶ βορείους. ἀλλὰ ὡς ὅτι ἡλίου καὶ σελήνης καὶ ὁρανοῦ, καὶ γῆς, καὶ θαλάσσης, κοινὰ πᾶσιν, ὀνομάζεται ἡ ἄλλως ὑπ' ἄλλων, ὅτις ἑνὸς αὐτοῦ τῶ ταῦτα κοσμεῖν καὶ μίας προνοίας ἐπιτροπείας, καὶ δυνάμε- ων ὑπεργῶν ἐπὶ πᾶσις τεταγμένων, ἑτέροις παρ' ἑτέροις καὶ νόμιον γενέσθαι τιμαὶ καὶ προσχεῖται. καὶ συμβόλοις χρῶνται καὶ διατελέους, οἱ μὲν ἀν- θρώποις, οἱ ἡ τεγαυτέρας, ἐπὶ τὰ θεῖα νόμιον οδηγῶντες καὶ ἀκινδύνως. No Inani- mate thing ought to be eſteemed for a God, but they who beſtow theſe things upon us, and afford us a continual ſupply thereof for our uſe, have been therefore accounted by us Gods. Which Gods are not different to diffe- rent Nations; as if the Barbarians and the Greeks, the Southern and the Northern Inhabitants of the Globe, had not any the ſame, but all other different Gods. But as the Sun and the Moon, and the Heaven and the Earth, and the Sea, are common to all, though called by ſeveral names in ſeveral Countries, ſo ONE REASON ordering theſe things and ONE PROVIDENCE diſpenſing all, and the Inferiour ſubſervient Miniſters thereof, having had ſeveral Names and Honours beſtowed upon them by

the Laws of several Countreys, have been every where worshipped throughout the whole world. And there have been also different Symbols consecrated to them, the better to conduct and lead on mens understandings to Divine things; though this hath not been without some hazard or danger of casting men upon one or other of these Two Inconveniencies, either Superstition or Atheism. Where Plutarch plainly affirms, that the Several Religions of the Pagan Nations, whether Greeks or Barbarians, and among these the Egyptians also, as well as others, consisted in nothing else, but the worshipping of One and the Same Supreme Mind, Reason and Providence, that orders all things in the world, and of its *ὑπερῶν δυνάμεις ἐπὶ πάντα τεταγμένοι*, its Subservient Powers or Ministers, appointed by it over all the several parts of the World; though under different Names, Rites and Ceremonies, and with different Symbols.

Moreover that Titus Livius was of the very same opinion, that the Pagan Gods of several Countreys, though called by several Names, and worshipped with so great Diversity of Rites and Ceremonies, yet were not for all that, Different, but the same common to all, may be concluded from this passage of his, where he writeth of Hannibal: *Nescio an Mirabilior fuerit in adversis, quàm secundis rebus. Quippe qui mistos ex colluvione omnium gentium, quibus alius Ritus, alia sacra, alii PROPE Dii essent, ita uno vinculo copulaverit, ut nulla seditio extiterit. I know not whether Hannibal were more admirable in his adversity or Prosperity; who having a mixt colluvies of all Nations under him, which had different Rites, different Ceremonies, and Almost different Gods, from one another, did notwithstanding so unite them all together in one common bond, that there hapned no sedition at all amongst them.* Where Livy plainly intimates, that though there was as great diversity of Religious Rites and Ceremonies among the Pagans, as if they had worshipped several Gods, yet the Gods of them all, were really the same, Namely, One Supreme God, and his Ministers under him. And the same Livy elsewhere declares, this to have been the General opinion of the Romans and Italians likewise at that time; where he tells us how they quarrel'd with *Q. Fulvius Flaccus*, for that when being Censor, and building a new Temple in Spain, he uncovered another Temple dedicated to *Juno Lacinia* amongst the *Brutii*, and taking off the Marble-Tyles thereof, sent them into Spain to adorn his new erected Temple withal; and how they accused him thereupon publicly in the Senate-house in this manner, *Quod ruinis Templorum Tempia edificaret, tanquam non iidem ubique Dii immortales essent, sed spoliis aliorum alii colendi exornandique; That with the ruines of Temples he built up Temples; as if there were not every where the Same Immortal Gods; but that some of them might be worshipped and adorned with the spoils of others.*

The Egyptians were doubtless the most singular of all the Pagans, and the most oddly discrepant from the rest in their manner of worship, yet nevertheless, that these also agreed with the rest in those Fundamentals, of worshipping one Supreme and Universal Numen, together

gether with his *Inferiour Ministers*, as *Plutarch* sets himself industriously to maintain it, in that forementioned Book *De Iside*, so was it further cleared and made out (as *Damascius* informs us) by Two Famous Egyptian Philosophers *Asclepiades* and *Heraiscus* in certain writings of theirs, that have been since lost: Αἰγυπῆσις ὃ ὁ μὲν Εὐδῆμου, ὃ δὲν ἀκερὲς ἰστέει· οἱ δὲ Αἰγυπῆσιοι καθ' ἡμᾶς φιλόσοφοι γιγνόμενοι, ἐξήνεγκαν αὐτῶν τὴν ἀλήθειαν κεκρυμμένην, δεικνύοντες ἐν Αἰγυπῆσις, δὲ πρὸς λόγους, ὡς εἶναι κατ' αὐτὸς ἡ μὲν μία τῶν ὅλων ἀρχὴ, σκοπὸς ἀγνώστου, &c. ἴσον δὲ καὶ ἐκείνῳ ὡς τῶν Αἰγυπῆσιων, ὅτι διακρίνομενοι εἰσι πολλὰ καὶ, τῶν κατ' ἑνὰ τιν ὑπεράσταν· ἐπεὶ καὶ τὸ νοητὸν διηγήσαντο εἰς πολλὰν ἰδιότητάς, ὡς ἔχει μαθεῖν τοῖς ἐκείνων συγγραμμάσιν ἐπιτυχῶς τοῖς βιβλιογράφοις· λέγω δὲ τῇ Ἡρακλίῳ ἀναγεγράφῃ, τῇ Αἰγυπῆσις καὶ ὅλων λόγος, πρὸς τὸν πρὸς ἑαυτὸν γεγραμμένον καὶ τῇ ἀεὶ ἀεὶ γεγραμμένον συμφωνίαν ὑπὸ Ἀσκληπιάδου καὶ Αἰγυπῆσιων πρὸς τὰς ἄλλας θεολόγους· *Though Eudemus hath given us no certain account of the Egyptians, yet the Egyptian Philosophers of latter times, have declared the hidden truth of their Theology, having found in some Egyptian Monuments, that according to them there is one Principle of all things, celebrated under the name of the Unknown Darkness, and this thrice repeated, &c. Moreover this is to be observed concerning these Egyptians, that they are wont to divide and multiply things that are One and the Same. And accordingly have they divided and multiplied the First intelligible or the One Supreme Deity, into the Properties of Many Gods; as any one may find that pleases to consult their writings; I mean that of Heraiscus, entitled the Universal Doctrine of the Egyptians, and inscribed to Proclus the Philosopher; and that Symphony or Harmony of the Egyptians with other Theologers, begun to be written by Asclepiades and left imperfect. Of which Work of Asclepiades the Egyptian, Suidas also maketh mention, upon the Word Heraiscus; ὃ δὲ Ἀσκληπιάδης ὅτι πλέον ἐν τοῖς Αἰγυπῆσις βιβλίοις ἀναγεγράφει, ἀκερὲς ἰστέει· ἢν ἀμφὶ θεολογίαν τὴν παλαιάν, ἀρχὴν τε αὐτῆς καὶ μέσσην διακεκρυμμένην, ὡς ἔχει εἰδέναι σαφῶς ἀπὸ τῶν ὕμνων, ὧν συγγεγραμμένον εἰς τὰς Αἰγυπῆσιων θεάς, καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν περὶ ματείας, ἢν ἀεὶ γεγραμμένον ὡς ἐλέχσαν τῶν θεολογῶν ἀπασῶν συμφωνίαν· *But Asclepiades having been more conversant with ancient Egyptian writings, was more thoroughly instructed, and exactly skilled in his Country Theology; he having searched into the Principles thereof, and all the consequences resulting from them; as manifestly appeareth from those Hymns which he composed in praise of the Egyptian Gods, and from that Treatise begun to be written by him (but left unfinished) which containeth, The Symphony of all Theologies. Now we say that Asclepiades his Symphony of all the Pagan Theologies, and therefore of the Egyptian with the rest; was their agreement in those Two Fundamentals expressed by Plutarch; namely the worshiping of One Supreme and Universal Numen, Reason and Providence, governing all things; and then of his Subservient Ministers (the Instruments of Providence) appointed by him, over all the parts of the world: Which being honoured under several Names, and with different Rites and Ceremonies, according to the Laws of the respective Countreys caused all that Diversity of Religions, that was amongst them. Both which Fundamental Points, of the Pagan Theology, were in like manner acknowledged by Symmachus, The First of them being thus expressed, Equum est quicquid omnes colunt, Unum**

Damasc. de Princ. M. S.

putari, That all Religions agreed in this, the Worshipping of One and the same Supreme Numen; and the Second thus, Varios Custodes Urbibus Mens Divina distribuit, That the Divine Mind appointed divers Guardian and Tutelar Spirits under him, unto Cities and Countries. He there adding also, that Sumus cuique Mos est, suum cuique Jus, That every Nation had their peculiar Modes and Manners in worshipping of these: and that these external differences in Religion, ought not to be stood upon, but every one to observe the Religion of his own Country. Or else these Two Fundamental Points of the Pagan Theology, may be thus expressed, First, that there is One Self-Originated Deity, who was the δημιουργός or Maker of the whole World, Secondly, That there are besides him, Other Gods also, to be Religiously worshipped (that is, Intellectual Beings superiour to men) which were notwithstanding all Made or Created by that One; Stobaeus thus declaring their sence, τὸ πλῆθος τῶν θεῶν ἔργον ἐστὶ τῷ δημιουργῷ, ἅμα τῷ κόσμῳ ἡυόμενον, That the multitude of Gods, is the work of the Demiurgus, made by him together with the world.

Ecl. Phys. c. 1.

XXIX. And that the Pagan Theologers, did thus generally acknowledge, One Supreme and Universal Numen, appears plainly from hence, because they supposed the whole World to be an Animal. Thus the Writer *de Placitis Philos.* and out of him *Stobaeus*, οἱ μὲν ἅλλοι πάντες ἔμψυχον τὸν κόσμον καὶ προνοίᾳ διοικεῖμενον. Ἀδύκιππος δὲ καὶ Δημόκριτος καὶ Ἐπικύρησος, καὶ ὅσοι τὰ ἄτομα εἰσηγίνονται καὶ τὸ κενόν, ὅτι ἔμψυχον ἐπὶ προνοίᾳ διοικεῖσθαι, φύσιν δὲ τιμὴν ἀλόγῳ. All others assert the World to be an Animal, and governed by Providence; only Leucippus, Democritus, and Epicurus, and those who make Atoms and Vacuum the Principles of all things, dissenting, who neither acknowledge the World to be Animated, nor yet to be governed by Providence; but by an Irrational Nature. Where by the way, we may observe the Fraud and Juggling of *Gassendus*, who takes occasion from hence highly to extol and applaud *Epicurus*, as one who approached nearer to Christianity than all the other Philosophers, in that he denied the World to be an Animal; whereas according to the Language and Notions of those times, to deny the Worlds Animation, and to be an Atheist or to deny a God, was one and the same thing; because all the Pagans who then asserted Providence, held the World also to be Animated; neither did *Epicurus* deny the Worlds Animation, upon any other account than this, because he denied Providence. And the Ground upon which this opinion of the Worlds Animation was built, was such as might be obvious even to vulgar undererstandings; and it is thus expressed by *Plotinus* according to the sence of the Ancients, ἀποποιεῖν τὸ θεῖον ἄψυχον λέγειν, ἡμῶν οἱ μέρος σώματος ἐχόμεν τῷ παντί, ψυχῇ ἐχόντων. πῶς γὰρ ἂν τὸ μέρος ἔχεν, ἄψυχον τῷ παντί ὅλος. It is absurd to affirm, that the Heaven or World is Inanimate, or devoid of Life and Soul, when we our selves who have but a part of the Mundane Body in us, are endued with Soul. For how could a Part have Life and Soul in it, the Whole being Dead and inanimate? Now if the whole world be One Animal, then must it needs be Governed by One Soul, and not by Many. Which One Soul of the World, and the whole Mundane Animal was by some of the Pagan Theolo-

Plot. L. 2. c. 3.

Stob. Ecl. Phys.

c. 25.

En. 4. L. 3. c. 7.

Theologers (as namely the Stoicks) taken to be the *πρῶτος θεός*, *The First and Highest God of all.*

Nevertheless others of the Pagan Theologers, though asserting the *World's Animation* likewise, yet would by no means allow the *Mundane Soul* to be the *Supreme Deity*; they conceiving the *First and Highest God* to be an *Abstract and Immovable Mind*, and not a *Soul*. Thus the Panegyrist, (cited also by Gyraldus,) invokes the Supreme Deity doubtfully and cautiously, as not knowing well what to call him, whether *Soul or Mind*; *Te Summe rerum Sator, cujus tot nomina sunt, quot gentium linguas esse voluisti; quem enim te ipse dici velis, scire non possumus: sive in te quædam vis Mensque Divina est, quæ toto infusa mundo, omnibus misceris elementis, & sine ullo extrinsecus accedente vigoris impulsu, per te ipse movearis; sive aliqua supra omne Cælum potestas es, quæ hoc opus totum ex altiore Naturæ arce despicias: Te inquam oramus, &c.* Thou Supreme Original of all things, who hast as many Names as thou hast pleased there should be languages; whether thou beest a certain Divine Force and Soul, that infused into the whole world art mingled with all the Elements, and without any External impulse moved from thy self; or whether thou beest a Power Elevated above the Heavens, which lookest down upon the whole work of Nature, as from a higher Tower; Thee we invoke, &c. And as the Supreme Deity was thus considered only as a *Perfect Mind*, Superiour to *Soul*, so was the *Mundane Soul* and whole *Animated World*, called by these Pagans frequently, *δευτερος θεός*, *The Second God*. Thus in the Asclepian Dialogue or Perfect Oration, is the Lord and Maker of all, said to have made a *Second God* Visible and Sensible, which is the *World*. Hist. Dec. p. 11

But for the most part, they who asserted a God, Superiour to the *Soul* of the *World*, did maintain a *Trinity of Universal Principles*, or *Divine Hypostases* subordinate, they conceiving, that as there was above the *Mundane Soul* a *Perfect Mind or Intellect*; so that *Mind and Intellect* as such, was not the *First Principle* neither, because there must be *νοῦς* in order of nature before *νῦς*, an *Intelligible* before *Intellect*. Which *First Intelligible*, was called by them, *τὸ ἐν* and *τὰγαθόν*, *The One*, and *The Good*, or *Unity and Goodness* it self Substantial, the Cause of *Mind* and All things. Now as the *Tagathon* or Highest of these *Three Hypostases*, was sometimes called by them *ὁ πρῶτος θεός*, *The First God*, and *νῦς* or *Intellect* *ὁ δευτερος θεός*, *The Second God*, so was the *Mundane Soul* and Animated world, called *τελος θεός*, *The Third God*. Thus *Numenius* in *Proclus* upon *Plato's Timæus*, *Νυμηνίος μὲν γὰρ τρεῖς ἀνυμνήσας θεός, πατέρα μὲν καλεῖ τὸ πρῶτον, ποιητὴν ὃ τὸ δευτερον, ποιῆμα ὃ τὸ τρίτον. ὁ γὰρ κόσμος κατ' αὐτὸν ὁ τέλος ἔστι θεός, ὡς ὁ κατ' αὐτὸν δημιουργός διττός, ὅτι πρῶτος καὶ ὁ δευτερος θεός, τὸ δὲ δημιουργούμενον ὁ τέλος.* P. 93. *Numenius praising Three Gods, calls the Father the First God, the Maker the Second, and the Work the Third. For the World according to him, is the Third God; as he supposes also Two Opificers, the First and the Second God. Plotinus* in like manner speaks of this also, as very Familiar language amongst those Pagans, *καὶ ὁ κόσμος θεός, ὡς ἀπὸ συνήθους λέγειν, τέλος, And the World, as is commonly said, is the Third God.* En. 3. L. 5. §. 6.

But

But neither they, who held the Supreme Deity to be an Immoveable *Mind* or *Intellect*, superiour to the *Mundane Soul* (as *Aristotle* and *Xenocrates*) did suppose that *Mundane Soul* and the *whole World*, to have depended upon *Many* such Immoveable *Intellects* Self-existent, as their *First Cause*, but only upon *One*: nor they, who admitting a *Trinity of Divine Hypostases*, made the Supreme Deity properly, to be a *Monad* above *Mind* or *Intellect*, did conceive that *Intellect* to have depended upon *Many* such *Monads*, as *First Principles Coordinate*, but upon *One only*. From whence it plainly appears, that the Pagan Theologers, did always reduce things under a *Monarchy*, and acknowledge not *Many Independent Deities*, but *One Universal Numen* (whether called *Soul*, or *Mind*, or *Monad*) as the Head of all. Though it hath been already declared, that those Pagans, who were *Trinitarians*, especially the *Platonists*, do often take those their *Three Hypostases* subordinate (a *Monad*, *Mind* and *Soul*) all together, for the τὸ θεῖον, or *One Supreme Numen*; as supposing an extraordinary kind of *Unity*, in that *Trinity of Hypostases*, and so as it were, a certain *Latitude and Gradation*, in the *Deity*.

Where by the way Two things may be observed, concerning the Pagan Theologers; First, that according to them generally the whole Corporeal System, was not a *Dead Thing*, like a *Machin* or *Automaton* Artificially made by men, but that *Life* and *Soul* was mingled with and diffused thorough it All: insomuch that *Aristotle* himself, taxes those, who made the World to consist of nothing but *Monads* or *Atoms* altogether *Dead and Inanimate*, as being therefore a kind of *Atheists*. Secondly, That how much soever some of them supposed the *Supreme Deity* and *First Cause*, to be Elevated above the Heaven and Corporeal World, yet did they not therefore conceive either the World to be quite *Cut off* from that, or that from the World, so as to have no commerce with it nor influence upon it; but as all proceeded from this *First Cause*, so did they suppose that to be closely and intimately united with all those Emanations from it self, (though without Mixture and Confusion) and all to subsist in it, and be pervaded by it. *Plutarch* in his *Platonick Questions*, propounds this amongst the rest, τί δὲ ποτε τὸ ἀνωτάτω θεόν, πατέρα πάντων καὶ ποιητὴν προσέειπεν; *Why Plato called the Highest God, the Father and Maker of All?* To which he answers in the First place thus, τῷ μὲν θεῷ γυνήτι καὶ τῷ ἀνθρώπων πατὴρ ὅστι, ποιητὴς ὃ τῷ ἀλόγων καὶ τῷ ἀψύχων. *That perhaps he was called the Father of all the Generated Gods, and of men, but the Maker of the Irrational and Inanimate things of the World.* But afterward he adds, That this Highest God, might therefore be styled the Father of the whole Corporeal World also, as well as the Maker, because it is no Dead and Inanimate thing, but endued with Life; ἐμφύχον γὰρ χόνοις ἢ χόνοις ὅστι καὶ ποιητὴς μὲν, οἷος οἰκοδόμος ἢ ὑφάντης, ἢ λύρας δημιουργός ἢ ἀνδρῶν εἰς αἶσος, ἀπὸ πολλῶν τῶν γυνήτων ἀρχὴ καὶ δύναμις ἐγκέκροται τὰ τελευτά, καὶ συνέχῃ τὴν φύσιν, ἀπὸ παλαιᾶ καὶ νέου ὅταν τὸ τελευτῶσαντος. Ἐπεὶ τούτων δὲ πεπλησμένοι οὗ κόσμος, ὅδε συννημοσμένοι ποιήμασιν ὅεικεν, ἀλλ' ἐστὶν αὐτὰ μοῖρα πολλὰ ζωότητος καὶ θεότητος, ἣν ὁ θεὸς ἐγκατέσχευεν ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ τῇ ὕλῃ κατέμειψεν, εἰκό-

P. 100. par.

τως ἅμα πατήτε τῷ κόσμῳ ζῶν γεγονότος, καὶ ποιητῆς ἐπονομαζέσθαι. Generation is the making or production of something Animate. And the work of an Artificer, as an Architect or Statuary, as soon as it is produced, departeth and is removed from the Maker thereof, as having no Intrinsic dependance upon him; Whereas from him that begetteth, there is a Principle and Power infused into that which is begotten, and mingled therewith, that containeth the whole nature thereof, as being a kind of Avulsion from the Begetter. Wherefore since the World is not like to those works, that are Artificially made and compacted by men, but hath a participation of Life and Divinity, which God hath inserted into it and mingled with it; God is therefore rightly stiled by Plato, not only the Maker, but also the Father of the whole World, as being an Animal. To the same purpose also Plotinus, ὁλόκληρος δὲ οἷον οἶκος τις καλὸς καὶ ποικίλος, ἐκ ἀπείρου τῷ πεποιημένῳ, ὅσ' αὖ ἐποιήσεν αὐτῷ. ἔχει καὶ ψυχὴν κατὰ μέγεθος καὶ κατὰ τὸν ἐξοικονομημένον ἀλλ' ἐν ἑαυτῷ, καὶ τὸ ἐν τῇ ψυχῇ ἀνεχέσθαι αὐτῷ, καὶ ἐκ ἀμοιροῦν ἐστὶν αὐτῆς, ὡς ἂν ἐν ὑδασι δύνῃσιν τετόνικον ζῶν. The World being made as a large and stately Edifice, was neither cut off and separated from its Maker, nor yet mingled and confounded with him. Forasmuch as he still remaineth above Presiding over it: The World being so animated, as rather to be possessed by Soul, than to possess it, it lying in that great Psyche which sustaineth it, as a net in the waters, all moistned with Life. Thus Plotinus supposing the whole Corporeal World to be Animated, affirmeth it neither to be cut off from its Maker (by which Maker he here understands the Mundane Soul) nor yet that Mundane Soul it self, to be Immersed into its Body the World, after the same manner as our humane Souls are into these Bodies; but so to preside over it, and act it, as a thing Elevated above it. And though according to him, that Second Divine Hypostasis of Nous or Intellect, be in like manner Elevated above this Mundane Soul; and again that First Hypostasis or Supreme Deity, (called by him Unity and Goodness) above Intellect; yet the Corporeal World could not be said, to be cut off from these neither; they being all three (Monad, Mind, and Soul) closely and intimately united together.

En. 4. L. 3. c. 9.

XXX. The Hebrews were the only Nation, who before Christianity for several ages, professedly opposed the Polytheism and Idolatry of the Pagan World. Wherefore it may be probably concluded, that they had the right Notion of this Pagan Polytheism and understood what it consisted in, viz. Whether in worshipping Many Unmade, Self-originated Deities, as Partial Creators of the World; or else in worshipping, besides the Supreme God, other Created Beings Superiour to Men? Now Philo plainly understood the Pagan Polytheism after this latter way; as may appear from this passage of his in his Book concerning the Confusion of Languages, where speaking of the Supreme God (the Maker and Lord of the whole World) and of his δυνάμεις ἀγαθοί, his Innumerable Assistent Powers, both visible and invisible, he adds, καὶ ἀπλὰ γὰρ ἐν πλείοσι τῶν ἐκείνων τῶν κόσμων φύσιν, καὶ μόνον ὅλας ἐξεβείωσαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ κάλλιστα τῶν ἐν αὐτοῖς μερῶν, ἥλιον, καὶ σελήνην, καὶ τὰ συμπαντὰ δεξιὸν, ἅψ' ὅθεν αἰδεσθέντες θεοὺς ἐκάλεισαν, ὡν τινὲς ὀνόμαζον καλῶν μαυρίων φησὶ καὶ ἐκείνη βασιλεῦ τῶν θεῶν, ἐνδύσθαι τὸ παρ' ὑμῶν ἀρχαῖον διαφορῆς. Wherefore some men being struck with admiration

P. 345.

753.

miration of both these Worlds, the Visible and the Invisible, have not only Deified the whole of them, but also their several Parts, as the Sun, and the Moon, and the whole Heaven, they not scrupling to call these, Gods. Which Notion and Language of theirs, Moses respected in those words of his, Thou Lord the King of Gods; he thereby declaring the transcendency of the Supreme God above all those his Subjects called Gods. To the same purpose Philo writeth also in his Commentary upon the Decalogue, πᾶσαν ἔν τῷ τοιαύτῳ περιέχον ἀποστέλλοι, τὸς ἀδελφὸς φύσιν μὴ προσκυνᾶμεν, εἰ καὶ καθαρώτερος καὶ ἀθανατώτερος ἑστίας ἔλαχον, ἀδελφοὶ δ' ἀλλήλων τὰ γινόμενα, καθ' ὃ γίγνεται, ἐπεὶ καὶ πατὴρ ἀπάντων ὁ ποιητὴς τοῦ ὅλων· καὶ πρῶτον τὸτο καὶ ἱερώτατον ἀποδείκνυται ἐν αὐτοῖς, ὅτι ἅπαντά τινι νομίζοντες καὶ τιμᾶν θεόν. Wherefore removing all such imposture, Let us worship no Beings, that are by Nature Brothers and Germane to us, though endued with far more pure and immortal Essences than we are. For all Created things as such, have a kind of Germane and Brotherly Equality with one another, the maker of all things being their common Father. But let us deeply infix this first and most holy commandment in our breasts, to acknowledge and worship One only Highest God. And again afterwards, ὅσοι μὲν ἡλίου, καὶ σελήνης, καὶ τῶ συμπαντος θεοῦ τε καὶ κόσμου, καὶ τοῦ ἐν αὐτοῖς ὁλοχερούτων μερῶν ὡς θεῶν πρέσβυτοι καὶ θεοπροφῆται, διαμαρτυροῦνται, τὸς ὑποκλίνονται τῷ ἀρχαῖῳ σερμύνοντες. They who worship the Sun, and the Moon, and the whole Heaven and World, and the Principal parts of them as Gods, err, in that they worship the Subjects of the Prince; whereas the Prince alone ought to be worshipped. Thus according to Philo, the Pagan Polytheism consisted, in giving Religious Worship, besides the Supreme God, to other Created understanding Beings, and Parts of the World, more pure and immortal than men.

Flavius Josephus in his Judaick Antiquities, extolling Abraham's Wisdom and Piety, writeth thus concerning him, πρῶτος ἔν τοιούτῳ θεόν ἀποφῆνασθαι δημιουργόν τοῦ ὅλων ἑνα, which some would understand in this manner, that Abraham was the first who publicly declared, that there was one God the Demiurgus or maker of the whole world; as if all mankind besides at that time, had supposed, the world to have been made not by One but by Many Gods. But the true meaning of those words is this, That Abraham was the first, who in that degenerate age, publicly declared that the Maker of the whole world, was the One only God, and alone to be Religiously Worshipped: accordingly as it follows afterwards in the same writer, ὃ καλῶς ἔχει μόνῳ τῷ τιμᾶν καὶ τὴν δόξαν εἶναι ἀπονέμειν, to whom alone men ought to give honour and thanks. And the reason hereof is there also set down, τοῦ ἡ λοιπῶν, εἰ καὶ τι πρὸς δαιμονίων συντελεῖ, καὶ πρὸς αὐτὴν τὴν τὸτο παρέχειν ἑκάστῳ καὶ ἑκάτ' οἰκέαν ἰσχύει. Because all those other beings, that were then worshipped as Gods, whatsoever any of them contributed to the happiness of mankind, they did it not by their own power, but by his appointment and command; he instancing in the Sun and Moon, and Earth and Sea, which are all made and ordered by a higher power and providence, by the force whereof they contribute to our utility. As if he should have said, That no Created Being, ought to be Religiously worshipped, but the Creator only. And this agreeth

agreeth with what we read in Scripture concerning Abraham, that he called upon the Name of the Lord, *אלהים*. The God of the whole *Gen 21.23.* World; that is, he worshipped no particular Created Beings, as the other Pagans at that time did, but only that *Supreme Universal Numen*, which made and containeth the whole World. And thus *Maimonides* interprets that place, *התורה לחיות עם שם רבו לעבד* *De Idol. c. i. §. 7.* *אלהים* Abraham began to teach, that none ought to be Religiously Worshipped, save only the God of the whole World. Moreover the same *Josephus* afterwards in his Twelfth Book, brings in *Aristæus* (who seems to have been a secret Profelyted Greek) pleading with *Ptolemæus Philadelphus*, in behalf of the Jews and their Liberty, after this manner; *τὴν βασιλείαν ὡς διέποντι, τὸ θεμελιόν τὰς νόμους αὐτοῖς. ὅτι ἅπαντα συστήσαμεν θεόν, καὶ οἱ καὶ ἡμεῖς σεβόμεθα, ζῆνα καλῶντες αὐτόν, ἐτοίμως ἀπὸ τοῦ σύμπασι ἐμφύειν τὸ ζῆν, τὴν ἐπικύλησιν αὐτὸ νοήσαντες.* It would well agree with your Goodness and Magnanimity, to free the Jews from that miserable Captivity which they are under: since the same God who governeth your Kingdom, gave Laws to them, as I have by diligent search found out. For both They and we, do alike worship the God who made all things, we calling him Zene, because he gives life to all. Wherefore for the honour of that God, whom they worship after a singular manner, please you to indulge them the liberty of returning to their native country. Where *Aristæus* also according to the fence of Pagans thus concludes; Know, O King, that I intercede not for these Jews as having any cognation with them, *πάντων ἢ ἀνθρώπων δημιουργία ὄντων τὸ θεῶν, καὶ γνώσκων αὐτὸν ἡδόμενον τοῖς ἀποδείξιν, ἐπὶ τῷ τῷ καὶ σὲ ἐδουλοῦν, but all men being the Workmanship of God, and knowing that he is delighted with beneficence, I therefore thus exhort you.*

As for the latter Jewish Writers and Rabbins, it is certain that the generality of them supposed the Pagans to have acknowledged One Supreme and Universal Numen, and to have worshipped all their other Gods, only as his Ministers, or as Mediators between him and them: *Maimonides* in *Halacoth* *עליו* describeth the Rise of the Pagan Polytheism in the dayes of *Enosh*, after this manner: *בימי אנוש שענו בני האדם מעות גורל ונבערה עצה חכמי אוחו דודו ואנוש עצמו מן השועים היה זה היתה מעותם: אמרו הואיל והאל ברא כוכבים אלו וגלגלים להנחת את העולם ונחנם במרום והלק להם כבוד והם שמשים המשמשים לפניו ראויים הם לשבחם ולפאדם ולחלוק להם כבוד וזהו רצון האל ברוך הוא לעל ולכבד מי שגדלו וכברו כמו שהמך רוצה לכבוד העומדים לפניו וזהו כבודו של מלך* In the days of *Enosh*, the Sons of men grievously erred, and the wisdom of that age became brutish (even *Enosh* himself being in the number of them) and their error was this, that since God had created the stars and spheres, to govern the world, and placing them on high, had bestowed this honour upon them, that they should be his Ministers and subservient Instruments; men ought therefore to praise them, honour them, and worship them: this being the pleasure of the Blessed God, that men should magnifie and honour those whom himself hath magnified and honoured, as a King will have his Ministers to be revered, this honour redounding to himself. Again the same *Maimonides* in the beginning of the Second Chapter of that Book writeth thus; *עיקר הצו העבודה וזה שלא לעבד אחד מכל הבדואים*

לא מלאך ולא גלגל ולא כוכב ולא אחד מן היסודות ולא אחד מכל הנבראים
 מהן ואף עלפי שהעובד יודע שהשם הוא האלהים והוא עובד הנברא הזה על
 דרך שטעבד אנוש ואנשו דורו תחלה היו זה עבר עבודה זרה
The Foundation of that Commandment against strange Worship (now commonly called I-
dolatry) is this, that no man should worship any of the Creatures what-
soever, neither Angel, nor Sphere, nor Star, nor any of the four Ele-
ments, nor any thing made out of them. For though he that worships these
things, knows that the Lord is God, and Superiour to them all, and
worships those Creatures no otherwise, than Enosh and the rest of that age
did, yet is he nevertheless guilty of Strange Worship, or Idolatry. And
that, after the times of Enosh also, in succeeding ages, the Poly-
theism of the Pagan Nations, was no other than this, the worship-
ping (besides One Supreme God) of other created Beings, as the
Ministers of his Providence, and as Middles or Mediators betwixt
Him and Men, is declared likewise by Maimonides (in his More Ne-
vuchim) to have been the Universal Belief of all the Hebrews or Jews;
 ואחא יודע כי כל מי שטעבד עבודה זרה לא יעבדה רעת שאין אלוה ובלעדיה יה ולאדמה
 מעולם כלל מן העובדים ולא ידמה מן הבאים שהצורה אשר יעשה מן המתכות או
 מן האבנים והעצים שהצורה ההיא היא אשר בראה השמים והארץ אבל אמנם
 יעבדה על צד שהיא דמיון לדבר שהוא אמצעי ביום ובין האלוה וזה ממה שלא
 You know that *whosoever committeth Idolatry, he doth it not as supposing, that there is no other God besides that which*
he worshippeth, for it never came into the minds of any Idolaters, nor
never will, that that Statue which is made by them of metal, or stone, or
wood, is that very God who created Heaven and Earth; but they wor-
ship those Statues and Images only as the representation of something,
which is a Mediator between God and them. Moses Albelda the Author
 of the Book entituled, *Gnolath Tamid*, resolves all the Pa-
 gan Polytheism and Idolatry, into these Two Principles, one of which
 respected God, and the other men themselves: *הוא שטעני ליה מצדו יר*
 ואומרים כי הוא גבוה מעל גבוה ואף לחובק בו דרך עי' האמצעים כמנהג המלך בן
 שהרצות לשאול שאלה מה ממנו ישאלוה עי' אמצעי ולכן עשים אותה העם כדי להוריד
 השפע האלהי על ידה: *הב שטעניק מצד עצמם וזה כי היות האדם גשמי אנו יכול להחבור*
מעצמו אם לא ישום נגדו דבר מה מוחש יעוררו ויעוררו להבין עצמו כדי שחובק
The Idolaters first argued thus, in respect of God; that
since he was of such transcendent perfection above men, it was not possible
for men to be united to or have communion with him, otherwise than by
means of certain Middle Beings or Mediators; as it is the manner of
Earthly Kings, to have petitions conveyed to them by the hands of Media-
tors & Intercessors. Secondly they thus argued also in respect of themselves,
That being corporeal so that they could not apprehend God Abstractly, they
must needs have something Sensible, to excite and stir up their devotion &
fix their Imagination upon. Joseph Albo in the Book called *Ikkarim*, con-
 cludes that Ahab and the other Idolatrous Kings of Israel and Judah
 worshipped other Gods upon those two accounts mentioned by Mai-
 monides & no otherwise, namely that the Supreme God was honoured by
 worshipping of his Ministers, and that there ought to be certain Middles
 and Mediators betwixt him and Men, ויהודה
 היו שטעני אחד הכחות הגלגליות משתי צדדין שאמרנו וגם שלמה טעה בזה עם
 היוותם מאמנים במציאות השם ואחוריותו אם נשהיו חושבים לעד אף השם
 בזה ואם נשהיו חושבין לעשות סרסור ואמצעיים בינם ובין השם יתב
 Ahab

P. 1. c. 36.

Fol. 147.

P. 3. c. 18.

Ahab and other Kings of Israel and Judah, and even Solomon himself, erred in worshipping the Stars upon those two accounts already mentioned out of Maimonides, notwithstanding that they believed the Existence of God and his Unity; they partly conceiving that they should honour God in worshipping of his Ministers, and partly worshipping them as Mediators betwixt God and themselves. And the same Writer determines the meaning of that First Commandment (which is to him the Second) Thou shalt have no other Gods before my face, to be this, להכניס אותם אמצעים בני ובנות או שתחשוב לרוסם. אותי בעבודתם. Thou shalt not set up other Inferiour Gods as Mediators betwixt me and thy self, or worship them so, as thinking to honour me thereby. R. David Kimchi (upon 2 Kings 17.) writeth thus, concerning that Israelitish Priest, who by the King of Assyria's command, was sent to Samaria to teach the new inhabitants thereof to worship the God of that Land (of whom it is afterwards said, that they both feared the Lord and served their Idols;) אמר להם שלא יהיו עובדים עבודה זרה; כלל לא היו מאמינים שהוא דבר שגדלו בו כל האומות מקדם והוא אצלם כמו מושל ראשון אך אמר להם שיהיו עובדים את אלוהיהם כמו שהיו עובדים ובלבד שתהא כוונת האל בלבם כי אלא האלהים לא ודעו ולא יושבי כי אם ברצון האל אלא שעובדים אותם להיוסם אמצעים בינם ובין הבורא. If he should have altogether prohibited them their Idolatry, they would not have hearkned to him, that being a thing which all those Eastern people were educated in from their very Infancy, insomuch that it was a kind of First Principle to them. Wherefore he permitted them to worship all their several Gods, as before they had done, only he required them to direct the intention of their minds to the God of Israel (as the Supreme) for those Gods could do them neither Good nor Hurt, otherwise than according to his Will and pleasure: but they worshipped them to this purpose, that they might be MEDIATORS betwixt them and the Creatour. In the Book Nitzachon, all the Polytheism and Idolatry of the Pagans, is reduced to these Three Heads; First עבדו משרתי השם לכבודו. When they worshipped the Ministers of God, as thinking to honour him thereby; and Secondly, עבדו אותם שהיו מליצים בעדם. When they worshipped them, as Orators and Intecessors for them with God; and Lastly עבדו לטעם ואבן לזכרו. when they worshipped Statues of wood and stone, for Memorials of him. And though it be true that Isaak Abrabanel (upon 2 Kings 17.) does enumerate more Species of Pagan Idolatry, even to the number of Ten, yet are they all of them but so many several Modes of Creature-worship; and there is no such thing amongst them to be found, as the worshipping of many Unmade Independent Deities, as Partial Creators of the World.

Moreover those Rabbinick Writers commonly interpret certain places of the Scripture to this sence, That the Pagan Idolaters, did notwithstanding, acknowledge, One Supreme Deity, as that Jeremy 10.7. Who is there that will not fear thee thou King of Nations? For amongst all their wise men and in all their Kingdoms, there is none like unto thee; though they are become all together brutish, and their worshipping of stocks is a doctrine of vanity: For Maimonides thus glosseth upon those Words, כלומר הנל יודעים שאתה הוא לבוד אבל טעותם וכסילותם שמדמים שזה ההכל רצון הוא As if he should say, all the Gen-

tiles know, that thou art the only Supreme God, but their error and folly consisteth in this, that they think this vanity of worshipping Inferiour Gods, to be a thing agreeable to thy will. And thus also Kimchi in his Commentaries, העובדים האלילים ראויו להם שיראוך כי אחה מלך עליהם בכל חכמי הגוים ובכל מלכותם אומרים מאין נמוך ואינם עובדים הכוכבים אלא להיוותם אמצעיים בינך ובינם ואמר חכמי הגוים כי הם יודעים כי הפסל אינו כלום ואם יעבדו הכוכבים לא יעבדום אלא מפני שהם *Who will not fear thee? It is fit that even the Nations themselves who worship Idols, should fear thee, for thou art their King; and indeed amongst all the wisemen of the Nations and in all their Kingdoms it is generally acknowledged, that there is none like unto thee. Neither do they worship the Stars otherwise, than as Mediators betwixt thee and them. Their wise men know that an Idol is nothing; and though they worship Stars, yet do they worship them as thy Ministers, and that they may be Intercessors for them.* Another place is that, *Malachi I. II.* which though we read in the Future Tense, as a Prophecy of the Gentiles, yet the Jews understand it of that present time, when those words were written, *From the rising of the Sun to the going down thereof my name is great among the Gentiles; and in every place incense is offered to my name, and a pure oblation, for my name is great amongst the Gentiles, saith the Lord of Hosts. But you prophane it, &c.* Upon which words *R. Solomon* glosseth thus, *מי שיש לו עין יודע שהוא אלוהה שהוא על כולם ובכל מקום מתנבים לשמי אף האומות* *The Pagan Polytheists and Idolaters Know, that there is One God Superiour to all those other Gods and Idols worshipped by them; and in every place are there Free-will-offerings, brought to my name, even amongst the Gentiles. And Kimchi agreeth with him herein, אף על פי שהגוים עובדים לצבא השמים מודים כי שמי הסבה הראשונה אלא שעובדים אותם שיהיו אמצעיים ביני ובינם* *Although the Pagans worshipped the Host of Heaven, yet do they confess me to be the first Cause, they worshipping them only as in their opinion certain Mediators betwixt me and them.* Whether either of these two places of Scripture, does sufficiently prove, what these Jews would have, or no; yet however is it evident from their interpretations of them, that themselves supposed, the Pagans to have acknowledged, *One Supreme Deity*, and that their *Other Gods*, were all but his *Creatures* and *Ministers*. Nevertheless there is another place of Scripture which seems to sound more to this purpose, and accordingly hath been thus interpreted by *Rabbi Solomon* and others, *Psal. 65. 6.* where God is called *מבטח כל קצוי ארץ יום רחמים* *The Confidence of all the Ends of the Earth, and of them that are afar off in the Sea, that is, even of all the Pagan World.*

Thus we see plainly, that the Hebrew Doctors and Rabbins, have been generally of this perswasion, that the Pagan Nations anciently, atleast the Intelligent amongst them, acknowledged One Supreme God of the Whole World; and that all their Other Gods were but *Creatures* and *Inferiour Ministers*; which were worshipped by them vpon these *Two Accounts*, either as thinking, that the Honour done to them redounded to the Supreme; or else that they might be *מליצין, סרסורים, and אמצעיים, their Mediators, and Intercessors, Orators, and Negotiators* with him. Which Inferiour Gods

of the Pagans, were supposed by these Hebrews, to be chiefly of Two Kinds, *Angels*, and *Stars* or *Spheres*. The Latter of which the Jews as well as Pagans, concluded to be Animated and Intellectual: For thus *Maimonides* expressly, כל הכוכבים והגלגלים כולן בעלי נפש ודעה, והשכל הם והם חיים ועומרים ומכריזין את מי שאמר והיה העולם כל אחד ואחד רפי גודל ולפי מעלותם שבחין ומפארים ליוצרים כמו השלמים *The Stars and Spheres are every one of them Animated, and endued with Life, Knowledge and Understanding. And they acknowledge him, who commanded and the World was made, everyone of them, according to their degree and excellency praising and honouring him, as the Angels do. And this they would confirm from that place of Scripture, Neh. 9. 6. Thou, even thou art Lord alone, Thou hast made Heaven, the Heaven of Heavens with all their Host, the Earth with all things that are therein, the Seas and all that is therein, and Thou preservest them all; and the Host of Heaven Worshippeth Thee: The Host of Heaven being commonly put for the Stars.*

*Feude Hatto-
rab c. 3. §. 9.*

XXXI. But Lastly, this same thing is plainly confirmed from the *Scriptures* of the *New Testament* also; That the *Gentiles* and *Pagans*, however *Polytheists* and *Idolaters*, were not unacquainted with the knowledge of the *True God*, that is, of the *One only Self-existent* and *Omnipotent Being*, which *Comprehendeth all things under him*: From whence it must needs follow, that their other *Many Gods*, were all of them supposed to have been derived from this *One*, and to be *Dependent* on him.

For First, *St. Paul* in his *Epistle* to the *Romans* tells us, that these *Gentiles* or *Pagans* did τὴν ἀλήθειαν ἐν ἀδικίᾳ κατέχευον, *Hold the Truth in Unrighteousness, or Unjustly Detain and Imprison the same.* Which is chiefly to be understood, of the *Truth* concerning *God*, as appears from that which follows, and therefore implies the *Pagans* not to have been unfurnished of such a *knowledge of God*, as might and ought to have kept them from all kinds of *Idolatry*; however by their *Default*, it proved ineffectual to that end, as is afterwards declared; ἐν ἡδονῇ μακροῦν καὶ οὐδὲν ἔχειν ἐν ἑπαιγμένῳ, *They liked not to retain God* V. 28. *in the Agnition, or Practical Knowledge of him.* Where there is a distinction to be observed, betwixt γνῶσις and ἐπιγνώσις, the *Knowledge* and the *Agnition* of *God*; the former whereof in this Chapter, is plainly granted to the *Pagans*, though the Latter be here denied them; because they lapsed into *Polytheism* and *Idolatry*; which is the meaning of these words, μετέλλαξαν τὴν ἀλήθειαν τῷ θεῷ ἐν τῷ λόγῳ, *They changed the truth of God into a lye.* V. 25. Again the same *Apostle* there affirmeth, That the τὸ γνωστὸν τῷ θεῷ φανερὸν ἔστιν ἐν αὐτοῖς, *That which may be Known of God, was manifest within them, God himself having shewed it unto them.* There is something of *God Unknowable* and *Incomprehensible* by all *Mortals*, butth at of *God* which is *Knowable*, his *Eternal Power* and *Godhead*, with the *Attributes* belonging thereunto, is made manifest to all mankind, from his works. *The invisible things of him, from the Creation of the World, being clearly seen and understood by the things that are made.* Moreover this *Apostle* expressly declareth, the *Pagans* to have known *God*, in that *Censure* which he

V. 21.

he giveth of them, διότι γνόντες τὸ θεόν, ἔχ' ὡς θεὸν ἐδόξασαν, *that when they Knew God they Glorified him not as God*; because they fell into Polytheism and Idolatry. Though the Apostle here instanceth only in the Latter of those Two, their changing the Glory of the Incorruptible God, into an Image made like to Corruptible man and to birds and beasts and creeping things. The reason whereof is, because this Idolatry of the Pagans, properly so called, that is, their worshipping of stocks and stones, formed into the likeness of Man or Beast, was generally taken amongst the Jews, for the grossest of all their

De Decal. p. 753.

Religious Miscarriages. Thus Philo plainly declareth; ὅσοι μὲν ἡλίου καὶ σελήνης, καὶ τῆς συμπαντὸς ἑρμῆς τε καὶ κόρυμς, καὶ τῆς ἐν αὐτοῖς ὁλοφρεσώτων μερῶν ὡς θεῶν πρόπολοι τε καὶ δεξαμέλαι, διαμαρτάνουσι μὲν. (πῶς γὰρ ἔ, τὰς ὑπνίκους τῆς ἀρχαίας σεμνύουσιν) ἢ πῶς ἢ τῆς ἀλλων ἀδικῶσι, τῆς ξύλα καὶ λίθους, ἀργυρῶν τε καὶ χρύσων, καὶ τὰς ἀπαλυσίας ἡλίου μορφωσάντων, &c. *Whosoever worship the Sun, and Moon, and the whole Heaven, and World, and the chief Parts thereof, as Gods, do unquestionably Err (they honouring the subjects of the Prince) but they are guilty of less iniquity and injustice, than those who form wood and stone, gold and silver, and the like matters, into Statues to worship them, &c. of which assertion*

he afterwards gives this account, τὸ γὰρ κάλλιστον ἔρεσμα τὸ δι' ἡμῶν ἐξελαν, τὴν αὖτε τῆς ζωῆς αἰεὶ δεῖ προσήκοντι ὑπόληψιν, *because these have cut off the most excellent Fulcrum of the Soul, the perswasion of the Everliving God, by means whereof, like unballasted ships, they are tossed up and down perpetually, nor can be ever able to rest in any safe harbour.* And from hence it came to pass, that the Polytheism of the Pagans, their worshipping of Inferiour Gods (as Stars and Demons) was vulgarly called also by the Jews and Christians, Idolatry, it being so denominated by them à famosiore specie. Lastly, the Apostle plainly declares, that the error of the Pagan Superstition universally consisted (not in worshipping Many Independent Gods and Creators, but) in

I. 25.

joyning Creature-worship, as such, some way or other, with the Worship of the Creator; ἐπελάθοντο καὶ ἐλάτρευσαν τῇ κτίσει ὡς καὶ αἰσθητοῖς, which words are either to be thus rendred; *They [religiously] worshipped the Creature Besides the Creator*, that Preposition being often used in this sence, as for example, in this of Aristotle, where he affirmeth

Met L. 1 c. 6.

concerning Plato, that he did τὸ ἐν ἑ τὰς ἀριθμοὺς ὡς καὶ τὰ περὶ ἡμῶν ποιῆσαι, (not make Numbers to be the Things themselves, as the Pythagoreans had done, but) *Unity and Numbers to be Besides the things*; or τὰς ἀριθμοὺς ὡς καὶ τὰ αἰσθητοῖς, *Numbers to exist by themselves, Besides the Sensibles.* He by Numbers meaning, as Aristotle himself there expounds it, τὰ εἰδῶν, the Ideas contained in the First Intellect (which was Plato's Second Divine Hypostasis) as also by τὸ ἐν, ὁ τοῖς εἰδῶσι παρέχεται τὸ τί ἦν εἶναι, *that Ipsum Unum, or Unity which gives being to those Ideas, is understood Plato's First Divine Hypostasis.* Or else the Words ought to be translated thus; *And worshipped the Creature Above or More than the Creator*, that Preposition ὡς, being sometimes used Comparatively, so as to signifie Excess, as for example in Luke 13. 2. *Think you that these Galileans were ἀμωρτοιοὶ ὡς πάντας τὰς Γαλιλαίους, Sinners beyond all the Galileans?* And ver. 4. *Think you, that those eighteen upon whom the Tower of Siloam fell, were ὀφειλέται ὡς πάντας debtors above all the men that dwelt in Jerusalem.* According

to

to either of which interpretations, it is supposed, that the Pagans did worship the *True God*, the *Creator* of the whole World; though they worshipped the *Creature* also, *Besides him*, or (perhaps in some sense) *Above him* and *More than him* also. But as for that other Interpretation, of *ὁ θεὸς ὁ ἀφανὴς*, which *Beza* chose rather to follow, that they worshipped the *Creature*, the *Creator* being wholly *Passed by*, this is no true Literal Version, but only a Gloss or Commentary upon the words, made according to a certain preconceived and extravagant opinion, that the Pagans did not at all worship the Supreme God or *Creator*, but universally transfer all their worship upon the *Creature* only. But in what sense the Pagans might be said to worship the *Creatures*, *Above* or *Beyond* or *More* than the *Creator* (because it is not possible that the *Creature*, as a *Creature*, should be worshipped with more Internal and Mental Honour, than the *Creator* thereof, look'd upon as such) we leave others to enquire. Whether or no, because when Religious Worship, which properly and only belongeth to the *Creator*, and not at all to the *Creature*, is transferred from the *Creator* upon the *Creature*, according to a Scripture-Interpretation and Account, such may be said to worship the *Creature* more than the *Creator*? Or whether because some of these Pagans, might more frequently address their Devotions to their Inferiour Gods (as Stars, Demons and Hero's) as thinking the Supreme God; either *Above their Worship*, or *Incomprehensible*, or *Inaccessible* by them? Or lastly, Whether because the *Image* and *Statue-worshippers* among the Pagans (whom the Apostle there principally regards) did direct all their External Devotion to *Sensible Objects*, and *Creaturely Forms*? However it cannot be thought, that the Apostle here taxes the Pagans, meerly for worshipping *Creatures Above the Creator*, as if they had not at all offended, had they worshipped them only in an Equality with him; but doubtless their sin was, that they gave any *Religious Worship* at all to the *Creature*; though in way of *Aggravation* of their crime, it be said, that they also worshipped the *Creature* more than the *Creator*. Thus we see plainly, that the Pagan *Superstition* and *Idolatry* (according to the True Scripture notion of it) consisted not in Worshipping of *Many Creators*, but in Worshipping the *Creatures* together with the *Creator*.

Besides this we have in the Acts of the Apostles an Oration, which St. Paul made at Athens in the Areopagitick Court, beginning after this manner; *Ye men of Athens, I perceive that ye are every way more than ordinarily Religious*; for the word *ὑποτάκτους* seems to be taken there in a good sense, it being not only more likely that St. Paul would in the beginning of his Oration thus *capture benevolentiam*, conciliate their benevolence, with some commendation of them, but also very unlikely that he would call their worshipping of the True God by the name of *Superstition*, for so it followeth; *For as I passed by and beheld your sacred things (or monuments) I found an Altar with this Inscription, Ἄγνωστον θεῷ, TO THE UNKNOWN GOD*. It is true that both *Philostratus* and *Pausanias* write, that there were at Athens, Ἄγνωστον θεῶν βῆματα, *Altars of Unknown Gods*: but their meaning in this might well be, not that there were Altars Dedicated

τῷ γὰρ ἐν ᾧ ἐσμὲν ———

For we are his Off-spring, and interpreting the same of the True God, in whom we live and move and have our being; we have also here a plain Scripture-acknowledgment that by the Zeus of the Greekish Pagans, was sometimes at least meant the True God. And indeed that Aratus his Zeus was neither a man born in Crete nor in Arcadia, but the Maker and Supreme Governour of the whole World, is evident both from the antecedent and the subsequent Verses. For Aratus his *Phænomena* begin thus,

Ἐκ Διὸς ἀρχαίμεθα ———

(which in Tully's Version is *Ab Jove Musarum Primordia*) and then follows a Description of this Zeus or Jupiter:

————— τὸ δὲ ποτ' ἀνδρες ἑαίμεν
Ἀρῆντον· μεσσί δ' Διὸς παῖσαι μὲν ἀγῆαι,
Παῖσαι δ' ἀνθρώπων ἀρχαὶ μεσσί δ' Ἰδέλασσα,
καὶ λιμυρές· πάντι δ' Διὸς κεχρημέθα πάντες·
τῷ γὰρ ἐν ᾧ ἐσμὲν·

To this sence; Him of whom we men are never silent; and of whom all things are full, he permeating and pervading all and being every where; and whose beneficence we all constantly make use of and enjoy: For we also are his Off-spring. Where Theon the Scholiast writeth thus, πάντι περὶ τῷ Ἀργεῖοι τὴν τῷ ἄσπερον διεξίεναι μέλλων θείων, τὸ πάρεχ. τέτων ἐν δὴμυργόν, Δία, ἐν πρώτοις προσφωνεῖ: Δία δ' νῦν τὸ δὴμυργόν ἀνέστην. Aratus being about to declare the Position of the Stars, doth in the first place, very decorously and becomingly invoke Zeus, the Father and Maker of them. For by Zeus is here to be understood the Demiurgus of the World, or as he afterwards expresth it, ὁ τὰ πάντα δὴμυργήσας θεός, the God who made all things. Notwithstanding which, we must confess, that this Scholiast there adds, that some of these Passages of the Poet, and even that cited by the Apostle, τῷ γὰρ γένος ἐσμὲν, may be understood also in another sence, of the εἰς φυσικὸς, the Physical Jupiter, that is, the Air: but without the least shadow of Probability, and for no other reason, as we conceive, but only to shew his Philological Skill. However this is set down by him, in the First place as the genuine and proper sence of those words, πρὸς τὸ πατρὸς ἀνδρῶν τε θεῶν τε· εἰ γὰρ αὐτὸς ταῦτα ἐδημύργησε πρὸς τὸ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις βιωφίλης, αὐτὸς ἂν κληθεῖν μὲν, αὐτὸς πατὴρ ἐν δὴμυργόν ἐπιγεγερόμενοι. This agreeth with that Title of Jupiter, when he is called the Father of Gods and men: For if he made Us, and all these other things for our use, we may well be called His, and also style him our Father and Maker: And that this was the only Notion, which the Poet here had of Zeus or Jupiter, appears undeniably also from the following words, as

————— ὁ δ' ἥπιος ἀνθρώποισι
Δέξια σημαίνει ———

C c c

Who

Who as a kind and benign Father, sheweth lucky Signs to men; which to understand of the Air were very absurd. And

Αὐτὸς γὰρ τάγε σήματ' ἐν ἑρμῇ ἐστέρειεν,
 ἄσπερα διακρίνας· ἐσκέφατο δ' εἰς ἐνιαυτὸν
 ἄστερος·

For he also hath fastned the Signs in Heaven, distinguishing Constellations, and having appointed Stars to rise and set at several times of the year.

And from this,

Τῷ μὲν αἰὲ πρῶτον τε καὶ ὑστατον ἱλάσκειν,

Therefore is He always Propitiated and Placated both First and Last. Upon which the Scholiast thus, ἵσως ὃ ἀπὸ τῆς σπονδῶν, τὰς τῶν μὲν πρῶτῳ σπονδῶν εἶναι θεῶν τῆς Ὀλυμπίων, δευτέρῳ ὃ ἡρώων, καὶ τρίτῳ διδοῦσιν σωτῆρας. This perhaps refers to the Libations, in that the First of them was for the Heavenly Gods, the Second for Heroes, and the Last for Jupiter the Saviour. From whence it plainly appears also, that the Pagans in their Sacrifices (or Religious Rites) did not forget Jupiter the Saviour, that is, the Supreme God.

Lastly, from his concluding thus;

καὶ ἐπεὶ πάτερ μέγα θαῦμα, μέγ' ἀνθρώποισιν ὄνειδος·

Where the Supreme God is saluted, as the Great Wonder of the World, and Interest of Mankind.

L. 5. 5.5.

Wherefore it is evident from *Aratus* his Context, that by his *Zeus* or *Jupiter* was really meant the Supreme God, the Maker of the whole World; which being plainly confirmed also by *St. Paul* and the Scripture, ought to be a matter out of Controversie amongst us. Neither is it reasonable to think that *Aratus* was Singular in this, but that he spake according to the Received Theology of the Greeks, and that not only amongst Philosophers & Learned Men, but even the Vulgar also. Nor do we think that that Prayer of the ancient Athenians, commended by *M. Antoninus*, for its simplicity, is to be understood otherwise, Ὅσον ὕσον ὦ φίλε Ζεῦ, καὶ τῆς ἀρετῆς τῆς Ἀθωαίων καὶ τῆς πεδίων, *Rain Rain O Good (or Gracious) Jupiter, upon the fields and pastures of the Athenians*: upon which the Emperor thus, ἦτοι καὶ οὐδὲ δεῦρο, ἢ ὅπως ἀπλῶς καὶ ἐλευθέρως, *We should either not pray at all (to God) or else thus plainly and freely.* And since the Latins had the very same Notion of *Jupiter*, that the Greeks had of *Zeus*, it cannot be denied but that they commonly by their *Jupiter* also, understood the One Supreme God, the Lord of Heaven and Earth. We know nothing that can be objected against this, from the Scripture, unless it should be that Passage of *St. Paul*, *In the Wisdom of God the World by Wisdom knew not God.* But the meaning thereof is no other than this

this, that the Generality of the World before Christianity, by their Natural Light, and Contemplation of the works of God, did not attain to such a *Practical Knowledge* of God, as might both free them from *Idolatry*, and Effectually bring them to a *Holy Life*.

XXXII. But in order to a fuller explication of this *Pagan Theology*, and giving yet a more Satisfactory Account concerning it, there are *Three Heads* requisite to be insisted on; *First*, That the Intelligent Pagans worshipped the *One Supreme God under Many Several Names*; *Secondly*, That besides this *One God*, they worshipped also *Many Gods*, that were indeed *Inferiour Deities* Subordinate to Him; *Thirdly*, That they worshipped both the *Supreme and Inferiour Gods*, in *Images, Statues and Symbols*, sometimes Abusively called also *Gods*. We begin with the *First*, That the *Supreme God amongst the Pagans, was Polyonymous, and worshipped under several Personal Names*, according to several *Notions and Considerations* of him, from his *Several Attributes and Powers, Manifestations, and Effects* in the World. P. 314, 315.

It hath been already observed out of *Origen*, that not only the *Egyptians*, but also the *Syrians, Persians, Indians*, and other *Barbarian Pagans*, had beside their *Vulgar Theology*, another more *Arcane and Recondit* one, amongst their *Priests and Learned Men*: and that the same was true concerning the *Greeks and Latins* also, is unquestionably evident from that account, that hath been given by us of their *Philosophick Theology*. Where by the *Vulgar Theology* of the Pagans, we understand, not only their *Mythical or Fabulous*, but also their *Political or Civil Theology*, it being truly affirmed by *St. Austin* concerning both these, *Et Civilis & Fabulosa, ambæ Fabulose sunt, ambæque Civiles*, That both the *Fabulous Theology of the Pagans was in part their Civil, and their Civil was Fabulous*. And by their more *Arcane or Recondit Theology*, is doubtless meant, that which they conceived to be the *Natural and True Theology*. Which Distinction of the *Natural and True Theology*, from the *Civil and Political*, as it was acknowledged by all the *Ancient Greek Philosophers*, but most expressly by *Antisthines, Plato, Aristotle and the Stoicks*; so was it owned and much insisted upon, both by *Scevola* that famous *Roman Pontifex*, and by *Varro* that most *Learned Antiquary*; they both agreeing, that the *Civil Theology* then established by the *Roman Laws*, was only the *Theology of the Vulgar*, but not the *True*; and that there was another *Theology* besides it, called by them *Natural*, which was the *Theology of Wise men and of Truth*: nevertheless granting a necessity that in *Cities and Commonwealths*, besides this *Natural and True Theology* (which the generality of the *Vulgar* were incapable of) there should be another *Civil or Political Theology*, accommodate to their apprehensions; which *Civil Theology* differ'd from the *Natural*, only by a certain mixture of *Fabulosity* in it, and was therefore look'd upon by them, as a *Middle*, betwixt the *Natural*, and the *Fabulous or Poetical Theology*. P. 114, 115. Civ. D. L. 4. c. 8.

Wherefore it was acknowledged, that the *Vulgar Theology of the Pagans*, that is, not only their *Fabulous*, but even their *Civil* also,

was oftentimes very discrepant from the *Natural and True Theology*; though the wise men amongst them in all ages, endeavoured as much as they could, to dissemble and disguise this Difference, and by Allegorizing the *Poetick Fables* of the Gods, to bring that *Theology*, into some seeming conformity with the *Natural*, and *Philosophick*; but what they could not in this way reconcile, was by them excused upon the necessity of the *Vulgar*.

The *Fabulous Theology* both of the Greeks and Romans, did not only *Generate* all the other Gods, but even *Jupiter* himself also, their *Supreme Numen*, it assigning him both a *Father* and a *Mother*, a *Grandfather* and a *Grandmother*. And though the Romans did not plainly adopt this into their *Civil Theology*, yet are they taxed by *St. Austin* for suffering the Statue of *Jupiter's Nurse* to be kept in the Capitol for a Religious Monument. And however this differ'd nothing at all from that *Atheistick Doctrine* of *Evemerus*, That all the Gods were really no other than *Mortal Men*, yet was it tolerated and connived at by the Politicians, in way of necessary compliance with the *Vulgar*, it being so extremely difficult for them to conceive any such Living Being or Animal, as was never *Made* and *without Beginning*. Inasmuch that *Callimachus*, who would by no means admit of *Jupiter's Sepulchre*, either in *Crete* or *Arcadia* (but look'd upon it as a foul reproach to him) for this reason,

Σὺ δ' ὅς τ' αἰεὶς, ἐσὶν ὅς αἰεὶς,

Because he was *Immortal* and could never die; did notwithstanding himself, attribute a *Temporary Generation* and *Nativity* to him, as *Origen* and others observe. Nevertheless, the generality of the more *Civilized* and *Intelligent Pagans*, and even of the Poets themselves, did all this while constantly retain thus much of the *Natural and True Theology* amongst them, That *Jupiter was the Father both of Gods and Men*, that is, the *Maker of the whole World*, and consequently himself *Without Father*, *Eternal* and *Unmade*, according to that *Peleadean Oracle* before cited out of *Pausanias*,

Ζεὺς ὃν, Ζεὺς ὅς, Ζεὺς ἑστέταί.—

Again the *Civil Theology* of the Pagans as well as the *Poetick*, had not only many *Phantastick Gods* in it, but also an appearance of a *Plurality of Independent Deities*; it making *Several Supreme* in their several Territories and Functions; as *One* to be the *Chief Ruler* over the *Heavens*, Another over the *Air* and *Winds*, Another over the *Sea*, and Another over the *Earth* and *Hell*: *One* to be the *Giver of Corn*, Another of *Wine*; *One* the God of *Learning*, Another the God of *Pleasure*, and Another the God of *War*; and so for all other things. But the *Natural Theology* of the Pagans (so called) though it did admit a *Plurality of Gods* too, in a certain sence, that is, of *Inferiour Deities* subordinate to *One Supreme*, yet did it neither allow of more *Independent Deities* than *One*, nor own any Gods at all but such as were *Natural*, that is, such as had a *Real Existence in Nature and the World* without,

without, and not in mens Opinion Only. And these Varro concluded, to be no other than First, the Soul of the World, and then the Animated Parts thereof Superiour to men; that is, One Supreme Universal Numen Unmade, and other Particular Generated Gods, such as Stars, Demons, and Heroes. Wherefore all the other Gods besides these, are frequently exploded by Pagan Writers (as Cicero and others) under the Name of *Dii Poetici*, that is, not Philosophical, but Poetical Gods, and *Dii Commentitii* and *Fictitii*, that is, not Natural and Real, but Feigned and Fictitious Gods. They in the meantime giving this Account of them, that they were indeed nothing else, but so Many Several Names and Notions of One Supreme Numen, according to his Several Powers and various Manifestations, and Effects in the World; it being thought fit by the wisdom of the ancient Pagan Theologers, that all those manifold Glories and Perfections of the Deity, should not be huddled up, and as it were crouded and crumpled together, in one General Acknowledgment of an Invisible Being the Maker of the world, but that they should be distinctly and severally displayed, and each of them adored singly and apart; and this too (for the greater Pomp and Solemnity) under so many Personal Names. Which perhaps the Unskilful and sottish Vulgar, might sometimes mistake, not only for so many Real and Substantial, but also Independent and Self-existent Deities.

We have before proved that one and the same Supreme God, in the Egyptian Theology, had several Proper and Personal Names given him, according to several Notions of him, and his several Powers and Effects; *Jamblichus* himself in that passage already cited, plainly affirming thus much, *ὁ δημιουργικὸς νῦς, ὅς. τὴν ἀφανὴ τῆς κεκρυμμένων λόγων δύναμιν εἰς φῶς ἄγων, Ἀμῶν καὶ τὴν τῆς Αἰγυπτίων γλώσσαν λέγεται, συντελῶν ὁ ἀποδοῦς ἕκαστα καὶ τεχνικῶς φθὰ, ἀγαθῶν ὁ ποιητικὸς ὡς Ὅσις κληῖται, καὶ ἄλλας δι' ἄλλας δυνάμεις τε καὶ ἐνεργείας, ἐπωνυμίας ἔχει.* *The Demiurgical Mind and President of Truth, as with wisdom it proceedeth to Generation, and bringeth forth the hidden Power of the occult Reasons, contained within it self, into light, is called in the Egyptian Language Ammon; as it Artificially effects all things with Truth, Phtha; as it is productive of Good things Osiris; besides which it hath also several other Names, according to its other Powers and Energies: as namely Neith (or according to Proclus his Copy Νηῖθας, Neithas) the Tutelar God of the City Sais, from whence probably the Greek Ἀθιωά was derived, (the Athenians being said to have been at first, a Colony of these Saites) and this is The Divine Wisdom diffusing it self thorough all. So likewise Serapis, which though some would have to be the Sun, is by others plainly described as an Universal Numen. As Aristides in his Eighth O-* De Myst. Fig. P. 95.

ration upon this God Serapis; οἱ μὲν δὲ τὴν μεγάλην πρὸς Αἰγυπτίῳ πόλειως πολιταί, καὶ ἕνα τῶτον ἀνακαλῶσι Δία. ὅτι ἐν ἀπολέλειπται δυνάμει περιττῇ ἀλλὰ διὰ πάντων ἵκει, καὶ τὸ πᾶν πεπλήρωκε. τῆς γὰρ ἄλλων θεῶν διήρωται αἱ δυνάμεις τε καὶ τιμαί, καὶ ἄλλας ἐπ' ἄλλα ἀνθρώποι καλεῶσιν, ὁ δ' ὡς ὅς κορυφαῖον πάντων, ἀρχὴ καὶ πέρας ἔχει. *They who inhabit the great City in Egypt, call upon this God Serapis, as their only Jupiter, he being supposed to be no way defective in Power, but to Pervade all things, and to Fill the whole Universe. And whereas the Powers and Honours of the other Gods*

are

are divided, and some of them are invoked for one thing, and some for another; This is look'd upon by them as the Coryphaeus of all the Gods, who contains the beginning and end of all things, and who is able to supply all wants. Cneph is also described by Eusebius as that Divine Intellect, which was the Demiurgus of the world and which giveth life to all things, as he is by Plutarch said to be ἀγνός or Unmade, so that this was also another Egyptian Name of God; as likewise was Emeph and Eifon in Jamblichus; though these may be severally distinguished into a Trinity of Divine Hypostases. Lastly, when Isis, which was sometimes called Multimammea, and made all over full of Breasts, to signify her Feeding all things, thus describes her self in Apuleius, *Summa Numinum, Prima Cœlitum, Deorum Dearumque facies Uniformis, cujus numen Unicum multiformi specie, ritu vario, nomine multijugo totus veneratur Orbis*; as she plainly makes her self to be the Supreme Deity, so doth she intimate, that all the Gods & Goddesses were compendiously contained in Her Alone, and that she (i.e. the Supreme God) was worshipped under several personal Names & with different rites, over the whole Pagan World. Moreover this is particularly noted concerning the Egyptians by Damascius the Philosopher, that, τὸ νοῦτον διηγάσαν εἰς πολλὰν θεῶν ἰδιότητα, They multiplied the First Intelligible (or the Supreme Deity) breaking and dividing the same into the Names and Properties of Many Gods. Now the Egyptian Theology, was in a manner, the Pattern of all the rest, but especially of those European Theologies, of the Greeks and Romans.

Who likewise, that they often Made Many Gods of One, is evident from their bestowing so many Proper and Personal Names, upon each of those Inferiour Gods of theirs, The Sun, and The Moon, and The Earth; The First whereof, Usually called Apollo, had therefore this Epithet of πολυώνυμος commonly given to him, the God with many Names. Which many Proper Names of his, Macrobius insisteth upon in his Saturnalia, though probably making more of them than indeed they were. And the Moon was not only so called, but also Diana, and Lucina, and Hecate, and otherwise, inasmuch that this Goddess also, hath been stiled Polyonymous as well as her brother the Sun. And Lastly, the Earth besides those Honorary Titles, of Bona Dea, and Magna Dea, and Mater Deorum, The Good Goddess, and the Great Goddess, and the Mother of the Gods, was multiplied by them into those Many Goddesses, of Vesta, and Rhea, and Cybele, and Ceres, and Proserpina, and Ops, &c. And for this cause was she thus described by Æschylus,

Καὶ γὰρ πολλῶν ὀνομάτων μορφή μία.

Et Tellus Multorum Nominum Facies Una.

Now if these Inferiour Gods of the Pagans, had each of them so many Personal Names bestowed upon them, much more might the Supreme God be Polyonymous amongst them; and so indeed he was commonly stiled, as that learned Grammarian Hesychius intimates, upon that word

word πολῡώνυμον, τὴν μονάδα ἕως ἐκάλεον, καὶ ἐπὶθετοῦν Ἀπόλλωνος, they called the *Monad* thus, and it was also the Epithet of Apollo; where by the *Monad* according to the Pythagorick Language, is meant the Supreme Deity, which was thus stiled by the Pagans πολῡώνυμον, the Being that hath many Names. And accordingly *Cleanthes* thus beginneth that forecited Hymn of his to him,

Κύδης· ἀθανάτων, πολῡώνυμε;

Thou most Glorious of all the Immortal Gods, who art called by Many Names. And *Zeno* his Master, in *Laertius* expressly declareth, ὁ θεὸς πολλαῖς περὶ ἑαυτοῦ ὀνομάζεται καὶ τοῖς δυνάμει· God is called by many several Names, according to his several Powers and Vertues, whose Instances shall be afterwards taken notice of. Thus also the Writer *De Mundo*, Εἷς ὁ ὢν πολῡώνυμος ὅτι, καὶ ἀνομαζόμενος τοῖς πάθεσι πᾶσιν ἅπῃ αὐτὸς νεοχμεῖ· God though he be but one, is Polyonymous, and variously denominated from his several attributes, and the effects produced by him. *Quæcunque voles* (saith *Seneca*) *illi Propria Nomina aptabis, vim aliquam Effectumq; Cælestium rerum continentia. Tot Appellationes ejus possunt esse quot Mûnera*: You may give God whatsoever Proper Names you please, so they signifie some force and effect of Heavenly things: He may have as many Names, as he hath Manifestations, Offices and Gifts. *Macrobius* also, from the Authority of *Virgil*, thus determines, *Unius Dei Effectus Varios pro Variis censendos esse* (or as *Vossius* corrects it, *Censeri*) *Numinibus*, That the Various Effects of One God, were taken for Several Gods; that is, Expressed by Several Personal Names; as he there affirmeth, the Divers Vertues of the Sun, to have given Names to Divers Gods; because they gave occasion for the Sun, to be called by Several Proper and Personal Names. We shall conclude with that of *Maximus Madurensis*, before cited out of *St. Austin*, *Hujus Virtutes per Mundanum Opus diffusas, Nos multis vocabulis invocamus, quoniam Nomen ejus Proprium ignoramus. Ita fit ut dum ejus quasi quædam Membra carptim variis supplicationibus prosequimur, Totum colere profecto videamur.* The Vertues of this One Supreme God, diffused throughout the whole World, we (Pagans) invoke under Many Several Names, because we are ignorant what his Proper Name is. Wherefore we thus worshipping his Several Divided Members, must needs be judged to worship him Whole, we leaving out nothing of him. With which Latter words seemeth to agree, that of the Poet, wherein *Jupiter* thus speaks the other Gods,

*Cælicolæ, Mea Membra, Dei; quos Nostra Potestas,
Officiis divisa facit.*

Where it is plainly intimated, that the Many Pagan Gods were but the Several Divided Members of the One Supreme Deity, whether, because according to the Stoical Sence, the Real and Natural Gods, were all but Parts of the Mundane Soul; or else because all those other Phantastick Gods, were nothing but Several Personal Names, given to the Several Powers, Vertues, and Offices of the One Supreme.

Now

Now the Several Names of God, which the Writer *De Mundo* instanceth in, to prove him *Polyonymous*, are First of all such as these; *Βεροναι* and *Ἀσπεραι* The Thunderer and Lightner, *Υεπι* The Giver of Rain, *Επιχαρπι* The Bestower of Fruits, *Πολιδς* The Keeper of Cities, *Μελιχι* The Mild and Placable, under which Notion they sacrificed no Animals to him, but only the Fruits of the Earth: together with many other such Epithets, as *Φιλι*, *Ξενι*, *Στεφπι*, *Τεσπαισχ*, *Καδαρσι*, *Παλαιμναι*, &c. and Lastly he is called *Σωτηρ* and *Ελδβερος*, Saviour and Assertour. Answerably to which, Jupiter had Many such Names given him also by the Latins, as *Vitor*, *Invidus*, *Opitulus*, *Stator*; the True meaning of which last, (according to Seneca) was not that which the Historians pretend, *quod post Votum susceptum, acies Romanorum fugientium stetit*, because once after Vows and Prayers offered to him, the Flying Army of the Romans was made to stand; Sed *quod stant beneficio ejus Omnia*, but because all things by means of him Stand Firm and are Established. For which same reason he was called also by them (as St. Austin informs us) *Centupeda*, as it were, standing Firm upon an Hundred Feet, and *Tigillus* the Beam, Prop, and Supporter of the World. He was stiled also by the Latins (amongst other Titles) *Almus* and *Ruminus*, i. e. He that Nourisheth all things, as it were, with his Breasts. Again that Writer *De Mundo* addeth another sort of Names, which God was called by; as *Ἀνάγκη* Necessity, because he is an Immovable Essence, though Cicero gives another reason for that appellation, *Interdum Deum Necessitatem appellant, quia nihil aliter esse possit, atque ab eo constitutum sit*; they sometimes call God Necessity, because nothing can be otherwise than as it is by Him appointed. Likewise *Ειμαρμεν*, because all things are by him Connected together, and proceed from him unhinderably. *Πεπεωμεν*, because all things in the world are determined, and nothing left Infinite (or Undetermined) *Μοιρα*, because, he makes an apt Division and Distribution of all things. *Ἀδελτα*, because his Power is such, as that none can possibly avoid or escape him. Lastly, that Ingenious Fable, (as he calls it) of the Three Fatal Sisters, *Clotho*, *Lachesis*, and *Atropos*, according to him, meant nothing but God neither, *ταυτα ἢ παντα ὄντι ἐν ἄλλῳ τι, πλὴν ὁ θεός, καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ ὁ θεὸς πάντων φησι*, All this is nothing else but God, as the noble and generous Plato also intimates, when he affirmeth, God to contain the Beginning, and Middle, and End of all things. And both Cicero and Seneca tell us, that amongst the Latins God was not only called *Fatum*, but also *Natura*, and *Fortuna*. *Quid aliud est Natura* (saith Seneca) *quam Deus, & Divina Ratio, toti Mundo & Partibus ejus inserta*? What is Nature else, but God and the Divine Reason, inserted into the Whole World and all its Several Parts? He adding, that God and Nature, were no more Two Different Things, than *Annæus* and Seneca. And *Nonnunquam Deum* (saith Cicero) *Fortunam appellant, quod efficiat multa improvisa, & nec opinata nobis, propter obscuritatem ignoracionemque Causarum*; They sometimes call God also by the name of Fortune, because he surprizeth us in many Events, and bringeth to pass things unexpected to us, by reason of the Obscurity of Causes and our Ignorance. Seneca thus concludes concerning these, and the like Names of God, *Omnia ejusdem Dei Nomina sunt*,

Ruma Mam-
ma.

Acad. Q. L. I.

sunt, variè utentis sua Potestate ; These are all Names of one and the same God, Variously Manifesting his Power.

But concerning most of these forementioned Names of God, and such as are like to them, it was rightly observed by St. *Austin*, that they had no such Appearance or shew of *Many Distinct Gods* ; *Hæc omnia cognomina imposuerunt Uni Deo, propter Causas Potestatesque Diversas, non tamen propter tot res, etiam tot Deos eum esse coegerunt, &c.* Though the Pagans imposed all these Several Names upon One God, in respect of his Several Powers, yet did they not therefore, seem to make so many Gods of them : as if *Victor* were one God, and *Invictus* another God, and *Centupeda* another God, and *Tigillus* another, and *Ruminus* another, &c. Wherefore there are other Names of God used amongst the Pagans, which have a greater show and appearance of so many Distinct Deities, not only because they are Proper Names, but also because each of them had their peculiar Temples appropriated to them, and their different Rites of Worship. Now these are of Two sorts ; First, such as signify the Deity according to its Universal, and All-comprehending Nature ; and Secondly, such as denote the same only according to certain Particular Powers, Manifestations, and Effects of it in the world. Of the First kind there are not a few. For First of all, *PAN*, as the the very word plainly implies him to be a Universal Numen, and as he was supposed to be the Harmostes of the whole World, or to play upon the World as a Musical Instrument, according to that of *Orpheus* (or *Onomacritus*)

Ἀρμονίαν κόσμου κρέων φιλοπαίγμονι μόλην,

So have we before showed, that by him the Arcadians and Greeks meant, not the Corporeal World Inanimate, nor yet as endued with a senseless Nature only, but as proceeding from an Intellectual Principle or Divine Spirit, which framed it Harmoniously ; and as being still kept in tune, acted and governed by the same. Which therefore is said to be the Universal Pastor and Shepherd of all Mankind, and of the whole world, according to that other Orphick passage,

Βόσκων ἀνθρώπων γῆνιν, καὶ ἀτρεμονα γαῖαν,

Pascens Humanum Genus, ac sine limite Terram.

And this *Pan*, *Socrates* in *Plato's Phædrus*, plainly invokes as the Supreme Numen. *Pan* therefore, is the One only God (for there cannot possibly be more than One *Pan*, more than One All or Universe) who contained All within himself, displayed All from himself, framing the World Harmoniously, and who is in a manner All Things.

Again *JANUS*, whom the Romans First invoked in all their Sacrifices and Prayers, and who was never omitted, whatsoever God they sacrificed unto ; was unquestionably many times taken for a Universal Numen, as in this of *Martial*,

Nitidique Sator pulcherrime mundi.

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And

Faß. 1.

And again in this of *Ovid*.

*Quicquid ubique vides, Cælum, Mare, Nubila, Terras,
Omnia sunt nostra clausa patentque Manu:
Me penes est Unum vasti Custodia Mundi.*

From which passages it also appears, that *Janus* was not the meer Senseless and Inanimate Matter of the World, but a Principle Presiding over it. And without doubt all the *Beginnings* of things, were therefore referred to this *Janus*, because he was accounted the *most Ancient God*, and the *Beginning of all things*. *St. Austin* concluding him to be the same with *Jupiter*, therefore quarrels with the Pagans (that is, with their *Civil Theology*) for thus making

C.D.L. 7. c. 10 Two Gods of One. *Cum ergo Janus Mundus sit, & Jupiter Mandus sit, Unusque sit Mundus, quare Duo Dii sunt Janus & Jupiter? Quare seorsum habent Tempia, seorsum Aras, diversa Sacra, dissimilia Simulachra? Si propterea, quia alia vis est Primordiorum, alia Causarum, ex illa Jani ex ista Jovis nomen accepit: nunquid si unus homo in diversis rebus duas habeat potestates, aut duas artes, (quia singularum diversa Vis est) ideo Duo dicuntur Artifices? &c. Since therefore Janus is the World, and Jupiter is the World, and there is but one World, how can Janus and Jupiter be Two Gods? Why have they their Temples apart, their Altars apart, distinct Sacred things, and Statues of different forms? If because the force of Beginnings is One, and the force of Causes Another, he is therefore called Janus from the former, and Jupiter from the latter; I ask whether or no, if one Man have two Several arts about different things, he therefore be to be called Two Artificers? Or is there any more reason, why one and the same God, having Two Powers, one over the Beginnings of things, and another over the Causes, should therefore be accounted Two Gods? Where when Jupiter and Janus are both said to be the World, this is to be understood properly not of the Matter but the Soul or Mind of the World, as*

C.D.L. 4. c. 11 *St. Austin* himself elsewhere declares, *Sit Jupiter Corporei hujus Mundi Animus, qui universam istam Molem, ex quatuor Elementis constructam atque compactam, implet & movet; Let Jupiter be the Mind of this corporeal World, which both filleth and moveth that whole bulk, compounded and made up of the four Elements. Nevertheless as the Soul and Body both together are called the Man, so was the whole Animated World, by the Pagans called God. Now the forementioned Argumentation of St. Austin, though it be good against the Pagans Civil Theology, yet their other Arcane and Natural Theology was unconcerned in it, that plainly acknowledging all to be but One God, which for certain Reasons was worshipped under Several Names, and with Different Rites. Wherefore Janus and Jupiter, being really but Different Names for One and the same Supreme God, that conjecture of *Salmasius* seems very probable, that the Romans derived their Janus from *Ζανός*, the *Ætolian Jupiter*.*

GENIUS was also another of the *Twenty Select Roman Gods* & that this was likewise a *Universal Numen*, containing the whole Nature of things,

things, appears from this of *Festus*, *Genium appellabant Deum, qui vim obtineret rerum omnium genendarum*, They called that God, who hath the Power of begetting or producing all things, *Genius*. And *St. Austin* also ^{C.D.L.7 c.13.} plainly declareth *Genius* to be the same with *Jupiter*, that is, to be but another Name for the One Supreme God. *Cum alio loco [Varro] dicit, Genium esse Uniuscujusque animum rationalem; talem autem Mundi Animum Deum esse, ad hoc idem utique revocat, ut tanquam Universalis Genius, ipse Mundi Animus esse credatur. Hic est igitur quem appellant Jovem.* And afterwards, *Restat ut eum Singulariter & Excellenter dicant Deum Genium, quem dicunt Mundi Animum; ac per hoc Jovem.* When *Varro* elsewhere calleth the Rational Mind of every one, a *Genius*, and affirmeth such a Mind of the whole World, to be God; he plainly implieth, that God is the Universal *Genius* of the world, and that *Genius* and *Jupiter* are the same. And though *Genius* be sometime used for the Mind of every man, yet the God *Genius*, spoken of by way of Excellency, can be no other than the Mind of the whole world, or *Jupiter*.

Again that *CHRONOS* or *SATURN* was no Particular Deity, but the Universal Numen of the whole World, is plainly affirmed by *Dionysius of Halicarnassus*; where commending the Fertility of Italy, he writeth thus, *ὅθεν ἐν Σαυμασὸν τὰς παλαιὰς ἱερὰν ὑπολαβὲν τὸ Κρόνον* ^{Rom. Ant. L. 1.p.24. Steph.} *τὴν χάριν ταύτῃ, ἣ μὲν δαίμονα τῶτον, οἰομένους εἶναι πλοῦτος οὐδαιμονίας δοτῆρα, καὶ πληρωτὴν ἀνθρώποις. ἔτε χρόνον αὐτὸν δεῖ καλεῖν, ὡς Ἑλλῆνες ἀξιοῦσιν, ἔτε Κρόνον ὡς Ῥωμαῖοι, πῶσιν ὃ ἐξελικτότα τὴν τὴν νόμον φύσιν, ὅπῃ πρὸν ἂν τις ὀνομάσῃ.* Wherefore it is no wonder, if the Ancients thought this Country to be sacred to Saturn, they supposing this God to be the Giver and Perfecter of all happiness to men; whether we ought to call him *Chronos* as the Greeks will have it, or *Cronos* as the Romans; he being either way such a God, as comprehends the Whole Nature of the world. But the word *Saturn* was *Hetrurian* (which Language was Originally Oriental) and being derived from *ἄρ*, signifies Hidden, so that by *Saturn* was meant, that Hidden Principle of the Universe which containeth all things, and he was therefore called by the Romans *Deus Latinus*, The Hidden God; as the wife of *Saturn* in the Pontifical Books is *Latia Saturni*, and the Land it self (which in the *Hetrurian* Language was *Saturnia*) is in the Roman *Latium*; from whence the Inhabitants were called *Latins*, which is as much as to say, the Worshippers of the Hidden God. Moreover that *Saturn* could not be inferiour to *Jupiter*, according to the *Fabulous Theology*, is plain from hence, because he is therein said to have been his Father. But then the Question will be, how *Saturn* and *Jupiter* could be both of them One and the same Universal Numen? To which there are several Answers. For first *Plato* who propounds this Difficulty in his *Cratylus*, solves it thus; That by *Jupiter* here is to be understood the Soul of the World, which according to his Theology was derived from a Perfect and Eternal Mind or Intellect (which *Chronos* is interpreted to be) as *Chronos* also depended upon *Uranus* or *Cælus*, the Supreme Heavenly God, or First Original Deity. So that *Plato* here finds his Trinity of Divine Hypostases, Archical and Universal, *Τάχαδον*, *Νῆς*, and *Ψυχὴ*, in *Uranus*, *Chronos*, and *Zeus*; or *Cælus*, *Saturn* and *Jupiter*. Others conceive, that according to the

plainer and more simple sence of *Hesiod's Theogonia*, that *Jupiter* who together with *Neptune* and *Pluto*, is said to have been the *Son of Saturn*, was not the *Supreme Deity*, nor the *Soul of the World* neither, but only the *Æther*, as *Neptune* was the *Sea* and *Pluto* the *Earth*. All which are said to have been begotten by *Chronos* or *Saturn* the *Son of Uranus*, that is as much as to say, by the *Hidden Vertue of the Supreme Heavenly God*. But the *Writer De Mundo*, though making *Jupiter* to be the *First and Supreme God*, yet (taking *Chronos* to signifie *Immensity of Duration* or *Eternity*) will have *Jupiter* to be the *Son of Chronos* in this sence, because he doth διμνεῖν ἐξ αἰῶνος ἀτέμνονος εἰς ἑταρον αἰῶνα, continue from one *Eternity* to another; so that *Chronos* and *Zeus* are to him in a manner one and the same thing. But we are apt to think that no *Ingenuous* and learned *Pagan*, who well understood the *Natural Theology*, would deny, but that the best Answer of all to this difficulty is this, That there is no *Coherent Sence*, to be made, of all things, in the *Fabulous Theology*. *St. Austin*, from *Varro*, gives us this account of *Saturn*, that it is he who produceth from himself continually the *Hidden Seeds* and *Forms* of things, and reduceth or receiveth them again into himself; which some think to have been the true meaning of that Fable concerning *Saturn* his devouring his *Male-children*; because the *Forms* of these *Corporeal* things, are perpetually destroyed, whilst the *Material Parts* (signified by the *Femals*) still remain. However it is plain, that this was but another *Pagan Adumbration* of the *Deity*, that being also sometimes thus defined by them, as *St. Austin* likewise informs us, *Sinus quidam Naturæ in seipso continens omnia*, A certain *Bosom*, or *Deep Hollow*, and *Inward Recess* of *Nature*, which containeth within it self all things. And *St. Austin* himself concludes, that according to this *Varronian* Notion of *Saturn* likewise, the *Pagans Jupiter* and *Saturn*, were really but one and the same *Numen*, *De Civ. D. L. 7. c. 13*. Wherefore we may with good reason affirm, that *Saturn* was another Name for the *Supreme God* amongst the *Pagans*, it signifying that *Secret and Hidden Power*, which comprehends, pervades and supports the whole *World*; and which produces the *Seeds* or *Seminal Principles* and *Forms* of all things from it self. As also *Uranus* or *Cælus*, was plainly yet another Name for the same *Supreme Deity*; (or the *First Divine Hypostasis*) comprehending the whole.

C. D. L. 4.
c. 12.

Thus in that
old Inscripti-
on, Ο ΠΡΙ-
ΜΟΣ ΜΑΧΙ-
ΜΟΣ ΚΑΙ
ΛΥΣ Α-
ΤΕΡΝΟΣ
ΖΕΥΣ.

In the next place, though it be true that *Minerva* be sometimes taken for a *Particular God*, or for *God* according to a *Particular Manifestation* of him in the *Æther* (as shall be shewed afterwards) yet was it often taken also, for the *Supreme God* according to his most *General Notion*, or as a *Universal Numen* diffusing himself through all things. Thus hath it been already proved, that *Neith* or *Neithas*, was the same amongst the *Egyptians*, that *Athena* amongst the *Greeks*, and *Minerva* amongst the *Latins*; which that it was a *Universal Numen*, appears from that *Egyptian Inscription* in the *Temple* of this *God*, *I am all that Was, Is, and Shall be*. And accordingly *Athenagoras* tells us, that *Athena* of the *Greeks* was, ἡ φρόνιμος διὰ πάντων δι-
νις, *Wisdom passing and diffusing it self thorough all things*: as in the *Book of Wisdom* it is called, ἡ πάντων τεχνίτις, the *Artifex* of all things, and is said διμνεῖν καὶ λαβεῖν διὰ πάντων, to pass and move through all things.

things. Wherefore this *Athena* or *Minerva* of the Pagans was either the First Supreme Deity a Perfect and Infinite Mind the Original of all things; or else a Second Divine Hypostasis, the immediate Off-spring and First-begotten of that First Original Deity. Thus *Aristides* in his Oration upon *Minerva*, πάντα μὲν ἐν τῇ κάλλιστα θεῇ Ἀθηνᾷ τε καὶ ἐξ Ἀθηνᾶς κεφάλαιον ἢ εἶπεν, τῇ πάντων δημιουργὸς καὶ βασιλέως παῖς ὅτι μόνῃ δὴ μόνῃ. ὃς ἔχεν ἐξ ὅτῃς ὁμοίως ποιήσειεν αὐτῷ. ἀλλ' ἀναχωρήσας αὐτὸς εἰς αὐτὸν, αὐτὸς ἐξ αὐτῆς γενεᾷ τε καὶ τίλει τὴν θεόν. ὥς ἐστι μόνῃ βεβαίως γνωστὰ τῷ πατρί, ἐξ ἧς καὶ ὁμολογῶνται ἑαυτῇ τῇ ἡδὺς ἡγουμένη, &c. Wherefore all the most excellent things are in *Minerva*, and from her: but to speak briefly of her, this is the only immediate off-spring of the only Maker and King of all things; For he had none of equal honour with himself, upon whom he should beget her, and therefore retiring into himself, he begot her and brought her forth from himself: So that this is the only Genuine Off-spring of the First Father of all. And again, Πίνδαρος δ' αὖ φησὶ, θεῶν καὶ ἡρώων τῇ πατρὶς αὐτῷ καθεζομένῳ, ταῖς ἐπιτολὰς τοῖς θεοῖς ἀποδέχεται. ἀγγέλους μὲν γὰρ ὅτι μέγαν ἢ δὲ, καὶ ἀγγέλων ἄλλοις ἄλλα ἐπιτάττει περὶ τῆς πατρὸς ἀρχαλαμβάνουσα αὐτὴ ἐξήχητ' ὅτις ὅσα τοῖς θεοῖς, καὶ εὐαγώς ὅταν καὶ τὸς θεῖν. Pindar also affirmeth concerning *Minerva*, that sitting at the Right hand of her Father, she there receiveth commands from him to be delivered to the Gods. For she is greater than the Angels, and commandeth them some one thing and some another, accordingly as she had first received of her Father: she performing the Office of an Interpreter and Introducer to the Gods when it is needful. Where we may observe by the way, that this word Angel, came to be in use amongst the Pagans from Jews and Christians, about this very age that *Aristides* lived in; after which we meet with it frequently in the writings of their Philosophers. Lastly *Aristides* thus concludeth his Oration upon *Minerva*, χεδὸν γὰρ δύναμιν τῇ Διὶ εἶναι λέγων τις αὐτῷ ὅκα τῶν, ἢ ἂν ἀμαρτάνοι. ὥς τίς δ' αὖ μπερολογεῖται ταῖς ἐν μέλει πράξεις αὐτῆς δημιουργοῦ, ὅπου ἔχει τὰ τῇ Διὶ ἔργα κοινὰ τῇ Διὶ, εἶναι φησὶ καὶ τῇ Ἀθηνᾷ. He that from what we have said will determine, that *Minerva* is as it were the Power and Vertue of Jupiter himself will not err. Wherefore (not to enumerate all the minute things belonging to *Minerva*) we conclude thus concerning her, that all the works of Jupiter, are common with Jupiter and *Minerva*. Wherefore that conceit which the Learned and Industrious *Vossius*, somewhere seems to favour; that the Pagans Universal Numen was no other than a Senseless Nature, or Spermatick Reason of the whole World, undirected by any Higher Intellectual Principle; (which is indeed no better than downright Atheism) is plainly confuted from hence, they making Wisdom and Understanding, under these Names of *Neith*, *Athena*, and *Minerva*, to be either, the Absolutely Supreme Deity, or the First-begotten Off-spring of it.

To *Minerva* may be added *Apollo*, who though often taken for the Sensible Sun Animated, and so an Inferiour Deity, yet was not always understood in this sense, nor indeed then when he was reckoned amongst the Twelve Consentes, because the Sun was afterwards added to them, in the number of the Eight select Gods. And that he was sometimes taken for the Supreme Universal Numen, the Maker

P. 417.

Maker of the Sun and of the whole World, is plainly testified by *Plutarch* (who is a competent Witness in this Case, he being a Priest of this *Apollo*) writing thus concerning him in his *Delect of Oracles*, ἔπε ἡλίου ὅτιν ἔπε κλέμε ἡλίου, καὶ πατὴρ, καὶ ἐπέκεινα τῆ οὐρανῆς πάντες, ἐκ εἰκός ἀπαξίσιν φωνῆς τὰς νῦν ἀνθρώπους, οἷς αὐτός ὅτι ἡγεσίας καὶ τεσσάρων, καὶ τῶ ἔναι καὶ φρονεῖν. *Whether Apollo be the Sun, or whether he be the Lord and Father of the Sun, placed far above all sensible and Corporeal Nature, it is not likely, that he should now deny his Oracles to them to whom himself is the cause of Generation and Nourishment, of Life and understanding.*

P. 108.

Moreover *Urania* *Aphrodite*, the *Heavenly Venus* or *Love*, was a *Universal Numen* also, or another name of God, according to his more *General Notion*, as *Comprehending the whole World*, it being the same with that *Ἔρως*, or *Love*, which *Orpheus*, and others in *Aristotle*, made to be the *First Originat of all things*. For it is certain that the *Ancients* distinguished concerning a double *Venus* and *Love*. Thus *Pausanias* in *Plato's Symposium*, ἡ μὲν γὰρ πρὸς οὐρανῶν καὶ ἀμήτηρ οὐρανὸς θυγάτηρ, ἣν δὲ καὶ ἑρμηνίαν ἐπονομάζομεν. ἡ δὲ νεώτερη, Διὸς καὶ Διώνης, ἣν δὲ πένδυμον καλεῖμεν. ἀναγκαῖον δὲ καὶ ἑρῶτα, τὴν μὲν ἐπεὶ συνεγένον, πένδυμον ὁρῶς καλεῖσθαι, τὴν δὲ ἑρμηνίαν. *There are Two Venuses and therefore two Loves, one the Older and without a Mother, the Daughter of Uranus or Heaven, which we call the Heavenly Venus; another younger, begotten from Jupiter and Dione, which we call the Vulgar Venus; and accordingly are there of necessity two Loves, answering to these two Venuses, the one Vulgar, and the other Heavenly. The Elder of these two Venuses, is in Plato said to be Seniour to Japhet and Saturn, and by Orpheus the Oldest of all things, and πρῶτος ἡγεσίας, The First Begetter of all. Upon which account perhaps, it was called by the Oriental Nations, Mylitta or Genitrix, as being the Fruitful Mother of all. This was also the same with Plato's τὸ πρῶτον καλόν, The First Fair; the Cause of all Pulchritude, Order and Harmony in the World. And Pausanias the Writer tells us, that there were Temples severally erected to each of these Venuesses or Loves, the Heavenly and the Vulgar, and that Urania or the Heavenly Venus was so called, ὅτι ἐξωτὴ καὶ ἀπῆλα μένει πόδες σωματικῶν, because the Love belonging to it, was pure and free from all corporeal affection; which as it is in men, is but a participation of that First Urania, or Heavenly Venus and Love, God himself. And thus is Venus described by Euripides in Stobæus, as the Supreme Numen.*

Thus also by *Æschylus*,
Ἐρῶ μὲν ἀνδρῶν
ῥαυτός, &c.
Ἐρῶς δὲ γαῖαν
λαμβάνει, &c.
— ἥ δὲ οἱ ἐξω
παράπτεται,
Grot. Excerpt. p. 45

Τὴν Ἀφροδίτῳ ὅχι ὁρῶς ὅσην θεός,
Ἄλλ' ὅσην ἂν εἴποις, ὅδ' ἐμμετρήσας ἂν,
ὅσην πέφυκε καὶ ἐφ' ὅσον διέχεται.
Αὕτη τρέφει σὲ καὶ μὲ καὶ πάντας βεβητὸς, &c.

To this sence, *Do you not see how great a God this Venus is? but you are never able to declare her Greatness, nor to measure the Vast extent thereof. For this is she which nourisheth both Thee and Me and all Mortals, and which makes Heaven and Earth friendly to conspire together, &c. But by Ovid this is more fully expressed, in his Fastorum,*

Illa

*Illa quidem Totum dignissima temperat Orbem,
Illa tenet Nullo regna minora Deo:
Juraque dat Cælo, Terræ, Natalibus Undis;
Perque suos initus continet omne genus.
Illa Deos omnes (longum enumerare) creavit;
Illa satis Causas Arboribusque dedit.*

Lib. 4.

Where all the Gods are said to have been Created or Made by *Venus*, that is, by the *One Supreme Deity*. But lastly this is best of all performed by *Severinus Boetius*, a Christian Philosopher and Poet, in this manner;

De Cons. L. 2.
Met. 8.

*Quod Mundus Stabili fide
Concordes variat vices,
Quod Pugnancia Semina
Fœdus perpetuum tenent;
Quod Phœbus roseum diem
Curru provehit aureo; &c.
Hanc rerum seriem ligat,
Terras ac pelagus regens,
Et Cælo imperitans, AMOR. &c.
Hic si fræna remisserit,
Quicquid nunc amat invicem,
Bellum continuò geret.
Hic sancto populos quoque
Junctos sedere continet;
Hic & Conjugii Sacrum
Castis nectit Amoribus, &c.
O felix hominum genus,
Si vestros animos AMOR,
Quo Cælum regitur, regat.*

And to this *Urania* or *Heavenly Venus* was near of kin also, that Third *Venus* in *Pausanias* called Ἀπορογῆα, and by the Latins *Venus Verticordia*, pure and chaste Love, expulsive of all unclean Lusts, to which the Romans consecrated a Statue, as *Valerius M.* tells us (L. 8. c. 15.) quo facilius Virginum, Mulierumque mentes à libidine ad pudicitiam converterentur, To this end, that the minds of the Female Sex might then the better be converted from Lust and Wantonness to Chastity. We conclude therefore that *Urania* or the *Heavenly Venus*, was sometimes amongst the Pagans a Name for the *Supreme Deity*, as that which is the most *Amiable Being*, and *First Pulchritude*, the most *Benign* and *Fecund Begetter* of all things, and the *constant Harmonizer* of the whole World.

Again though *Vulcan*, according to the most common and Vulgar Notion of him, be to be reckoned amongst the *Particular Gods*, yet had he also another more *Universal Consideration*. For *Zeno* in *Laertius* tells us, that the *Supreme God* was called Ἡφαίστος or *Vulcan*, καὶ τὸ ἐς τὸ τεχνικὸν τῆς διατάξεως τῆς ὑπερμονῆς αὐτοῦ, as his *Hegemonick*

gemonick acted in the Artificial Fire. Now *Plutarch* and *Stobæus* testify that the Stoicks did not only call *Nature*, but also the Supreme Deity it self, (the Architect of the whole world) *τεχνικὸν πῦρ*, *An Artificial Fire*, they conceiving him to be Corporeal. And *Jamblichus* making *Phtha* to be the same Supreme God amongst the Egyptians, with *Osiris*, and *Hammon*; or rather more properly, all of them alike the Soul of the World, tells us that *Hephæstus* in the Greekish Theology, was the same with this Egyptian *Phtha*; *Ἐλλῆες εἰς Ἡφαιστον μεταλαμβάνουσι τὴν φθᾶν, τὰς τεχνικῶν μόνον προσβάλλουτες*, *Amongst the Greeks Hephæstus (or Vulcan) answers to the Egyptian Phtha.* Wherefore as the Egyptians by *Phtha*, so the Greeks by *Hephæstus*, sometimes understood no other than the Supreme God or at least the Soul of the World, as Artificially framing all things.

*De Ben L. 4.
c. 8.*

Furthermore *Seneca* gives us yet other Names of the Supreme Deity, according to the Sence of the Stoicks, *Hunc & Liberum Patrem, & Herculem, ac Mercurium nostri putant, Liberum Patrem, quia Omnium Parens, &c. Herculem, quod vis ejus invicta sit; Mercurium, quia Ratio penes illum est, Numerusque, & Ordo, & Scientia: Furthermore our Philosophers take this Author of all things, to be Liber Pater, Hercules, and Mercury; The First because he is the Parent of all things, &c. the Second, because his Force and Power is unconquerable, &c. And the Third, because there is in and from him Reason, Number, Order and Knowledge.* And now we see already, that the Supreme God, was sufficiently Polyonymous amongst the Pagans; and that all these, *Jupiter, Pan, Janus, Genius, Saturn, Cælus, Minerva, Apollo, Aphrodite, Urania, Hephæstus, Liber Pater, Hercules and Mercury*, were not so many Really Distinct and Substantial Gods. much less Self-existent and Independent Ones; but only several Names, of that One Supreme Universal and All-comprehending Numen, according to several Notions and Considerations of him.

But besides these, there were many other Pagan Gods called by *Servius*, *Dii Speciales*, *Special or Particular Gods*, which cannot be thought neither, to have been so many Really Distinct and Substantial Beings (that is *Natural Gods*) much less Self-existent and Independent, but only so many several Names or Notions of One and the same Supreme Deity, according to certain Particular Powers and Manifestations of it. It is true, that some late Christian Writers against the Polytheism and Idolatry of the Pagans, have charged them with at least a *Trinity of Independent Gods*, viz. *Jupiter, Neptune and Pluto*, as sharing the Government of the whole world amongst these Three, and consequently acknowledging no One Universal Numen. Notwithstanding which it is certain, that according to the more Arcane Doctrine and Cabala of the Pagans, concerning the Natural True Theology, these Three considered as Distinct and Independent Gods, were accounted but *Dii Poetici & Commentitii*, *Poetical and Fictitious Gods*, and they were really esteemed no other, than so many several Names and Notions of One and the same Supreme Numen, as acting variously in those several parts of the world, the Heaven, the Sea, the Earth and Hell. For First as to *Pluto* and *Hades*, called

also

also by the Latins *Orcus*, and *Dis*, (which latter word seems to have been a contraction of *Dives* to answer the Greek *Pluto*) as *Balbus* in *Cicero* attributes to him, *Omnem Vim terrenam*, all Terrene Power, so others commonly assign him the *Regimen of Separate Souls after Death*. Now it is certain, that according to this latter Notion, it was by *Plato* understood no otherwise than as a Name for that Part of the Divine Providence which exercises it self upon the Souls of men after Death. This *Ficinus* observed upon *Plato's Cratylus*, *Animadvertite præ cæteris, Plutonem hic significare præcipuè, Providentiam Divinam ad Separatas Animas pertinentem*: You are to take notice, that by *Pluto* is here meant, that part of Divine Providence, which belongeth to Separate Souls. For this is that which according to *Plato*, binds and detains pure Souls, in that separate state, with the best *Vinculum* of all, which is not Necessity, but Love and Desire, they being ravished and charmed as it were with those pure delights which they there enjoy. And thus is he also to be understood, in his Book of Laws, writing Lib. 8. in this manner concerning *Pluto*, *Καὶ τὸ δυσχερεστέον πολεμικοῖς ἀνδράποιν, ἢ τοῖς τὸν θεὸν, ἀλλὰ τιμνέον, ὡς οὐτὰρ αἰετὰς τῷ ἀνθρώπων γῆρᾳ ἄριστον· κοινωνία γὰρ ψυχῇ καὶ σώματι, διαλύσεως ἐν ἔστιν ἢ κρείττον, ὡς ἐγὼ φάτω ἀνσπῶσθαι λέγων·* Neither ought Military men to be troubled or offended at this God *Pluto*, but highly to honour him, as who always is the most beneficent to mankind. For I affirm with the greatest seriousness, that the Union of the Soul with this Terrestrial body, is never better than the Dissolution or Separation of them. *Pluto* therefore according to *Plato*, is nothing else but a Name for that Part of the Divine Providence, that is exercised upon the Souls of men, in their Separation from these Earthly Bodies. And upon this account was *Pluto* stiled by *Virgil*, *The Stygian Jupiter*. But by others *Pluto* together with *Ceres*, is taken in a larger sence, for the Manifestation of the Deity in this whole Terrestrial Globe, and thus is the Writer *De Mundo* to be understood, when he tells us, that God or *Jupiter* is *θεῖος τε καὶ χθόνιος*, πᾶσις ἐπάνω καὶ ὡν φύσεως τε καὶ τύχης, ἅτε πάντων αὐτὸς αἰτίος ὢν· both Celestial and Terrestrial, he being denominated from every Nature, forasmuch as he is the cause of all things. *Pluto* therefore is *θεῖος καὶ χθόνιος* or *καὶ χθόνιος*, The Terrestrial (also, as well as the Stygian and Subterranean) *Jupiter*; and that other *Jupiter* which is distinguished both from *Pluto* and *Neptune*, is properly *θεῖος θεῖος*, The Heavenly *Jupiter*, God as manifesting himself in the Heavens. Hence is it that *Zeus* and *Hades*, *Jupiter* and *Pluto*, are made to be one and the same thing, in that Passage which *Julian* cites as an Oracle of *Apollo*, but others impute to *Orpheus*,

εἰς θεόν, εἰς Ἄϊδης;

Jupiter and Pluto are one and the same God. As also that *Euripides* in a place before produced, is so doubtful whether he should call the Supreme God (τὸ πάντων μετεσθία, that takes care of all things here below) *Zeus* or *Hades*:

——— Ζεύς, ἢ τ' Αἰδώς
Ὀνομαζόμενος σέργεις.

Whether thou hadst rather, be called Jupiter or Pluto.

Lastly *Hermesianax* the Colophonian Poet, in those Verses of his (afterward to be set down) makes *Pluto* in the first place, (with many other Pagan Gods) to be really one and the same with *Jupiter*.

- That *Neptune* was also another Name of the Supreme God, from another Particular Consideration of him, namely as acting in the Seas; (at least according to the *Arcane* and *Natural Theology* of the Pagans) is plainly declared by divers of the Ancients. *Xenocrates* in *Stobæus*, and *Zeno* in *Laertius*, affirm, that God as acting in the water is called *Posidone* or *Neptune*. To the same purpose *Balbus* in *De N.D.L. 1. Cicero*. *Sed tamen his Fabulis spretis ac repudiatis, Deus Pertinens per Naturam cujusque rei, per Terras Ceres, per Maria Neptunus, alii per alia, poterunt intelligi, qui qualesque sint, &c.* But these Poetick Fables concerning the Gods, being despised and rejected; it is easie for us to understand, how God passing through the Nature of every thing; may be called by several Names, as through the Earth *Ceres* (and *Pluto*) through the Seas *Neptune*; and through other parts of the world by other Names: so that all these Titular Gods were but so many several
- De N.D.L. 3. Denominations of one Supreme Deity. And Cotta* afterward thus represents the sence of this Theology, *Neptunum esse dicis Animum cum Intelligentiâ per mare pergentem, idem de Cerere: Tour meaning is, Neptune is a Mind which with understanding passes through the Sea, and the like of Ceres through the Earth. Lastly, to name no more, Maximus Tyrinus* agreeth also herewith, καλεῖται δὲ μὲν Δία τὸν προσεχούτων, &c. τὴν Ποσειδῶν, πινόμενα διὰ γῆς καὶ θαλάσσης ἰδὼν, οἰκονομῶν αὐτῶν τὴν γῆν καὶ τὴν ἀρμονίαν. *You are to call Jupiter that Princely Mind, which all things follow and obey, &c. and Neptune that Spirit, which passing through the Earth and Sea, causes their State and Harmony.*
- Dissert. 30.*

Lastly, that these Three *Jupiter*, *Neptune* and *Pluto*, were not Three really Distinct Substantial Beings, but only so many Several Names for One Supreme God (according to the *True* and *Natural Theology* of the Pagans) is thus plainly declared by *Pausanias* in his *Corinthiacks*; he there expounding the meaning of a certain Statue of *Jupiter*, with Three Eyes (called the Country-*Jupiter* of the Trojans) in this manner: τρεῖς ἢ ὀφθαλμοὺς ἔχειν ἐπὶ τῷ θεῷ ἂν τις τεμαχέσθω αὐτῷ. Δία γὰρ ἐργάζεσθαι βασιλεύειν, ἔπος μὲν λόγος κοινὸς πάντων ὄντων ἀνθρώπων. ὃν ἢ ἀρχεῖν φασὶν ὑπὸ γῆς, ἔστιν ἔπος τῶν Ὀμήρων Δία ὀνομάζον καὶ τῶτον,

Ζεύς τε καὶ Ἀχθόνιος, καὶ ἑκαὶ τὴν Περσεφόνην.

Αἰχύλος ἢ ὁ Εὐφροῶνιος καλεῖ Δία καὶ τὸν ἐν θαλάσσῃ. Τρεῖς ἔνθα ὀφθαλμοὶ ἐποίησαν ὀφθαλμοῖς ὅς τις διὰ τὸν ὀπίσθιος, ἅτε ἐν ταῖς τρεῖσι ταῖς λεγομέναις λήξουσιν ἀρχεῖν καὶ αὐτὸ τῶτον θεόν. Now that this Statue of Jupiter was made to have

have Three Eyes, one may guess this to have been the reason: Because first the common speech of all men makes Jupiter to reign in the Heaven. Again he that is said to rule under the Earth, is in a certain Verse of Homer called Zeus or Jupiter too, namely the Infernal or Subterraneous Jupiter together with Proserpina. And lastly Æschylus the son of Euphorion, calls that God who is the King of the Sea also Jupiter. Wherefore this Statuary made Jupiter with Three Eyes, to signifie, that it is One and the same God, which ruleth in those Three severall Parts of the World, the Heaven, the Sea, and the Earth. Whether Pausanias were in the right or no, as to his Conjecture concerning this Three-eyed Statue of Jupiter, it is evident that himself and other ancient Pagans acknowledged Jupiter, Neptune and Pluto, to be but Three severall Names and Partial Considerations of one and the same God, who ruleth over the Whole World. And since both Proserpina and Ceres were really the same with Pluto, and Salacia with Neptune: we may well conclude, that all these, Jupiter, Neptune, Salacia, Pluto, Proserpina and Ceres, though severall Poetical and Political Gods, yet were really taken but for One and the same Natural and Philosophical God.

Moreover as Neptune was a Name for God, as manifesting himself in the Sea and ruling over it, so was Juno another Name of God as acting in the Air. This is expressly affirmed both by Xenocrates in Stobæus, and Zeno in Laertius. And St. Austin propounding this *Quære*, why Juno was joyned to Jupiter as his wife and Sister, makes the Pagans answer thus to it, *Quia Jovem (inquiunt) in Æthere accipimus, in Aere Junonem: because we call God in the Æther Jupiter, in the Air Juno.* But the reason why Juno was Feminine and a Goddess, is thus given by Cicero, *Effeminarunt autem eum, Junonique tribuerunt, quod nihil est aere mollius, they effeminated the Air and attributed it to Juno a Goddess, because nothing is softer than it.* Minerva was also sometimes taken for a Special or Particular God, and then was it nothing else (as Zeno informs us) but a Name for the Supreme God as Passing through the (Higher) Æther: Which gave occasion to St. Austin thus to object against the Pagan Theology, *Si ætheris partem Superiorem Minerva tenere dicitur, & hac occasione fingere Poetas, quod de Jovis Capite nata sit, cur non ergo ipsa potius Deorum Regina deputatur, quod sit Jove Superior?* If Minerva be said, to possess the Highest part of the Æther, and the Poets therefore to have feigned her to have been begotten from Jupiter's head, why is not she rather called the Queen of the Gods, since she is superiour to Jupiter? Furthermore as the Supreme God was called Neptune in the Sea, and Juno in the Air, so by the same reason may we conclude, that he was called Vulcan in the Fire. Lastly, as the Sun and Moon, were themselves sometimes worshipped by the Pagans for Inferiour Deities, they being supposed to be Animated with Particular Souls of their own; so was the Supreme God also, worshipped in them both (as well as in the other Parts of the world) and that under those names of Apollo, and Diana. Thus the Pagans appointing a God to preside over every Part of the world, did thereby but make the Supreme God Polyonymous, all those Gods of theirs, being indeed nothing but Several Names of him. Which Theology of the Ancient Pagans, Maximus Tyrius, treating

Dissert. 16.
p. 163.

concerning *Homer's Philosophy* (after he had mentioned his Tripartite Empire of the world, shared between *Jupiter*, *Neptune*, and *Pluto*) thus declareth, *ὅτις δ' ἂν καὶ ἄλλας παρ' Ὀμήρῳ ἀρχὰς καὶ θεοὺς πάντοδ' ὀνομάσῃ· ὧν ὁ μὲν ἀνόσιτος ὡς μύθεον ἀκούει, ὁ δὲ φιλόσοφος ὡς πραγμαμάτων· ἔστιν αὐτὰ καὶ ἀρετῆς ἀρχὴ, ἀλλ' Ἀθλῶα λέγεται, &c.* You may find also in *Homer*, other Principles, and the Originals of Several names; which the ignorant hear as Fables, but a Philosopher will understand as Things and Realities. For he assigns a Principle of Virtue and Wisdom, which he calls *Minerva*,; another of Love and Desire, which he calls *Venus*, another of Artificialness and that is *Vulcan*, who rules over the Fire. And *Apollo* also with him presides over Dancings, the *Muses* over Songs, *Mars* over War, *Æolus* over Winds, and *Ceres* over Fruits. And then does he conclude thus, καὶ εἰδὲν μέγας Ὀμήρῳ ἄθεον, εἰδὲ δυνάσιν ἀπορον, εἰδὲ ἀρχὴς ἔρημον, ἀλλὰ πάντα μετὰ θεῶν ὀνομάσθαι, καὶ θεῶν λόγων, καὶ θεῶν τέχνης· So that no part neither of Nature, nor of the World, is to *Homer* Godless (or void of a God) none destitute of a Ruler, or without a Superiour Government; but all things full of Divine Names, and of Divine Reason, and of Divine Art. Where his θεῶν ὀνόματα, his Divine Names, are nothing but Several Names of God, as manifesting himself variously in the several Things of Nature, and the Parts of the world, and as presiding over them.

Wherefore besides those *Special Gods* of the Pagans, already mentioned, that were appointed to preside over several Parts of the world, there are Others, which are but several Names of the Supreme God neither, as exercising several Offices and Functions in the world, and bestowing several Gifts upon mankind: as when in giving Corn and Fruits he is called *Ceres*, in bestowing Wine *Bacchus*, in mens recovery of their Health, *Æsculapius*, in presiding over Traffick and Merchandizing, *Mercury*, in governing Military Affairs, *Mars*, in ordering the Winds *Æolus*, and the like.

That the more Philosophick Pagans, did thus really interpret the Fables of the Gods, and make their Many Poetical and Political Gods, to be all of them but One and the same Supreme Natural God, is evident from the testimonies of *Antisthenes*, *Plato*, *Xenocrates*, *Zeno*, *Cleanthes*, and *Chrysippus* (who allegorized all the Fables of the Gods accordingly) and of *Scævola* the Roman Pontifex, of *Cicero*, *Varro*, *Seneca*, and many others. But that even their Poets also, did sometimes venture to broach this Arcane Theology, is manifest from those Fragments preserved, of *Hermesianax* the Colophonian amongst the Greeks, and of *Valerius Soranus* amongst the Latins; the former thus enumerating the chief Pagan Gods, and declaring them to be all but one and the same Numen;

Πλάτων, Περσεφόνη, Δημήτηρ, Κύπρις, Ἑρώτες,
Τελτῶνες, Νηρῶς, Τιθύς, καὶ Κυανοχάτης,
Ἑρμῆς, δ' Ἡφαιστός τε κλυτὸς Πάν, Ζεὺς τε καὶ Ἥρην,
Ἄρτεμις, ἥδ' ἐκάεργος Ἀπόλλων, εἰς θεὸς ὅττι·

Pluto, Persephone, Ceres, & Venus alma & Amores,

Trit-

*Tritones, Nereus, Tethys, Neptunus & ipse,
Mercurius, Juno, Vulcanus, Jupiter, & Pan,
Diana, & Phæbus Jaculator, sunt Deus Unus.*

The Latter pronouncing Universally, that *Jupiter Omnipotens*, is

————— *Deus Unus & Omnes,*

One God, and All Gods. Whether by his *Jupiter* he here meant the *Soul of the World* only, as *Varro* would interpret him agreeably to his own *Hypothesis*, or whether an *Abstract Mind* superiour to it; but probably he made this *Jupiter* to be *All Gods*, upon these two Accounts; First as he was the *Begetter and Creator of all the other Natural Gods*, which were the *Pagans Inferiour Deities* (as the *Stars and Demons*) Secondly, as that all the other *Poetical and Political Gods*, were *Nothing else but Several Names and Notions of him.*

We shall add in the last place, that *St. Austin* making a more Full and Particular Enumeration of the *Pagan Gods*, and mentioning amongst them many others besides the *Select Roman Gods*; (which are not now commonly taken notice of) does pronounce Universally of them all, according to the sense of the more Intelligent Pagans; That they were but *One and the same Jupiter*; *Ipse in Æthere sit Jupiter, Ipse in Aere Juno, Ipse in Mari Neptunus, in Inferioribus etiam Maris Ipse Salacia, in Terra Pluto, in Terra Inferiore Proserpina, in Focis Domesticis Vesta, in Fabrorum fornace Vulcanus, in Divinantibus Apollo, in Merce Mercurius, in Jano Initiator, in Termino Terminator, Saturnus in Tempore, Mars & Bellona in Bellis, Liber in Vineis, Ceres in Frumentis, Diana in Sylvis, Minerva in Ingeniis. Ipse sit postremò etiam illa Turba quasi Plebeiorum Deorum, Ipse præsit nomine Liberi Virorum Seminibus, & nomine Liberæ Fæminarum. Ipse sit Diespiter, qui Partum perducit ad Diem: Ipse sit Dea Mena, quam præfecerunt Menstruis Fæminarum, Ipse Lucina; quæ à Parturientibus invocatur, Ipse Opem ferat nascentibus, excipiens eos sinu Terræ, & vocetur Opis. Ipse in Vagitu os aperiat, & vocetur, Deus Vagitanus. Ipse levet de Terra, & vocetur Dea Levana. Ipse Cunas tueatur & vocetur Dea Cunitha. Sit Ipse in Deabus illis quæ fata nascentibus canunt, & vocantur Carmentes. Præsit Fortuitis, voceturque Fortuna. In Diva Rumina mammam parvulis immulgeat. In Diva Potina Potionem immisceat. In Diva Educa Escam præbeat. De Pavore infantium Paventia nuncupetur. De spe quæ venit Venilia; de Voluptate Volupia. De Actu Agenoria. De stimulis quibus ad nimium actum homo impellitur Dea Stimula nominetur. Strenua Dea sit, strenuum faciendo. Numeria quæ numerare doceat; Camæna quæ canere. Ipse sit & Deus Confus præbendo Consilia; & Dea Sentia sententias inspirando. Ipse Dea Juventas, quæ post prætextam excipiat Juvenilis ætatis Exordia. Ipse sit Fortuna Barbata quæ adultos barba induit quos honorare voluerit. Ipse in Jugatino Deo Conjuges jungat; & cum Virgini uxori zona solvitur Ipse invocetur & Dea Virginiensis invocetur. Ipse sit Mutinus, qui est apud Græcos Priapus, si non pudet. Hæc omnia quæ dixi, & quacunque non dixi, hi omnes Dii Deæque sit Unus Jupiter; sive*

sive sint ut quidam volunt omnia ista Partes ejus, sicut eis videtur quibus eum placet esse Mundi Animum; sive Virtutes ejus, quæ sententia velut magnorum multorumque Doctorum est. Let us grant according to the Pagans, that the Supreme God is in the Æther Jupiter; in the Air Juno; in the Sea Neptune; in the lower parts of the Sea Salacia; in the Earth Pluto; in the inferiour parts thereof Proserpina; in the Domestick hearths Vesta; in the Smiths Forges Vulcan; in Divination Apollo; in Traffick and Merchandize Mercury; in the Beginnings of things Janus; in the Ends of them Terminus; in Time Saturn; in Wars Mars and Bellona; in the Vineyards Liber; in the Corn-fields Ceres; in the Woods Diana, and in Wits Minerva. Let him be also that troop of Plebeian Gods; let him preside over the seeds of men under the Name of Liber, and of women under the name of Libera; let him be Diespiter that brings forth the birth to light; let him be the Goddes Mena, whom they have set over womens monthly courses; let him be Lucina, invoked by women in child-bearing; let him be Opis who aids the new born Infants; let him be Deus Vagitanus that opens their mouths to cry; let him be the Goddes Levana, which is said to lift them up from the Earth; and the Goddes Cunina that defends their Cradles; let him be the Carmentes also who foretel the Fates of Infants; let him be Fortune as presiding over Fortuitous events; let him be Diva Rumina which suckles the Infant with the Breasts; Diva Potina which gives it drink; and Diva Educa which affords it meat; let him be called the Goddes Paventia, from the Fear of Infants; the Goddes Venilia from Hope; the Goddes Volupia from Pleasure; the Goddes Agenoria from Acting; the Goddes Stimula from Provoking; the Goddes Strenua from making Strong and Vigorous; the Goddes Numeria which teacheth to Number; the Goddes Camæna which teaches to Sing; let him be Deus Confus, as giving Counsel; and Dea Sentia as inspiring men with Sense; let him be the Goddes Juventas which has the Guardianship of young men; and Fortuna Barbata which upon some more than others liberally bestoweth beards; let him be Deus Jugatinus which joyns man and wife together; and Dea Virginensis, which is then invoked when the Girdle of the Bride is loosed; Lastly let him be Mutinus also (which is the same with Priapus amongst the Greeks) if you will not be ashamed to say it. Let all these Gods and Goddeses, and many more (which I have not mentioned) be One and the same Jupiter, whether as Parts of him, which is agreeable to their opinion who hold him to be the Soul of the world; or else as his Vertues only, which is the sence of many and great Pagan Doctors.

But that the Authority and Reputation of a late Learned and Industrious Writer, *G. I. Vossius* may not here stand in our way or be a Prejudice to us, we think it necessary to take notice of one passage of his, in his Book *De Theologia Gentili*, and freely to censure the same; where treating concerning that Pagan Goddes *Venus*, he writeth thus; *Ex Philosophica de Diis Doctrina, Venus est vel Luna (ut vidimus) vel Lucifer, sive Hesperus. Sed ex Poetica ac Civili, supra hos cælos statuuntur Mentes quædam à Syderibus diversæ; quomodo Jovem, Apollinem, Junonem, Venerem, cæterosque Deos Consentes, considerare jubet Apuleius. Quippe eos, (inquit) Natura Visibus nostris denegavit: necnon tamen Intellectu eos mirabundi contemplamur,*
acie

acientis acius contemplantes. *Quid apertius hic quam ab eo, per Deos Consentes intelligi, non Corpora Cælestia vel Subcælestia, sed sublimiorem quandam Naturam, nec nisi animis conspicuam?* According to the Philosophick Doctrine concerning the Gods, Venus is either the Moon, or Lucifer, or Hesperus; but according to the Poetick and Civil Theology of the Pagans, there were certain Eternal Minds, placed above the Heavens, distinct from the Stars: accordingly as Apuleius requires us to consider Jupiter and Apollo, Juno and Venus, and all those other Gods called Consentes; he affirming of them, that though Nature had denied them to our sight, yet notwithstanding by the diligent contemplation of our Minds we apprehend and admire them. Where nothing can be more plain (saith Vossius) than that the Dii consentes, were understood by Apuleius neither to be Celestial nor Subcælestial Bodies, but a certain higher Nature perceptible only to our Minds. Upon which words of his, we shall make these following Remarks; First, that this Learned Writer seems here, as also throughout that whole Book of his, to mistake the Philosophick Theology, of Sævola and Varro, and others, for that which was Physiological only; (which Physiological Theology of the Pagans, will be afterwards declared by us.) For the Philosophick Theology of the Pagans did not Deifie Natural and Sensible Bodies only, but the Principal part thereof was the Asserting of One Supreme and Universal Numen, from whence all their other Gods were derived. Neither was Venus according to this Philosophick and Arcane Theology, taken only for the Moon, or for Lucifer or Hesperus, as this Learned Writer conceives, but as we have already proved for the Supreme Deity also, either according to its Universal Notion, or some Particular Consideration thereof. Wherefore the Philosophick Theology both of Sævola and Varro and others, was called Natural, not as Physiological only, but (in another sense) as Real and True; it being the Theology neither of Cities, nor of Stages or Theaters, but of the World, and of the Wise men in it; Philosophy being that properly which considers the Absolute Truth and Nature of things. Which Philosophick Theology therefore was opposed, both to the Civil and Poetical, as consisting in Opinion and Phancy only. Our Second Remark is, That Vossius does here also seem incongruously, to make both the Civil and Poetical Theology as such, to Philosophize; whereas the First of these was properly nothing but the Law of Cities and Commonwealths, together with Vulgar Opinion and Error; and the Second nothing but Phancy, Fiction and Fabulosity. *Poetarum ista sunt, saith Cotta in Cicero; nos autem Philosophi esse volumus, Rerum authores, non Fabularum. Those things belong to Poets, but we would be Philosophers, authors of Things (or Realities) and not of Fables.* But the main thing which we take notice of in these words of Vossius is this, that they seem to imply, the Consentes, and Select, and other Civil and Poetical Gods of the Pagans, to have been generally accounted, so many Substantial and Eternal Minds, or Understanding Beings Supercælestial, and Independent; their Jupiter being put only in an equality, with Apollo, Juno, Venus, and the rest. For which since Vossius pretends no other manner of Proof, than only from Apuleius his *De Deo Socratis*, who was a Platonick Philosopher; we shall here make it evident, that he was not rightly understood by

Vossius

Vossius neither; which yet ought not to be thought any Derogation from this Eminent Philologer (whose Polymathy and Multifarious Learning, is readily acknowledged by us) that he was not so well versed in all the Niceties and Punctilio's of the Platonick School. For though *Apuleius* do in that Book, besides those *Visible Gods*, the Stars; take notice of another kind of *Invisible ones*; such as the *Twelve Consentes*, and others, which (he saith) we may *animis conjectare, per varias Utilitates in vita agenda, animadversas in iis rebus, quibus eorum singuli curant, make a conjecture of by our minds, from the various Utilities in humane life, perceived from those things which each of these take care of*; yet that he was no Bigot in this *Civil Theology*, is manifest from hence, because in that very place, he declares as well against Superstition, as Irreligious Prophaneness. And his design there was plainly no other, than to reduce the *Civil and Poetical Theologies* of the Pagans into some handsome conformity and agreement with that *Philosophical, Natural, and Real Theology* of theirs, which derived all the Gods from One *Supreme and Universal Numen*: but this he endeavours to do, in the Platonick way, himself being much addicted to that Philosophy. *Hos Deos in sublimi aetheris vertice locatos, Plato existimat veros, incorporeales, animales, siue ullo neque sine neque exordio, sed prorsus ac retro æternos; corporis contagione suâ quidem naturâ remotos, ingenio ad summam beatitudinem porrecto, &c. Quorum Parentem, qui omnium rerum Dominator atque Author est, solum ab omnibus nexibus patiendi aliquid gerendive, nulla vice ad alicujus rei mutua obstructum, cur ego nunc dicere exordiar? cum Plato cælesti facundia præditus, frequentissimè prædicet, hunc solum majestatis incredibili quadam nimietate & ineffabili, non posse penuria sermonis humani, quavis oratione vel modicè comprehendere. All these Gods placed in the highest Æther, Plato thinks to be true, incorporeal, Animal, without beginning or end, Eternal, happy in themselves without any external good. The Parent of which Gods, who is the Lord and Author of all things, and who is alone free from all bonds of doing and suffering, why should I go about in words to describe him? since Plato who was endued with most Heavenly eloquence, equal to the Immortal Gods, does often declare, that this Highest God by reason of his excess of Majesty, is both ineffable and Incomprehensible. From which words of *Apuleius* it is plain, that according to him, the *Twelve Consentes*, and all the other *Invisible Gods* were derived from One *Original Deity*, as their Parent and Author. But then if you demand, what Gods of *Plato* these should be, to which *Apuleius* would here accommodate the *Civil and Poetical Gods*, contained in those Two Verses of *Ennius*,*

*Juno, Vesta, Minerva, Ceres, Diana, Venus, Mars.
Mercurius, Jovi, Neptunus, Vulcanus, Apollo.*

and the rest of this kind, that is, all their other *Gods* (properly so called) *Invisible*? We reply, that these are no other than *Plato's Ideas*, or *First Paradigms and Patterns of things*, in the *Archetypal World*, which is the *Divine Intellect* (and his *Second Hypostasis*) derived from his first *Original Deity*, and most Simple *Monad*. For as *Plato* writeth in his *Timæus*, ἀνάγκη τὸνδε ἢ νόστον, εἰκόνα τινὸς εἶναι, *this Sensible World*

World, must needs be the Image of another Intelligible one. And again afterwards, τίνι τῷ ζῳῶν αὐτ' εἰς ὁμοιότητα ὁ ξυνιστᾷς ξυνιστᾷς; τῷ μὲν ἐν Plato in Tim. ἐν μέρεσιν εἰδ' ἡ πεφυκότων μηδενὶ κατὰξιάσωμεν. ἀτελεῖ γὰρ εἰκότως εἶδεν ποτ' ἂν P. 30. ἡρώϊο καλόν. ἔσθ' ἐστὶ τὰλλα ζῶα καθ' ἐν ἡ γὰρ ἡμεῖς, πάντων ὁμοιό-
 τῶν αὐτῶν εἶναι πῶμα. τὰ γὰρ δὴ νοητὰ ζῶα πάντα ἐκείνο ἐν ἑαυτῶν ὡς ἐ-
 λαβὼν ἔχει, καὶ οὐδ' ὅδε ὁ κόσμος ἡμῶς ὅσα τε ἄλλα θρέμματα συνέσκηκεν ὁρατά.
 What Animal was the Pattern, according to whose likeness he that made this great Animal of the World, framed it? certainly we must not think it to be any Particular Animal, since nothing can be perfect which is made according to an imperfect copy. Let us therefore conclude it, to be that Animal, which containeth all other animals in it, as its Parts. For that Intelligible World containeth all Intelligible Animals in it, in the same manner as this Sensible World, doth us and other sensible animals. Wherefore Plato himself here and elsewhere speaking obscurely of this Intelligible World, and the Ideas of it, no wonder if many of his Pagan followers, have absurdly made so many Distinct Animals and Gods of them. Amongst whom Apuleius accordingly would refer all the Civil and Poetick Gods, of the Pagans (I mean their Gods, properly so called, Invisible) to this Intelligible world of Plato's, and those several Ideas of it. Neither was Apuleius singular in this, but others of the Pagan Theologes did the like, as for example Julian in his Book against the Christians; θεὸς ὀνομάζει πλάτων τὸς ἐμφανεῖς, ἥλιον, καὶ σελή-
 νην, ἄστρα καὶ ἔρρινον, ἀλλ' ἔστι τῷ ἀφανῶν εἶσιν εἰκόνες. ὁ φαινόμενος τοῖς ὀ-
 φθαλμοῖς ἥλιος, τὸ νοητὸν καὶ μὴ φαινόμενος. καὶ πάλιν, ἡ φαινόμενη τοῖς ὀφθαλ-
 μοῖς ἡμῶν σελήνη, καὶ τῷ ἄστρον ἕκαστον, εἰκόνες εἰσὶ τῷ νοητῷ. ἐκείνος ἐν τὸς ἀφανεῖς θεὸς ἐνυπάρχου καὶ συνυπάρχου, καὶ ἐξ αὐτῶ τῶ δημιουργῶ ἡμῶν, καὶ προελθόντος, ὁ πλάτων οἶδεν εἰκότως ἐν φησὶν ὁ δημιουργὸς ὁ παρ' αὐτῶ, θεοὶ, πρὸς τὸς ἀφανεῖς λέγων, θεῶν, τῷ ἐμφανῶν δηλονότι. κοινὸς ὁ ἀμφοτέρων δημι-
 οργὸς ὅτις ἔστιν, ὁ τεχνιστάμενος ἔρρινον καὶ γῶν, καὶ δάλασσαν, καὶ ἄστρα ἡμῶν, καὶ τὰ τῶν ἀρχέτυπα. Plato indeed speaketh of certain Visible Gods, the Sun, and the Moon, and the Stars, and the Heaven; but these are all but Images of other Invisible Gods; that Visible Sun which we see with our eyes, is but an Image of another Intelligible and Invisible One: so likewise the Visible Moon, and every one of the Stars, are but the Images and Resemblances of another Moon, and of other Stars Intelligible. Wherefore Plato acknowledged also these other Invisible Gods, inexisting and co-existing with the Demiurgus, from whom they were generated and produced. That Demiurgus in him, thus bespeaking these Invisible and Intelligible Gods; Ye Gods of Gods, that is, Ye Invisible Gods, who are the Gods and Causes of the Visible Gods. There is one common maker therefore of both these kinds of Gods; who first of all made a Heaven, Earth, Sea, & Stars, in the Intelligible World, as the Archetypes & Paradigms of these in the Sensible. Where S. Cyril in his Confutation writeth thus, εἰκοι ἡ διὰ τῶν ὁ ἡμεῖς ἰσχυρῶς, τοῖς ἰδέας βεβαιῶν κατὰ διδόν, ἃς ποτὲ μὲν ἔστις, καὶ ὑπερβαίνει κατ' ἑαυτῶς διευχερίζεται πλάτων, ποτὲ ὁ καὶ ἐν-
 νοίας εἶναι θεὸς διορίζεται. πλὴν ὅπως ὡς ἂν ἔχει καὶ τοῖς αὐτῶ μαθηταῖς ἀπα-
 ρεθνέον εἶναι φασὶν ὅτι τὰ δὲ λόγον οἱ ταῦτα τεχνίται. τὰ γὰρ εἶδη χαιρέτω, φησὶν ὁ Ἀριστοτέλης, περὶ σμῆματα γὰρ ἔστι, καὶ εἰ ἔστιν, εἶδεν πρὸς τὸν λόγον.
 This our excellent Julian, by his Intelligible and Invisible Gods, seems here to mean, those Ideas, which Plato sometimes contends to be Sub-
 stances, and to subsist alone by themselves, and sometimes again determi-
 neth

S. Cyril. Coh.
 Jul. L. 2. p. 65.

neth to be nothing but Notions or Conceptions in the mind of God. But however the matter be, the skilful in this kind of learning affirm, that these Ideas have been rejected by Plato's own Disciples, Aristotle discarding them as Fictions, or at least, such as being meer notions, could have no real causality and influence upon things. But the meaning of this Pagan Theology, may be more fully understood from what the same St. Cyril thus further objecteth against it, *περσπαγει ὃ ὅτι καὶ τῆς ἐμφανῶς καὶ τῆς νοητῆς δημιουργός ἐστιν ὁ τῆς ὅλων θεός, ὁ γὰρ καὶ ἑαυτὸν τεχνισάμενος, ὅτε τοίνυν κατὰ καὶ αὐτὸς διαμολόμενος ἐαυτῷ, τῶν τε κακίωνων γενεουργός ἐστιν ὁ ἀρχόντης θεός, πῶς ἐξ αὐτοῦ γεννηθῶσι φησὶ αὐτὸς, συνυπάρχειν τε καὶ ἐνυπάρχειν αὐτῷ; πῶς, εἰπέ μοι, τὰ ἀγεννητὰ θεῷ συνυπάρξει τὸ γεννητὸν; ἐνυπάρξει ἢ οὐκ; ποῖον τρέπον; ἡμεῖς μὲν γὰρ ἀρχόντου ὄντα τὸ θεῷ λόγον, συνυπάρχειν ἀναγκαίως τὰ φύσιν διχυροζόμεθα, καὶ ἐνυπάρχειν μὲν αὐτῷ, προσελθεῖν δὲ γεννητῶς ἐξ αὐτοῦ. ὁ δὲ καὶ Πλάτωνος ἀρεσεπέας συνήλθης ἀκρίβης, ἀρχόντου μὲν εἶναι φησὶ τὸ ἀνωτάτω θεόν. ἐνυπάρχειν ὃ καὶ ἐξ αὐτοῦ γεννηθῆναι καὶ προσελθεῖν τὸς παρ' αὐτοῦ γενοτάς, τὰ πάντα κυκλῶν καὶ συχέων.* The sence whereof seems to be this; Julian addeth, that the God of the Universe who made Heaven and Earth, is alike the Demiurgus both of these Sensible and of the other Intelligible things. If therefore the Ingenit God, be alike the Creator of both, how can he affirm those things that are Created by him, to co-exist with, and inexist in him? How can that which is created, co-exist with the Ingenit God? but much less can it inexist in him. For we Christians indeed affirm, that the Unmade Word of God, doth of necessity co-exist with, and inexist in the Father, it proceeding from him not by way of Creation but of Generation. But this defender of Platonick trifles, acknowledging the Supreme God to be Ingenit, affirmeth notwithstanding those things which were Made and Created by him, to inexist in him; thus mingling and confounding all things. Where notwithstanding, Julian, and the Platonick Pagans would in all probability reply; that those Ideas of the Intelligible and Archetypal World (which is the First *ὄν* or Intellect) proceeding from the Highest Hypostasis, and Original Deity, by way of Necessary and Eternal Emanation, are no more to be accounted Creatures, than the Christian λόγος; and therefore might, with as little absurdity, be said to exist, *With and In*, that First Original Deity. But besides, the same Julian elsewhere in that Book of his, accommodates this Platonick Notion also, to the Pagan Gods in Particular, in like manner as Apuleius had done before, he writing of *Æsculapius*, after this canting way, *ὁ γὰρ Ζεὺς, ἐν μὲν τοῖς νοητοῖς ἐξ ἑαυτοῦ τὸ Ἀσκληπιὸν ἐγέννησεν, εἰς δὲ τὴν γῆν διὰ τῆς ἡλίου γονίμης ζωῆς ἐξέφηνεν. ἔστω ἔτι γῆς ἐξ ἑαυτοῦ ποιησάμενος, πρὸς δὲ, ἐνοειδῶς μὲν ἐν ἀνθρώπου μορφῇ ὡς ἐν τῷ Ἐπίδωρῳ ἐφάνη, &c.* Jupiter, amongst the Intelligible things, generated out of himself *Æsculapius*, and by the Generative Life of the Sun manifested him here upon Earth, he coming down from Heaven and appearing in a Humane Form, first about Epidaurus, and from thence extending his salutary power or vertue, over the whole Earth. Where *Æsculapius* is First of all, the Eternal Idea of the Medicinal Art or Skill, generated by the Supreme God, in the Intelligible world; which afterward by the Vivifick Influence of the Sun, was Incarnated, and appeared in a humane form at Epidaurus. This is the Doctrine of that Julian, who was so great an Opposer of the Incarnation of the Eternal Logos, in our

our Saviour Jesus Christ. Neither was this Doctrine, of *Many Intelligible Gods, and Powers Eternal*, (of which the *Archetypal World* consisteth) first invented, by *Platonick Pagans*, after the times of Christianity, as some might suspect; but that there was such a thing extant before amongst them also, may be concluded from this passage of *Philo's*, *Εἰς ὃν ὁ θεὸς ἀμυδρὸς ὡς ἡ αὐτὴ δύναμις ἀρωγὰς ἔσται· εἰς τὴν γενόμενὴν πᾶσας· δι' αὐτῶν τῶν δυνάμεων, ὁ ἀσώματος καὶ νοητὸς ἐπὶ τῇ κόσμῳ, τὸ τῶν φαινομένων τῶνδε ἀρχέτυπον, ἰδέαις ἀοράτοις συσταθεὶς, ὡς ἂν ἔσται σώμασιν ὁρατοῖς· κατὰ πλάγιον ἐν τινὲς τῶν ἑκατέρων τῶν κόσμων φύσιν, ἢ μόνον ὅλως ἐξεθεώσαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ καλίστα τῶν αὐτοῖς μερῶν, ἥλιον, καὶ σελῶν, καὶ τὴν συμπαντικὰ ἑρμηνείαν, ὡς ἂν αἰδεσθεὶς θεὸς ἐκάλεισαν.* *Though God be but one, yet hath he about himself Innumerable Auxiliary Powers, all of them salutiferous and procuring the good of that which is made, &c. Moreover by these Powers and out of them, is the Incorporeal and Intelligible World compacted, which is the Archetype of this visible World, that consisting of Invisible Ideas, as this doth of visible Bodies. Wherefore some admiring, with a kind of astonishment, the Nature of both these worlds, have not only Deified the whole of them, but also the most excellent parts in them, as the Sun and the Moon and the whole Heaven, which they scruple not at all to call Gods. Where Philo seems to speak of a double Sun, Moon, and Heaven as Julian did, the one Sensible, the other Intelligible. Moreover Plotinus himself sometimes complies with this Notion, he calling the Ideas of the Divine Intellect, νοητὸς θεός, Intelligible Gods; as in that place before cited, where he exhorteth men ascending upward above the Soul of the World; θεὸς ὑμνεῖν νοητὸς, To praise the Intelligible Gods, that is, the Divine Intellect, which as he elsewhere writeth is both, εἰς καὶ πολλοὶ One and Many.*

*De Confus. L.
345. Par.*

We have now given a full account of *Apulejus* his sense in that Book *De Deo Socratis*, concerning the *Civil and Poetical Pagan Gods*; which was not to assert a Multitude of *Substantial and Eternal Deities or Minds Independent* in them; but only to reduce the *Vulgar Theology* of the Pagans, both their *Civil and Poetical*; into some conformity with the *Natural, Real, and Philosophick Theology*; and this according to *Platonick Principles*. Wherein many other of the *Pagan Platonists*, both before and after Christianity concurred with him; they making the *Many Pagan Invisible Gods*, to be really nothing but the *Eternal Ideas of the Divine Intellect*, (called by them the *Parts of the Intelligible and Archetypal World*) which they supposed to have been the *Paradigms and Patterns* according to which this *Sensible World*, and all Particular things therein were made and upon which they depended, they being only *Participations* of them. Wherefore though this may well be look'd upon as a *Monstrous Extravagancy*, in these *Platonick Philosophers*, thus to talk of the *Divine Ideas*, or the *Intelligible and Archetypal Paradigms* of things, not only as *Substantial*, but also as so many several *Animals, Persons, and Gods*; it being their humour thus upon all slight occasions to multiply Gods; yet nevertheless must it be acknowledged, that they did at the very same time declare, all these to have been derived from One Supreme Deity, and not only so, but also to exist in it; as they did likewise at other times; when unconcerned in this business of their *Pagan Polytheism*,

lytheism, freely acknowledge all these intelligible Ideas, to be Really nothing else, but νοήματα, *Conceptions in the Mind of God*, or the First Intellect (though not such Slight Accidental and Evanid ones, as those Conceptions and Modifications of our humane Souls are) and consequently not to be so many Distinct Substances, Persons, and Gods, (much less Independent Ones) but only so many Partial Considerations of the Deity.

What a Rabble of Invisible Gods and Goddeses, the Pagans had, besides those their *Dii Nobiles*, and *Dii Majorum Gentium*, their Noble and Greater Gods (which were the *Consentes* and *Selecti*) hath been already showed out of St. Austin, from Varro and others; as namely, *Dea Mena*, *Deus Vagitanus*, *Dea Levana*, *Dea Cunina*, *Divia Rumina*, *Divia Potina*, *Divia Educa*, *Divia Paventina*, *Dea Venilia*, *Dea Agenoria*, *Dea Stimula*, *Dea Strenua*, *Dea Numeria*, *Deus Confus*, *Dea Sentia*, *Deus Jugatinus*, *Dea Virginensis*, *Deus Mutinus*. To which might be added more out of other places of the same St. Austin, as *Dea Deverra*, *Deus Domiducus*, *Deus Domitius*, *Dea Manturna*, *Deus Pater Subigus*, *Dea Mater Prema*, *Dea Pertunda*, *Dea Rusina*, *Dea Collatina*, *Dea Vallonia*, *Dea Seia*, *Dea Segetia*, *Dea Tutilina*, *Deus Nodotus*, *Dea Valutina*, *Dea Patelena*, *Dea Hostilina*, *Dea Flora*, *Dea Laeturtia*, *Dea Matura*, *Dea Runcina*. Besides which there are yet so many more of these Pagan Gods and Goddeses extant in other Writers, as that they cannot be all mentioned or enumerated by us; divers whereof have Very Small, Mean, and Contemptible Offices assigned to them, as their names for the most part do imply; some of which are such, as that they were not fit to be here interpreted. From whence it plainly appears, that there was πανδευ ἢ θεον, *nothing at all without a God* to these Pagans, they having so strong a Perswasion, that Divine Providence extended itself to all things, and expressing it after this manner, by assigning to Every thing in Nature, and Every part of the World, and whatsoever was done by men, some particular God or Goddes by name, to preside over it. Now that the Intelligent Pagans, should believe in good earnest, that all these Invisible Gods and Goddeses of theirs, were so many Several Substantial Minds, or Understanding Beings Eternal and Unmade, really existing in the World, is a thing in it self Utterly Incredible. For how could any possibly persuade themselves, that there was One Eternal Unmade Mind or Spirit, which for example, Essentially presided over The Rockings of Infants Cradles, and nothing else? another over the Sweeping of Houses? another over Ears of Corn? another over the Husks of Grain? and another over the Knots of Straw and Grass, and the like? And the Case is the very same, for those other Noble Gods of theirs (as they call them) the *Consentes*, and *Selecti*; since there can be no reason given, why those should all of them, be so many Substantial and Eternal Spirits Self-existent or Unmade, if none of the other were such. Wherefore if these be not all, so many Several Substantial and Eternal Minds, so many Selfexisting and Independent Deities, then must they of necessity, be either Several Partial Considerations of the Deity, viz. the Several Manifestations of the Divine Power and Providence Personated; or else Inferiour Ministers of the same. And thus have we already shewed

shewed, that the more High-flown and Platonick Pagans, (as *Julian*, *Apuleius* and others) understood these *Consentes* and Select Gods, and all the other Invisible ones, to be really nothing else, but the *Ideas* of the *Intelligible* and *Archetypal World*, (which is the *Divine Intellect*) that is indeed, but *Partial Considerations* of the *Deity*, as *Virtually* and *Exemplarily* containing all things: whilst others of them, going in a more plain and easie way, concluded these Gods of theirs, to be all of them, but several *Names* and *Notions* of the *One Supreme Deity*, according to the *Various Manifestations* of its Power in the world; as *Seneca* expressly affirmeth, not only concerning *Fate*, *Nature* and *Fortune*, &c. but also *Liber Pater*, *Hercules*, and *Mercury*, (before mentioned by him) that they were *Omnia ejusdem Dei Nomina, variè nuntis suâ potestate*, all Names of One and the same God, as diversly using his power; and as *Zeno* in *Laertius* concludes of all the rest: or else, (which amounts to the same thing) that they were the Several Powers and Vertues of One God *Fictitiously Personated* and *Deified*; as the Pagans in *Eusebius* apologize for themselves, that they did *θεοποιῶν τὰς ἀόρατας δυνάμεις αὐτῆς τῆς ἐνὶ πᾶσι* *Pr. Ev. L. 3. c. 13. p. 121.* *Deify nothing but the Invisible Powers of that God which is over all.* Nevertheless because those Several Powers of the Supreme God were not supposed to be all executed immediately by himself, but by certain other *ὑπακούοντες δυνάμεις*, *Subservient Ministers* under him, appointed to preside over the Several Things of Nature, Parts of the World, and Affairs of Mankind (commonly called *Demons*;) therefore were those Gods sometimes taken also for such *Subservient Spirits*, or *Demons* collectively; as perhaps in this of *Epicætus*, *πότε ὁ ζέφυρος πνέσκει; ὅταν αὐτὰς δεῖν, ὡς βέλτεται, ἢ τὰς αἰόλους· σὲ γὰρ ἐν ἐποίησεν ὁ θεὸς ταμίαν τῶν ἀνέμων, ἀλλὰ τὸν αἰόλον.* *When will Zephyrus or the West-wind blow? When it seemeth good to himself or to Æolus; for God hath not made thee Steward of the Winds, but Æolus.* *L. i. c. i. p. 85.*

But for the fuller clearing of the whole *Pagan Theology*, and especially this one Point thereof, that their *πολυθεΐα*, was in great part nothing else but *πολυωνυμία*, their *Polytheism* or *Multiplicity of Gods*, nothing but the *Polyonymy of One God*, or his being called by *Many Personal Proper Names*, Two Things are here requisite to be further taken notice of; First, that according to the *Pagan Theology*, God was conceived to be *Diffused throughout the whole World*, to *Permeate* and *Pervade* all things, to *Exist in all things*, and *Intimately to Afford all things*. Thus we observed before out of *Horus Apollo*, that the *Egyptian Theologers* conceived of God, as *τὸ παντὸς κόσμου τὸ διήκον πνεῦμα*, a Spirit pervading the whole World, as likewise they concluded, *οὐδὲν ὅλως σινεσέναι*, that Nothing at all Consisted without God. Which same Theology was Universally entertained also amongst the *Greeks*. For Thus *Diogenes* the *Cynick* in *Laertius*, *αὐτῷ πάντα πληρὸν*, All things are full of him. And *Aristotle* or the Writer *De Plantis*, makes God not only to comprehend the whole world, but also to be an *Inward Principle of Life in Animals*; *τῆς ἐν ὅσῃ ἢ ἀρχὴ ἢ ἐν τῇ ψυχῇ τῆς ζῶας; ἢ ἄλλο, εἰ μὴ τὸ ἀγενεὲς ζῶον, ὃ τὸ θεῶν ἐξ ἑαυτοῦ αὐτῷ, τὸ ἥλιον, τὰ ἄστρα, καὶ τὰς πλάνητας.* *What is the Principle in the Life or Soul of Animals? certainly no other than that Noble Animal (or Living Being) that encompasses and*

Adv. Ma-
them. p. 331.

Protrept. p. 44.

Lib. 15. p. 730.

and surrounds the whole Heaven, the Sun, the Stars, and the Planets. *Sextus Empiricus* thus represents the sence of *Pythagoras*, *Empedocles*, and all the Italick Philosophers; *μη μόνον ἡμῖν πρὸς ἀλλήλους καὶ πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς εἶναι πινὰ κοινωνίαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ πρὸς τὰ ἄλογα τῶν ζώων· ἐν γὰρ ὑπάρχειν πνεῦμα τὸ διὰ παντὸς κόσμου διήκον, ψυχῆς τε ἔχον, τὸ καὶ ἐνδὲν ἡμᾶς πρὸς ἑκάνα.* That we men have not only a conjunction amongst our selves with one another, but also with the Gods above us, and with Brute Animals below us: because there is One Spirit which like a Soul, pervades the whole World, and unites all the parts thereof together. *Clemens Alexandrinus* writeth thus of the Stoicks, *διὰ πάσης ὕλης, καὶ διὰ τῶν ἀπιμωτάτης τὸ θεῖον διήκειν λέγουσι, They affirm that God doth Pervade all the Matter of the Universe, and even the most vile parts thereof, which that Father seems to dislike.*; as also did *Tertullian*, when he represented their Doctrine thus; *Stoici volunt Deum sic per Materiam decurrissē, quomodo Mel per Favos, the Stoicks will have God, so to run through the Matter, as the Honey doth the Combs.* *Strabo* testifies of the ancient Indian *Brachmans*, *οὗτοι πολλὰν τοῖς Ἕλλησιν ὁμοδοξίαν, ὅτι γὰρ γενετὴς οὐ κόσμος καὶ φθαρτὸς λέγουσιν καίνεσθαι, ὃ τε διοικῶν αὐτὸν καὶ ποιῶν θεός, δι' ὅλα διαπεφοίτηκεν αὐτῷ.* That in many things they Philosophized after the Greekish manner, as when they affirm that the World had a beginning, and that it would be Corrupted, and that the Maker and Governour thereof, Pervades the whole of it. The Latins also fully agreed with the Greeks in this: For though *Seneca* somewhere propounds this Question, *Utrum Extrinsecus operi suo Circumsusus sit Deus, an toti inditus?* Whether God be only extrinsically circumfused, about his work the World, or inwardly insinuating do Pervade it all? yet himself elsewhere answers it, when he calls God, *Divinum Spiritum per omnia, maxima, ac minima, equali intentione diffusum*, A Divine Spirit, Diffused through all things, whether Smallest or Greatest, with equal intention. God in *Quintilians* Theology, is *Spiritus omnibus partibus Immixtus*; and *Ille fusus, per omnes rerum Naturæ partes Spiritus*, a Spirit which insinuates it self into, and is Mingled with all the parts of the world; And that Spirit which is diffused through all the parts of Nature. *Apuleius* likewise affirmeth *Deum omnia permeare*, That God doth permeate all things, and that *Nulla res est tam præstantibus viribus, quæ viduata Dei auxilio, sui natura contenta sit*, There is nothing so excellent or powerful, as that it could be content with its own Nature alone, void of the Divine Aid or Influence: and again, *Dei Præsentiam, non jam cogitatio sola, sed Oculi, & aures, & sensibilis Substantia comprehendit*, That God is not only present to our Cogitation, but also to our very eyes and ears, in all these sensible things. *Servius* agreeably with this doctrine of the Ancient Pagans, determineth, that *Nulla Pars Elementi sine Deo est*, That there is no part of the Elements devoid of God. And that the Poets fully closed with the same Theology, is evident from those known passages of theirs, *Jovis omnia plena*, and *μεστέρι δ' αἰὲς πᾶσι μὲν ἄνθρωποι, &c.* i. e. All the things of Nature, and Parts of the world, are full of God; as also from this of *Virgil*,

Virg. Georg.
L. 4.

Deum namque ire per omnes
Terrasque, Tractusque Maris, Cælumque profundum.

Lastly

Lastly we shall observe that both *Plato* and *Anaxagoras*, who neither of them Confounded God with the World, but kept them both distinct and affirmed God to be *ἄδεν μεμυγμένον*, *Unmingled with any thing*, nevertheless concluded, *αὐτὸ πάντα νοσμεῖν τὰ περὶ γαῖαν διὰ πάντων ἰόντα*, *that he did order and govern all things passing through and pervading all things*; which is the very same with that Doctrine of Christian Theologers, *καὶ θεὸν διὰ πάντων ἀμείζως διήκον*, *That God permeates and passes through all things, Unmixedly*. Which *Plato* also there in his *Cratylus*, plainly making *δικαιον* to be a Name for God, etymologizeth it, from *διὰ ἰόν*, i. e. *passing thorough all things*, and thereupon gives us the best account of *Heraclitus* his Theosophy, that is any where extant (if not rather a Fragment of *Heraclitus* his own) in these words, *ὅσοι γὰρ ἠγνόουν τὸ πᾶν εἶναι ἐν ποσει, τὸ μὲν πολὺ αὐτῷ ὑπολαμβάνουσι τοῖσιν τι εἶναι, οἷον ἄδεν ἄλλο ἢ χαρεῖν· διὰ ἧς τὰ πάντα παύτως εἶναι διεξίον, δι' ἧς πάντα τὰ γινόμενα γίνεσθαι· εἶναι ἡ τάχιστα τῷ καὶ λεπτότατον, ἡ γὰρ ἂν δύνασθ' ἄλλως διὰ τῆς οὐσίας ἰέναι πάντας, εἰ μὴ λεπτότατον τε ἦν, ὥς αὐτὸ μηδὲν εἶναι, καὶ τάχιστα, ὥς χρῆσθαι ὥσπερ ἐστὶν τοῖς ἄλλοις, ἐπεὶ ἡ ἐν ὑπέρτατον τὰ ἄλλα πάντα διὰ ἰόν, τῷ τὸ ὄνομα ἐκλήθη ὁρθῶς δικαιον, ἀσπίδας ἐνεκα, τὴν τῆς ἡ δύναμιν προσλαβόν·* *They who affirm the Universe to be in constant motion, suppose a great part thereof, to do nothing else but move and change; but that there is something which Passes through and Pervades this whole Universe, by which all those things that are made, are made: and that this is both the Most Swift, and Most Subtil thing; for it could not otherwise pass through all things, were it not so Subtil, that nothing could keep it out or hinder it; and it must be most swift, that it may use all things, as if they stood still, that so nothing might scape it. Since therefore this doth preside over, and Order all things, Permeating and Passing through them; it is called δικαιον quasi διεξίον; the Letter Cappa, being only taken in for the more handsom pronunciation. Here we have therefore Heraclitus his Description of God, namely this, τὸ λεπτότατον καὶ τὸ τάχιστα, διὰ πάντων διεξίον, δι' ἧς πάντα τὰ γινόμενα γίνεσθαι, That Most Subtil and Most Swift Substance, which permeates and passes through the whole Universe, by which all things that are made, are made. Now saith Plato, some of these Heracliticks, say that this is Fire, others that it is Heat; but he deriding both these Conceits; concludes with *Anaxagoras*, that it is a Perfect Mind, unmixed with any thing; which yet Permeating and Passing through all things, frames, orders, and disposes all.*

Wherefore this being the Universally received Doctrine of the Pagans, that *God was a Spirit or Substance Diffused through the whole World, which Permeating and Inwardly Acting all things, did Order all*; no wonder, if they called him, in Several Parts of the World and Things of Nature, by several Names; or to use *Cicero's* Language, no wonder if *Deus Pertinens per Naturam cujusque rei, per Terras Ceres, per Maria Neptunus, &c.* if *God pervading the nature of every thing, were in the Earth called Ceres, in the Sea Neptune, in the Air Juno, &c.* And this very account does *Paulus Orosius* (in his Historick work against the Pagans, Dedicated to *St. Austin*) give of the original of the Pagan Polytheism, *Quidam dum In Multis Deum credunt, Multos Deos, L. 6. c. 1. indiscreto Timore, sinxerunt, That Some whilst they believe God to be*

In Many things, have therefore, out of an indiscreet fear, feigned Many Gods; in which words he intimates, that the Pagans Many Gods, were really but Several Names of One God, as existing in Many things, or in the Several Parts of the world; as the same Ocean is called by several names, as beating upon several Shores.

Secondly the *Pagan Theology* went sometimes yet a strain higher, they not only thus supposing, God to *Pervade the whole World*, and to be *Diffus'd through All Things* (which as yet keeps up some Difference and Distinction betwixt God and the *World*) but also *Himself to be in a manner All Things*. That the ancient *Egyptian Theology*, from whence the Theologies of other Nations were derived, ran so high as this, is evident from that excellent Monument of Egyptian Antiquity, the *Saitick Inscription* often mentioned, *I am all that Was, Is, and Shall be*. And the *Trismegistick Books* insisting so much every where upon this Notion, *That God is All Things*; (as hath been observed) renders it the more probable, that they were not all Counterfeit and Supposititious; but that according to the testimony of *Jamblichus*, they did at least contain *ἰδέας ἑρμῶϊας*, some of the Old Theistical or Hermaical Philosophy, in them. And from *Egypt* in all probability, was this Doctrine by *Orpheus* derived into *Greece*, the *Orphick Verses* themselves running much upon this strain, and the *Orphick Theology* being thus Epitomized by *Timotheus* the Chronographer; *That all things were made by God, and That Himself is All Things*. To this purpose is that of *Æschylus*,

Grot. Exc.
p. 57.

Ζῶς ἔστιν αἰὶνός, Ζῶς δὲ γῆ, Ζῶς δ' ἑρμῶς.
Ζῶς τοι τὰ πάντα, χῶ, π τῆ δ' ἔδ' ὑπερτέρον.

*Et Terra, & Æther, & Poli Arx est Jupiter,
Et Cuncta Solus, & aliquid Sublimius.*

And again,

Ib. p. 53.

————— Ποτὲ μὲν ἄς πῦρ φαίνεται
Ἀπλᾶτον ὁρμῇ· ποτὲ δ' ὕδωρ, πῶς ὃ γνῶσθαι.
καὶ θεῶν αὐτὸς γίνεσθαι παρεμφερὴς,
Ἀνέμῳ, νέφει τε, καὶ εὐπνίῳ, βροντῇ, βροχῇ.

————— Nunc ut implacabilis
Apparet Ignis: nunc Tenebris, nunc Aquæ
Par ille cerni: Simulat interdum Feram,
Tonitrua, Ventos, Fulmina, & Nubila.

As also this of *Lucan* amongst the Latins,

Lib. 9. v. 580.

————— Superos quid querimus ultra?
Jupiter est quodcumque Vides, quocumque moveris.

Whereunto agree also, these passages of *Seneca* the Philosopher, *Quid est Deus? Quod vides Totum, & quod non vides, Totum.* And sic
Solus

Solus est Omnia, opus suum & Extrà & Intrà tenet: What is God? he is all that you see, and all that you do not see. And he alone is All Things, he containing his own work not only without but also within. Neither was this the Doctrine only of those Pagans who held God to be the Soul of the World, and consequently the whole Animated World to be the Supreme Deity, but of those others also, who conceived of God as an Abstract Mind Superiour to the Mundane Soul, or rather as a simple Monad Superiour to Mind also; as those Philosophers, Xenophanes, Parmenides, and Melissus, who described God to be One and All Things, they supposing that because all things were From him, they must needs have been first in a manner In him and Himself All Things. With which agreeth the Author of the Asclepian Dialogue, when he maketh, *Unus Omnia, and Creator Omnium; One All Things, and the Creator of All Things*, to be but equivalent Expressions: and when he affirmeth, that before things were made, *In eo jam tunc erant, unde Nasci habuerunt; They then Existed in him, from whom afterwards they proceeded.* So likewise the other Trismegistick Books, when they give this account of Gods *being both All things that Are, and All things that Are Not*, τὰ μὲν ὅτι ἐφανερώσθαι, τὰ δὲ μὴ ὅτι ἐκείνῳ ἐκείνῳ, *because those things that Are, he hath manifested from himself, and those things that Are not, he still containeth within himself; or as it is elsewhere expressed, he doth κρύπτειν, Hide them and Conceal them in himself.* And the Orphick verses gave this same Account likewise of Gods *being All Things*, πάντα τὰ ἐν κρύβας, &c. *because he first Conceal'd and Hid them all within himself, before they were made and thence afterward from himself displayed them, and brought them forth into Light: Or because*

——— Ζηνὸς δ' ἐν γαστέρι σὺν ἅπασι πεφύκει,

before they were produc'd, they were all contain'd together in the Womb of God:

Now this was not only a further Ground, of that seeming Polytheism amongst the Pagans, which was really nothing but the Polyonymy of One God, and their Personating his Several Powers; but also of another more strange and puzzling Phenomenon in their Theology, namely, their Personating also, the Parts of the World Inanimate, and Things of Nature, and bestowing the Names of Gods and Goddesses upon them. It was before observed out of Moschopulus, that the Pagans did ἐνὶ ὀνόματι τῆς τῶν δυνάμιν ἔχον, καὶ τῆς ἐπιστάτης τῶν θεῶν ὀνομαζέσθαι, *Call the things in Nature, and the Gods which presided over them, by one and the same Name.* As for Example, they did not only call, the God which presideth over those arts that operate by Fire, Hephaestus or Vulcan; but also Fire it self. And Demeter or Ceres, was not only taken by them for that God, who was supposed to Give Corn and Fruits, but also for Corn it self. So Dionysus or Bacchus did not only signifie, the God that Giveth Wine, but also Wine it self. And he instancing further, in Venus, and Minerva, and the Muses, concludes the same Universally of all the rest. Thus Arnobius in his Book against the Pagans, *In usu sermonis vestri, Martem pro Pugna appellatis, pro Aqua Neptunum, Liberum Patrem pro Vino, Cererem pro Pane, Minervam pro Stamine, pro Obscenis libidinis Venerem.* Now we will not deny, L. 5.

De Is. & Os.
p. 379.

Ibid.

De N.D.L. 2.
p. 222.

De Decal.
p. 751, 752.

but that this was sometimes done *Metonymically*, the *Efficient Cause*, and the *Ruling or Governing Principle*, being put for the *Effect*, or that which was Ruled and Governed by it. And thus was *War* frequently styled *Mars*, and that of *Terence* may be taken also in this Sence, *Sine Cerere & Libero friget Venus*. And *Plutarch* (who declares his great dislike of this kind of Language) conceives that there was no more at first in it than thus, ὥς ποτ' ἡμεῖς τ' ἀνέμῳ βιβλία Πλάτωνος, ἀνεῖσθαι φάρμακον Πλάτωνα, καὶ Μένανδρον τ' ὑποκρίνεσθαι τὰ Μένανδρου ποιήματα ὑποπτόμενον, ὅπως ὁκένοι, τοῖς τῶν Θεῶν ὀνόμασι τὰ τῶν Θεῶν δῶρα καὶ ποιήματα καλεῖν ἐν ἐφεδρόνῳ, τιμῶντες ὑπὸ χρείας καὶ σεμνύνοντες. *As we, when one buyes the Books of Plato, commonly say that he buyes Plato; and when one acts the Plays of Menander, that he acts Menander; so did the ancients not spare to call the Gifts and Effects of the Gods, by the names of those Gods respectively, thereby honouring them also for their Utility.* But he grants that afterward this Language was by ignorant Persons abused and carried on further, and that not without great Impiety; οἱ δ' ὕστεροι ἀπαίδευτος δειχόμενοι καὶ ἀμαθῶς ἀναγρέφοντες, ὅτι τὰς θεὰς τὰ πλ. θη. καὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων καὶ τῶν ἀναγκῶν καὶ ἀποκρίσεις, θεῶν γενέσεις καὶ φθοράς, ὅς προσαρμόζοντες μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ νομίζοντες, ἀτόπων καὶ ἄλογον καὶ τετραγμμένων δόξαν αὐτοὺς ἐπέπλυσαν. *Their followers mistaking them, and thereupon ignorantly attributing the Passions of Fruits, (their Appearances and Occultations) to the Gods themselves, that preside over them; and so not only calling them, but also thinking them to be, the Generations and Corruptions of the Gods, have by this means filled themselves with absurd and wicked Opinions.* Where *Plutarch* well condemns the *Vulgar* both amongst the *Egyptians* and *Greeks*, for that in their mournful Solemnities, they sottishly attributed to the Gods, the Passions belonging to the fruits of the earth; thereby indeed making them to be Gods. Nevertheless the *Inanimate Parts of the World* and *Things of Nature*, were frequently *Deified* by the Pagans, not only thus *Metonymically*, but also in a further Sence, as *Cicero* plainly declares; *Tum illud quod erat à Deo natum, Nomine ipsius Dei nuncupabant, ut cum Fruges Cererem appellamus, Vinum autem Liberum; Tum autem Res ipsa in qua Vis inest Major, sic appellatur ut ea ipsa Res nominetur Deus.* Both that which proceeds from God, is called by the name of a God, as *Corn* is sometimes thus called *Ceres*, and *Wine* *Liber*: and also whatsoever hath any greater Force in it, That thing it self is often called a God too. *Philo* also thus represents the Religion of the Pagans, as first *Deifying Corporeal Inanimate Things*, and then bestowing those *Proper Personal Names* upon them: ἐκτεθειώκασι γὰρ οἱ μὲν τὰς τέσσαρας ἀρχάς, γῆν, καὶ ὕδωρ, καὶ αἶρα, καὶ πῦρ. οἱ δ' ἥλιον καὶ σελήνην καὶ τὰς ἄλλας πλανήτας, καὶ ἀπλανεῖς ἀστῆρας. οἱ δ' ἄλλον τ' ἑρμῆν, οἱ δ' σὺμπαντα κόσμον. τ' δ' ἀνωτάτω καὶ πρεσβυτάτῳ, τ' ἡγεμονίῳ, τ' ἀρχοῦντι τῇ μεγάλῃ πόλει, τ' στρατάρχῳ τ' ἀντιθέτῳ στρατῶν, τ' κυβερνήτῳ ὅς οἰκονομεῖ σωτηρίας αἰεὶ ἅπαντα, παρεκαλύψαντο, ἰδιδανύμενος προσήσθης ὁκένοισι ὑποψήμισάντες, ἐτέρους ἑτέροι. καλῶς γὰρ τῷ γῆν κόρῳ, δῆμῳ, πλάτωνα. τῷ δ' ἐλάσαντος ποσειδῶνα, δαίμονας ἐναλίεως ὑπάρχοντες αὐτῷ προσαναπλάττοντες, &c. Ἦσαν δ' τ' αἶρα, καὶ τὸ πῦρ ἠφαιστον, καὶ ἥλιον Ἀπόλλωνα, καὶ σελήνην Ἀρτέμιον, &c. *Some have Deified the Four Elements, the Earth, the Water, the Air and the Fire. Some the Sun and the Moon, and the Planets and Fixed Stars: Others the Heaven, others the whole World.* But that *Highest and most Ancient Being*, the Parent of

of all things, the Chief Prince of this great City, and the Emperour of this invincible Army, who governeth all things salutiferously, Him have they covered, concealed and obscured, by bestowing Counterfeit Personal Names of Gods upon each of these things. For the Earth they called Proserpina, Pluto and Ceres; the Sea Neptune, under whom they place many Demons and Nymphs also as his Inferiour Ministers; the Air Juno; the Fire Vulcan; the Sun Apollo; the Moon Diana, &c. and dissecting the Heaven into Two Hemispheres, one above the Earth the other under it, they call these the Dioscuri, feigning them to live alternately one one day, and the other another. We deny not here but that the Four Elements, as well as the Sun, Moon, and Stars, were supposed by some of the Pagans, to be Animated with Particular Souls of their own, (which Ammianus Marcellinus seems principally to call *Spiritus Elementorum*, the Spirits of the Elements, worshipped by Julian) and upon that account to be so many Inferiour Gods themselves. Notwithstanding which, that the Inanimate Parts of these, were also Deified by the Pagans, may be concluded from hence; because Plato, who in his *Cratylus* etymologizeth *Dionysus* from Giving of Wine, and elsewhere calls the fruits of the earth τὰ δῆμῳ δῶρα, The Gifts of Ceres, doth himself nevertheless in compliance with this Vulgar Speech, call Wine and Water as mingled together in a Glas (or Cup) to be drunk, Gods: where he affirmeth that a City ought to be, *De Leg. l. 6.*
 δὴ καὶ κρατὴρ καὶ κραμένῳ, ὃ μαινόμηνον μὲν οἶνον κεχρμένον ζῆν, κολαζόμενον δὲ ὑπὸ νηφοντός ἐπέρι θεῶν, καλῶ κοινωνίαν λαβάν, ἀρχαὸν πόμα καὶ μέτερον ἀπερραίνει. so temper'd, as in a Cup, where the furious Wine poured out bubbles and sparkles, but being Corrected by another Sober God (that is, by Water) both together make a good and moderate Potion. Cicero also tells us, that before the Roman Admirals went to Sea, they were wont to offer up a Sacrifice to the Waves. But of this more afterward. However it is certain, that meer Accidents, and Affections of Things in Nature, were by these Pagans commonly Personated and Deified, as Time in *Sophocles* his *Electra* is a God, χρόνος γὰρ ἀμάρης θεός, For Time is an easie God; and Love in *Plato's Symposium*, where it is wondered at, that no Poet had ever made a Hymn τῷ ἔρωτι, τιμωμένῳ ὅτι καὶ πᾶσι θεῶν, To Love being such and so great a God. Though the same Plato in his *Philebus*, when Protarchus had called Pleasure a Goddess *P. 12.*
 τὸ δ' ἐμὸν δέος, ὃ πρῶταρχε, αἰεὶ πρὸς τὰ ἔρῳ δῶν ὀνόματα ἐν ἑστὶ ἀνθρώπων, ἀλλὰ πρὸς τὸ μέγιστον φόβον. καὶ νῦν τι μὲν ἀφραδίῳ, ὅτι ἐκείνη φίλον, ταύτῳ προσεγορεύω, τίς ἢ ἡδονῇ οἶδα ὡς ἑστὶ ποιήλον. My fear, O Protarchus, concerning the Names of the Gods, is extraordinary great. Wherefore as to Venus, I am willing to call her, what she pleases to be called; but Pleasure I know is a Various and Multiform thing. Wherefore it cannot be denied but that the Pagans did in some sense or other Deifie or Theologize all the Parts of the World, and Things of Nature. Which we conceive to have been done at first upon no other Ground than this, because God was supposed by them, not only to Permeate and Pervade all things, to be Diffused thorough All, and to Act in and upon All; but also to be Himself in a manner All things; which they expressed after this way; by Personating the Things of Nature Severally, and bestowing the Names of Gods and Goddesses

N. D. L. 2.
p. 222.

Ep. 41.

Goddeſſes upon them. Only we ſhall here obſerve, that this was done eſpecially (beſides the Greater Parts of the World) to Two Sorts of things, Firſt, ſuch in which *Humane Utility* was moſt concerned: Thus *Cicero*, *Multæ aliæ Naturæ Deorum ex Magnis Beneficiis eorum, non ſine cauſa & à Græciæ Sapientibus & à Majoribus noſtris, conſtitutæ nominatæque ſunt*: Many other Natures of Gods have been conſtituted and nominated, both by the wiſe men of Greece, and by our Anceſtors, meerly for the great Benefits received from them. The Reason whereof is thus given by him, *Quia quicquid magnam Utilitatem generi afferret humano, id non ſine Divina Bonitate erga homines fieri arbitrabantur*; Becauſe they thought, that whatſoever brought any great Utility to mankind, this was not without the Divine Goodneſs. Secondly, ſuch as were moſt wonderful and Extraordinary, or Surprizing; to which that of *Seneca* ſeems pertinent, *Magnorum Fluminum Capita Veneramur. Subita & ex abdito vaſti amnis eruptio Aras habet. Coluntur Aquarum Calentium Fontes; & Stagna quædam vel Opacitas vel immenſa Altitudo ſacra vit*. We adore the riſing Heads and Springs of great Rivers. Every ſudden and plentiful Eruption of Waters out of the hidden Caverns of the Earth, hath its Altars erected to it; and ſome Pools have been made Sacred for their immenſe Profundity and Opacity.

Pr. Ev. L. 3.
c. 6.

L. 3. c. Celf. p.
123.

Now this is that which is properly called, the *Phyſiological Theology* of the Pagans, their *Perſonating* and *Deiſſing* (in a certain ſence) the Things of Nature, whether *Inanimate Subſtances*, or the *Affections of Subſtances*. A great part of which *Phyſiological Theology*, was *Allegorically* contained in the *Poetick Fables* of the Gods. *Eusebius* indeed was of opinion, that thoſe *Poetick Fables* were at firſt only *Hiſtorical*, and *Herological*, but that afterwards ſome went about to *Allegorize* them into *Phyſiological Sences*, thereby to make them ſeem the leſs impious and ridiculous: *τοιούτη ἦν τὰ ἱερὰ παλαιᾶς θεολογίας, ἣν μεταβαλόντες νέοι τινὲς, χθὲς καὶ πάλιν ἐπιφύοντες, λογιώτερον τι φιλοσοφῆν αὐχέντες, τὴν ἢ φυσικώτερον ἢ ἐν τῷ θεῷ ἰσορίας δόξαν εἰσγένοιντο, σεμνοτέρως διερρηγοῦσιν τοῖς μύθοις προσημινοῦσάντες, &c. θεογενέσις ἢ ἐν ὅμοις οἰδεῖται πατρικὸν ἀμάρτημα προθυμώμενοι, ἐπὶ φυσικῆς διηγήσεως καὶ θεολογίας τὸς μύθους μεταποιεῖσάωντο*. Such was the ancient Theology of the Pagans (namely, *Hiſtorical*, of men deceaſed, that were worſhipped for Gods) which ſome late Upſtarts have altered, deviſing other *Philosophical* and *Phyſiological ſences* of thoſe *Hiſtories* of their Gods, that they might thereby render them the more ſpecious, and hide the *Impiety* of them. For they being neither willing to abandon thoſe *Fopperies* of their forefathers, nor yet themſelves able to bear the *Impiety* of theſe *Fables* (concerning the Gods) according to the *Literal Sence* of them, have gone about to cure them thus by *Phyſiological Interpretations*. Neither can it be doubted, but that there was ſome Mixture of *Herology* and *Hiſtory*, in the *Poetick Mythology*; Nor denied, that the Pagans of latter times, ſuch as *Porphyrius* and others, did excogitate and deviſe certain new *Allegorical ſences* of their own, ſuch as never were intended. *Oriegen* before both him and *Porphyry*, noting this of the Pagans, that when the abſurdity of their *Fables* concerning the Gods was objected and urged againſt them, ſome of them did, *ὡς ἐπὶ τῶν ἀπολογημένοι ἐπ' ἀμυγρίας καὶ παφύγειν*, apologizing for theſe things, betake themſelves to *Allegories*. But

But long before the times of Christianity, those First Stoicks Zeno, Cleanthes, and Chrysippus, were famous for the great pains which they took in Allegorizing these Poetick Fables of the Gods. Of which *Cotta* in *Cicero* thus, *Magnam molestiam suscepit & minimè necessariam, primus Zeno, post Cleanthes, deinde Chrysippus, Commentitiarum Fabularum reddere rationem, & vocabulorum cur quidque ita appellatum sit, causas explicare. Quod cum facitis, illud profecto confitemini, longè aliter rem se habere atque hominum opinio sit; eos qui Dii appellantur, Rerum Naturas esse, non Figuras Deorum: Zeno first and after him Cleanthes and Chrysippus took a great deal more pains than was needful, to give a reason of all those Commentitious Fables of the Gods, and of the names that every thing was called by. By doing which they confessed that the matter was far otherwise, than according to mens opinion, in as much as they who are called Gods in them, were nothing but the Natures of things.* From whence it is plain, that in the Poetick Theology, the Stoicks took it for granted, that the Natures of Things were Personated and Deified, and that those Gods were not *Animal*, nor indeed *Philosophical*, but *Fictitious*, and nothing but the *Things of Nature Allegorized*. *Origen* also gives us a Taste of *Chrysippus* his thus Allegorizing, in his interpreting an obscene Picture or Table of *Jupiter* and *Juno*, in *Samos*; λέγει γὰρ ἐν τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ συγγράμμασιν ὁ σεμνὸς φιλόσοφος, ὅτι τὰς σπερματικὰς λόγους τὰς θεὰς ἢ ὕλην ἀναδεξαμένην, ἔχει ἐν ἑαυτῇ, εἰς καὶ αὐτὸς μυσθὴν τῆς ὅλης· ὕλη γὰρ ἢ ἐν τῇ χεὶρὶ τῷ Σάμῳ γεγραμμένη, ἢ Ἡρόδω, ἢ ὁ θεὸς ὁ Ζεὺς· This Grave Philosopher in his writings saith; that Matter having received the *Spermatick* Reasons of God, conteineth them within it self, for the adorning of the whole World; and that *Juno* in this Picture in *Samos*, signifies Matter, and *Jupiter* God. Upon which occasion that pious Father adds, καὶ διὰ ταῦτα δι' ἡμεῶν, καὶ διὰ τὰς τοιαύτας μύθους καὶ ἄλλας μυθολογίας, εἰς μετὰ ὀνόματος θεοῦ διὰ καλῶν καὶ ὅτι πᾶσι θεῶν, ἀλλὰ καθαροῦ νοήσεως εἰς τὴν δημοσίων ἀσκήσεις, εἰς μετὰ ὀνόματος χρῆσιν τὰ θεῶν· For the sake of which, and innumerable other such like Fables, we will never endure to call The God over all, by the name of *Jupiter*, but exercising pure Piety towards the Maker of the World, will take care not to defile Divine things with impure Names. And here we see again, according to *Chrysippus* his Interpretation, that *Hera* or *Juno*, was no *Animal* nor *Real* God, but only the Nature of Matter Personated and Deified; that is, a meer *Fictitious* and Poetick God. And we think it is unquestionably evident, from *Hesiod's Theogonia*, that many of these Poetick Fables, according to their First Intention, were really nothing else but *Physiology Allegorized*, and consequently those Gods, nothing but the Natures of things Personated and Deified. *Plato* himself, though no friend to these Poetick Fables, plainly intimates as much, in his Second *De Rep.* καὶ θεομαχίας, ὅτις ὁμοῖος πεποιήκων, καὶ ἀναδεχόμενος εἰς τὴν πόλιν, ὅτι ἐν ὑπόνοιας πεποιημένος, ὅτι ἀνδρὶ ὑπόνοια· ὁ γὰρ νέος, ἐν οἷς τε κεῖναι ὁ, πᾶσι ὑπόνοια καὶ ὁ μὴ· The Fightings of the Gods, and such other things, as *Homer* hath feigned concerning them, ought not to be admitted into our Commonwealth, whether they be delivered in way of Allegory, or without Allegories: Because Young men are not able to judge, when it is an Allegory, and when not. And it appears from *Dionysius Halicarnass.* that this was the General opinion concerning the Greekish Fables, that some of them

L. 4. p. 196.

P. 378.

L. 2. p. 68.

them were *Physically*, and some *Tropologically Allegorical*: *μὴ εἰς ὑπολάβοι με ἀγνοεῖν ὅτι τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν μύθων, εἰσὶ τινες ἀνθρώποις χρήσιμοι, οἱ μὲν ἐπὶ δυνάμει τὰ τῆ φύσεως ἔργα δι' ἀλληγορίας, οἱ δὲ ἀναμύθιας ἕνεκα συνημμένοι τῶν ἀνθρώπων συμφορῶν, &c.* Let no man think me to be ignorant that some of the Greekish Fables are profitable to men, partly as declaring the Works of Nature by Allegories, partly as being helpful for humane life, &c. Thus also Cicero, *Alia quoque ex ratione, & quidem Physicâ, magna fluxit Multitudo Deorum, qui induti specie humana, Fabulas Poetis suppedi- taverunt, hominum autem vitam Superstitione omni refererunt.*

N.D.L. 2.
p. 223.

Eusebius indeed, seems sometimes to cast it as an Imputation upon the whole *Pagan Theology*, that it did *θειάζειν τὴν ἄψυχον ὁρίαν*, *Deifie the Inanimate Nature*; but this is properly to be understood of this Part of their Theology only, which was *Physiological*, and of their *Mythology* or *Poetick Fables* of the Gods *Allegorized*: it being otherwise both apparently false, and all one as to make them downright Atheists. For he that acknowledges no *Animant God*, as hath been declared, acknowledges no God at all, according to the True Notion of him; whether he derive all things from a *Fortuitous Motion of Matter*, as *Epicurus* and *Democritus* did, or from a *Plastick* and Orderly but Senseless Nature, as some Degenerate Stoicks, and *Strato* the *Peripatetick*; whose Atheism seems to be thus described by *Manilius*,

*Aut neque Terra Patrem novit, nec Flamma, nec Aer,
Aut Humor, faciuntque Deum per quatuor artus,
Et Mundi struxere Globum, prohibentque requiri
Ultra se quidquam.*

Neither ought this *Physiological Theology* of the Pagans, which consisted only in *Personating* and *Deifying Inanimate Substances*, and the *Natures of Things* to be confounded (as it hath been by some late Writers) with that *Philosophical Theology* of *Scævola*, *Varro* and others, (which was called *Natural* also, but in another sense, as *True* and *Real*) it being indeed but a Part of the *Poetical* first, and afterward of the *Political Theology*, and owing its Original much to the *Phancies of Poets*, whose Humour it was perpetually to *Personate Things and Natures*. But the *Philosophick Theology* properly so called, which according to *Varro* was that, *de qua multos libros Philosophi reliquerunt*; as it admitted none but *Animal Gods*, and such as really existed in Nature, (which therefore were called *Natural*) namely one Supreme Universal Numen, a Perfect Soul or Mind comprehending all, and his ὑπεργὰι δυνάμεις, other Inferiour Understanding Beings his Ministers Created by him, such as Stars and Demons; so were all those *Personated Gods*, or *Natures of Things Deified*, in the Arcane Theology, interpreted agreeably thereunto.

St. Austin often takes notice of the Pagans thus Mingling and as it were Incorporating *Physiology* with their *Theology*, he justly condemning the same. As in his 49. Epistle; *Neque illinc excusant impii, sua sacrilega Sacra & Simulachra, quòd eleganter interpretantur quid quæque significent: Omnis quippe illa Interpretatio ad Creaturam refer- tur, non ad Creatorem, cui uni debetur Servitus Religionis, illa quæ u-*

no nomine Latria Græcè appellatur. Neither do the Pagans sufficiently excuse their Sacrilegious Rites and Images, from hence, because they elegantly (and ingeniously) interpret, what each of those things signifieth. For this Interpretation is referred to the Creature, and not to the Creator, to whom alone belongeth Religious Worship, that which by the Greeks is called Latria. And again in his Book *De Civ. D. L. 6. c. 8.* *Atenim habent ista Physiologicas quasdam (sicut aiunt) id est, Naturalium Rationum Interpretationes. Quasi verò nos in hac Disputatione Physiologiam queramus, & non Theologiam; id est, Rationem Naturæ, & non Dei. Quamvis enim qui verus Deus est, non Opinione sed Natura sit Deus; non tamen omnis Natura Deus est.* But the Pagans pretend, that these things have certain Physiological Interpretations, or according to Natural Reasons; as if in this Disputation, we sought for Physiology, and not Theology, or the Reason of Nature and not of God. For although the True God, be not in Opinion only, but in Nature God, yet is not every Nature, God. But certainly the First and Chief Ground of this Practice of theirs, thus to Theologize Physiology and Deifie (in one sence or other) all the Things of Nature, was no other than what has been already intimated, their supposing God to be, not only Diffused thorough the whole World, and In all things, but also in a manner All things; and that therefore he ought to be worshipped in All the Things of Nature, and Parts of the World.

Wherefore these personated Gods of the Pagans, or those Things of Nature Deified by them, and called Gods and Goddesses, were for all that, by no means accounted by the Intelligent amongst them, True and Proper Gods. Thus Cotta in Cicero; *Cum Fruges Cererem, Vinum Liberum dicimus, genere nos quidem sermonis utimur usitato: sed eque tam amentem esse putas, qui illud, quo vescatur, Deum esse credat?* *De N. D. L. 3. p. 345.* Though it be very common and familiar language amongst us, to call Corn Ceres, and Wine Bacchus, yet who can think any one to be so mad, as to take that to be really a God, which he feeds upon? The Pagans really accounted that only for a God, by the worshipping and invoking whereof, they might reasonably expect benefit to themselves, and therefore nothing was Truly and Properly a God to them, but what was both Substantial, and also Animant and Intellectual. For Plato writes that the Atheistick Wits of his time, therefore concluded the Sun, and Moon, and Stars, not to be Gods, because they were nothing but Earth and Stones (or a certain Fiery Matter) devoid of all Understanding and Sense, and for this cause, *ὅθεν τῶ ἀνθρώπων πραγμάτων προύτιζεν δυνάμει, unable to take notice of any Humane Affairs.* And Aristotle affirmeth concerning the Gods in general, *ζῶν τε πάντες ὑπείληφασιν αὐτὸς, καὶ ἐκτερεῖν ἄρα, &c.* That all men conceived them to Live, and consequently to Act, since they cannot be supposed to sleep perpetually as Endymion did. The Pagans, Universally conceived the Gods to be Happy Animals; and Aristotle there concludes, the happiness of them all to consist in Contemplation. Lucretius himself would not debar men of that Language (then vulgarly received amongst the Pagans) of calling the Sea Neptune, Corn Ceres, Wine Bacchus, and the Earth the Mother of the Gods too, provided that they did not think any of these for all that, to be Truly and Really Gods,

L. 2. p. 165.
Lamb.

*Hic si quis Mare Neptunum, Cereremque vocare
Constituit fruges, & Bacchi nomine abuti
Mavolt, quam Laticis proprium proferre vocamen :
Concedamus ut hic, Terrarum dicat Orbem
Esse Deum Matrem, dum non sit re tamen apse.*

And the reason why the Earth was not really a Goddess, is thus given by him,

Terra quidem vero caret omni tempore Sensu.

N.D.L. 2. p.
220.

Because it is constantly devoid of all manner of sense. Thus Balbus in Cicero tells us, that the first thing included in the notion or Idea of a God, is this, Ut sit Animans, That it be Animant; or endued with Life, Sense, and Understanding. And he conceiving the Stars to be undoubtedly such, therefore concludes them to be Gods. Quoniam tenuissimus est Aether, & semper agitur & viget, necesse est, quod Animal in eo gignatur, idem quoque Sensu acerrimo esse. Quare cum in Aethere Astra gignantur, consentaneum est in iis Sensum inesse & Intelligentiam. Ex quo efficitur in Deorum numero Astra esse ducenda. Because the Aether is most subtil, and in continual agitation, that Animal which is begotten in it, must needs be endued with the quickest and sharpest sense. Wherefore since the Stars are begotten in the Aether, it is reasonable to think them to have Sense and Understanding; from whence it follows, that they ought to be reckoned in the number of Gods. And Cotta in the

D.N.D p. 241

Third Book, affirms that all men were so far from thinking the Stars to be Gods, that Multi ne Animantes quidem esse concedant, many would not so much as admit them to be Animals: plainly intimating, that unless they were Animated, they could not possibly be Gods.

De If. & of
p. 377.

Lastly Plutarch for this very reason absolutely condemns, that whole practice of giving the names of Gods and Goddesses, to Inanimate things, as Absurd, Impious, and Atheistical, ὁ δὲ θεὸς ἡ ἀδὲς ἐμπνέει δόξας, ἀνομιήτοις, ἡ ἀψύχοις, ἡ φθειρομένης ἀναγκάως ὑπ' ἀνθρώπων δομμένων ἡ χρωμένων φύσει ἡ περὶ γυμνασίων ὀνόματα θεῶν ὑπερφρονεῖς· ταῦτα μὲν γὰρ αὐτὰ νοῦσαι θεοὺς οὐ ἔστιν· ὁ γὰρ ἐν ὁδῇ ἀψύχον ἀνθρώποις ὁ θεός· They who give the names of Gods to Senseless and Inanimate Natures and Things, and such as are destroyed by men in the use of them, beget most wicked and Atheistical opinions in the minds of men: since it cannot be conceived how these things should be Gods; for nothing that is Inanimate, is a God. And now we have very good reason to conclude, that the Distinction or Division of Pagan Gods (used by some) into Animal and Natural (by Natural being meant Inanimate) is utterly to be rejected, if we speak of their True and Proper Gods; since nothing was such to the Pagans but what had Life, Sense, and Understanding. Wherefore those Personated Gods, that were nothing but the Natures of Things Deified, as such, were but Dii Commentitii & Fictitii, Counterfeit and Fictitious Gods: or as Origen calls them in that place before cited, τὰ ἑλλήνων ἀναπλάσματα, σωματικά ποιῆσαι δοκῦντα ἀπὸ τῶν περὶ γυμνασίων, Figments of the Greeks (and other Pagans) that were but Things turned into Persons and Deified. Neither

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can there be any other sense made, of these *Personated* and *Deified Things of Nature*, than this, that they were all of them really so many *Several Names* of *One Supreme God*, or *Partial Considerations* of him, according to the *Several Manifestations* of himself in his Works. Thus according to the old *Egyptian Theology* before declared, God is said to have both, *No Name*, and *Every Name*; or as it is expressed in the *Asclepian Dialogue*, *Cum non possit Uno quamvis è Multis composito Nomine nuncupari, potius Omni Nomine vocandus est, siquidem sit Unus & Omnia; ut necesse sit, aut Omnia Ipsius Nomine, aut Ipsum Omnium Nomine nuncupari*: Since he cannot be fully declared by any one Name, though compounded of never so many, therefore is he rather to be called by Every Name, he being both *One* and *All Things*: so that either Every Thing must be called by His Name, or He by the Name of Every thing. With which *Egyptian Doctrine*, *Seneca* seemeth also fully to agree, when he gives this Description of God, *Cui Nomen Omne convenit, He to whom every Name belongeth*; and when he further declares thus concerning him, *Quæcunque voles illi Nomina aptabis*; and, *Tot Appellationes ejus possunt esse, quot Munera*, You may give him whatsoever Names you please, &c. and, There may be as many Names of him, as there are Gifts and Effects of his: and lastly, when he makes God and Nature, to be really *One* and the same Thing; and, Every thing we see, to be God. And the Writer *De Mundo*, is likewise consonant hereunto, when he affirmeth that God is, *πῶς ἐπὶ πάντων φύσις αὐτὴ πάντων αὐτὸς αὐτῷ*, or, may be denominated from Every Nature, because he is the Cause of all things. We say therefore, that the Pagans in this their *Theologizing of Physiology*, and *Deifying the Things of Nature*, and *Parts of the World*, did accordingly Call Every Thing by the Name God; or God by the Name of Every Thing.

Wherefore these *Personated* and *Deified Things of Nature* were not themselves Properly and Directly worshipped by the Intelligent Pagans, (who acknowledged no *Inanimate thing* for a God) so as to terminate their worship ultimately in them; but either *Relatively* only to the Supreme God, or else at most in way of *Complication* with him, whose Effects and Images they are, so that they were not so much themselves worshipped, as God was worshipped in them. For these Pagans professed, that they did, *τὸ θεῖον μὴ παύτως, μηδὲ ὡς τὰ τοιοῦτά τε θεωρεῖν*, look upon the Heaven (and World) not slightly and superficially; nor as meer *Bruit Animals*, who take notice of nothing, but those sensible *Phantasms*, which from the objects obtrude themselves upon them; or else as the same *Julian*, in that Oration, again more fully expresseth it, *τὸ θεῖον οὐχ ὡς τὰ ἱππῶς καὶ βοῶς ὁρᾷ, ἢ τῶν ἀλόγων καὶ ἀμαθῶν ζώων· ἀλλὰ ἐξ αὐτῶν τὸ φανερὸν τῷ ἀφανὶ πολυπραγμονεῖν φύσιν*, Not view and contemplate the Heaven and World, with the same eyes, that Oxen and Horses do, but so as from that which is Visible to their outward senses, to discern and discover another Invisible Nature under it. That is, they professed to behold all things with Religious Eyes, and to see God in Every Thing, not only as *Pervading* all things, and *Diffused* thorough all things, but also as *Being* in a manner *All things*. Wherefore they looked upon the whole World as a *Sacred Thing*, and as having a kind of *Divinity* in it; it being, according to their *Theolo-*

De Leg. 17.
p. 821.

L. 16. p. 761.

gy, nothing but *God himself Visibly Displayed*. And thus was God worshipped by the Pagans, in the whole *Corporeal World* taken all at once together, or in the *Universe*, under the *Name of Pan*. As they also commonly conceived of *Zeus* and *Jupiter*, after the same manner, that is, not *Abstractly* only (as we now use to conceive of *God*) but *Concretely*, together with all that which *Proceedeth* and *Emaneth* from him, that is, the *Whole World*. And as *God* was thus described in that old *Egyptian Monument*, to be *All that Was, Is, and Shall be*; so was it before observed out of *Plutarch*, that the *Egyptians* took the *First God*, and the *Universe*, for *One and the same Thing*; not only because they supposed the *Supreme God*, Virtually to contain all things within himself, but also because they were wont to conceive of him, together with his *Outflowing*, and all the extent of *Fecundity*, the whole *World* displayed from him, all at once, as one entire thing. Thus likewise, do the Pagans in *Plato* confound τὸ μέγιστον θεόν, and ὅλον τὸ καθόλου, *The Greatest God*, and *The Whole World* together, as being but one and the same thing. And this Notion was so Familiar with these Pagans, that *Strabo* himself, writing of *Moses*, could not conceive of his *God*, and of the *God* of the *Jews*, any otherwise than thus, τὸ ἐξέχον ἡμᾶς ἀπαντας, καὶ γῆν, καὶ θάλασσαν, ὃ καλεῖται θεόν καὶ κόσμον, καὶ τὴν τῶν ὅλων φύσιν, namely, *That which containeth in all, and the Earth, and the Sea, which we call the Heaven and World, and the Nature of the Whole*. By which notwithstanding, *Strabo* did not mean, the *Heaven* or *World Inanimate*, and a *Senseless Nature*, but an *Understanding Being*, framing the whole *World* and containing the same, which was conceived together with it: of which therefore he tells us, that according to *Moses*, no wise man would go about, to make any *Image* or *Picture*, resembling any thing here amongst us. From whence we conclude, that when the same *Strabo* writing of the *Persians*, affirmeth of them, that they did, τὸ θεῖον ἡγεῖσθαι Δία, take the *Heaven* for *Jupiter*, and also *Herodotus* before him, that they did, κύκλον πάντα τῶν θεῶν Δία καλεῖν, Call the *Whole Circle of the Heaven*, *Jupiter*; that is, the *Supreme God*; the meaning of neither of them was, that the *Body of the Heaven Inanimate*, was to them the *Highest God*, but that though he were an *Understanding Nature*, yet framing the whole *Heaven* or *World* and containing the same, he was at once conceived together with it. Moreover, *God* was worshipped also by the Pagans, in the *Several Parts* of the world, under *Several Names*; as for example in the *Higher and Lower Ether*, under those Names of *Minerva* and *Jupiter*; in the *Air*, under the name of *Juno*; in the *Fire*, under the name of *Vulcan*; in the *Sea*, under the name of *Neptune*, &c. Neither can it be reasonably doubted, but that when the *Roman Sea-Captains*, Sacrificed to the *Waves*, they intended therein to worship that *God*, who acteth in the *Waves*, and whose *Wonders* are in the *Deep*.

But besides this, the Pagans seemed to apprehend a kind of necessity, of worshipping *God* thus, in his works, and in the *Visible things* of this *World*, because the generality of the *Vulgar* were then unable to frame any notion or conception at all of an *Invisible Deity*, and therefore unless they were detained in a way of Religion, by such a worship

worship of God as was accommodate and suitable to the lowness of their apprehensions, would unavoidably run into *Atheism*. Nay the most *Philosophical Wits* amongst them, confessing God to be *Incomprehensible* to them, therefore seemed themselves also, to stand in need of some *Sensible Props*, to lean upon. This very account is given by the *Pagans*, of their practice, in *Eusebius*, ἀσωμάτως ἡ ἀφανής ἐν παντι οὐρα θεόν, ἡ διὰ πάντων διήκοντα, ἡ τῶτον εἰκότως διὰ τῆς διδωμενῶν σέβειν φάσι, *That God being Incorporeally and Invisibly present in all things, and Pervading or Passing through all things, it was reasonable, that men should worship him, by and through those things that are Visible and Manifest.* Plato likewise represents this as the opinion of the generality of Pagans in his time, τὸ μέγιστον θεόν ἡ ὅλον τὸ κόσμον φανερὸν εἶπε ζητεῖν θεῖν, εἶπε πολυπραγματιάζειν, τοῖς αἰτίας ἐρευνᾶσθαι. ἡ γὰρ εἰς ὅσον εἶναι, *that as for the Greatest God, and the Whole World, men should not busily & curiously search after the knowledge thereof, nor pragmatically enquire into the causes of things, it being not pious for them so to do.* The meaning whereof seems to be no other than this, that men ought to content themselves to worship God in his Works, and in this Visible World, and not trouble themselves with any further curious Speculations concerning the Nature of that, which is *Incomprehensible* to them. Which though *Plato* professeth his dislike of, yet does that *Philosopher* himself elsewhere, plainly allow of worshipping the *First Invisible God*, in those *Visible Images* which he hath made of himself, the Sun and Moon and Stars. *Maximus Tyrius* doth indeed exhort men to ascend up, in the Contemplation of God, above all Corporeal Things; τέλει τὸ ὁλοῦν εἶναι τὸ θεῖον, εἰ δὲ τὰ ἐν τῇ θεῶν σώματα (καλὰ μὲν γὰρ ταῦτα ἡ θεοτέτρα, ἀπὲρ ἐκείνους ἔχοντα ἀνελεῖν ἡ γνῆσαι, ἡ πρὸς τὸ κάλλιστον ἡγεμῶν) ἀλλὰ ἡ τῶτον ἐπέμνην ἐλθεῖν εἰς, ἡ ὑποκρίναι τὸ θεῖον, ὅτι τὸ ἀληθὲς τόπον, &c. *The End of your Journey, (saith he) is not the Heaven, nor those shining Bodies in the Heaven; for though those be beautiful and Divine, and the Genuine Off-spring of that Supreme Deity, framed after the best manner, yet ought these all to be transcended by you, and your head lifted up far above the Starry Heavens, &c.* Nevertheless he closes his discourse thus; εἰ ὃ ἐξαθενεῖς πρὸς τὴν τῶ πατέρος ἡ δημιουργοῦ θεῶν, ἀρκεῖ σοι τὰ ἔργα ἐν τῇ παρόντι ὁρᾶν, ἡ προσκυνεῖν τὰ ἔργα, πολλὰ ἡ παντοδαπὰ οὐρα, εἶναι ὅσα ὁ βοιωτῆς ποιητὴς λέγει. ἡ γὰρ τρισμύριοι μόνον θεοὶ δεῖς παῖδες ἡ φίλοι, ἀλλ' ἀληθεῖς ἀρετῶν. τῶ μὲν κατ' ἐρεῖν αἱ ἀστέρων φύσεις, &c. *But if you be too weak and unable to contemplate that Father and Maker of all things; it will be sufficient for you for the present to behold his Works, and to Worship his Progeny or Off-spring, which is various and manifold.* For there are not only according to the *Bæotian Poet*, *Thirty Thousand Gods* all the Sons and Friends of the Supreme God; but innumerable. And such in the Heaven are the Stars, in the *Æther Demons*, &c. Lastly *Socrates* himself also, did not only allow of this way of worshipping God, (because himself is *Invisible*) in his works that are *Visible*, but also commend the same to *Euthydemus*, ὅτι δὲ γε ἀληθὲς λέγω, ἡ σὺ γινώσκῃ ἂν μὴ ἀναμελῆς ἕως ἂν τοῖς μορφῶν τῶ θεῶν ἴδῃς, ἀλλ' ἐξαρκῇ σοι τὰ ἔργα αὐτῶν ὁρᾶν σέβειν ἡ τιμᾶν τὰς δεῖς. *That I speak the truth, your self shall know, if you will not stay expecting, till you see the Forms of the Gods themselves, but count it sufficient for you beholding their works to worship and adore them.* Which he afterward particularly

Tr. Ev. L. 3. c. 13.

De Leg. L. 7. p. 821.

Disfert. 1.

Xenoph. Mém. mor. L. 4.

P. 236, 237.

particularly applies to the Supreme God, who made and containeth the whole World; that being Invisible, he hath made himself Visible in his Works, and consequently was to be worshipped and adored in them. Whether *Socrates* and *Plato*, and their genuine Followers, would extend this any further than to the *Animated Parts* of the World, such as the Sun, Moon, and Stars were to them, we cannot certainly determine. But we think it very probable, that many of those Pagans who are charged with worshipping *Inanimate Things*, and particularly the Elements, did notwithstanding direct their Worship, to the *Spirits of those Elements*, as *Ammianus Marcellinus* tells us *Julian* did, that is, Chiefly the *Souls of them*, all the Elements being supposed by many of these Pagans to be *Animated*, (as was before observed concerning *Proclus*) and Partly also, those Demons which they conceived to inhabit in them and to preside over the parts of them; upon which account it was said by *Plato* and others of the Ancients, that πάντα θεῶν πλήρη, *All things are full of Gods*, and *Demons*.

XXXIII. But that these *Physiological Gods*, that is, the *Things of Nature Personated and Deified* were not accounted by the Pagans *True and Proper Gods*, much less *Independent and Self-existent* ones, may further appear from hence, because they did not only thus Personate and *Deifie Things Substantial and Inanimate Bodies*, but also meer *Accidents*, and *Affections of Substances*. As for example First, the *Passions of the Mind*; τὰ πάλιν θεοὺς εὐρύμασαν, ἢ θεοὺς ἐπικύμασαν, saith *S. Greg. Nazianzen*, They accounted the *Passions of the Mind* to be *Gods*, or at least worshipped them as *Gods*; that is, built Temples or Altars to their Names. Thus was *Hope*, not only a *Goddeß* to the Poet *Theognis*,

Ἐλπίς ἐν ἀνθρώποισι μόνῃ θεὸς ἐσθλὴ ἔνεστιν,
Ἄλλοι δ' ἄλυστονδ' ἀπεργλιπόντες ἔβαν.

(Where he fancifully makes her, to be the *only Numen* that was left to men in Heaven, as if the other Gods had all forsaken those Mansions and the World) but also had Real Temples Dedicated to her at Rome, as that consecrated by *Attilius* in the *Forum Olitorium*, and others elsewhere, wherein she was commonly pictured or feigned, as a *Woman*, covered over with a green Pall, and holding a Cup in her hand. Thus also Love and Desire were Gods or Goddeses too, as likewise were Care, Memory, Opinion, Truth, Vertue, Piety, Faith, Justice, Clemency, Concord, Victory, &c. Which *Victory* was together with *Vertue* reckoned up amongst the Gods by *Plautus* in the Prologue of his *Amphytrio*; and not only so, but there was an Altar erected to her also, near the entrance of the Senate-house at Rome, which having been once demolished, *Symmachus* earnestly endeavoured the restauration thereof, in the Reign of *Theodosius*: he amongst other things writing thus concerning it, *Nemo Colendam neget, quam profitetur Optandam*, Let no man deny that of right to be worshipped, which he acknowledgeth to be wished for, and to be desirable. Besides all which, *Eccho* was a Goddeß to these Pagans too, and so was *Night* (to whom they sacrificed a Cock) and Sleep and Death it self, and very many more such Affections of things

things, of which *Vossius* has collected the largest Catalogue, in his eighth Book *De Theologia Gentili*. And this Personating and Deifying of Accidental Things, was so familiar with these Pagans, that as *St. Chrysostome* hath observed, *St. Paul* was therefore said by some of the Vulgar Athenians, to have been a Setter forth of strange Gods, when he preached to them *Jesus and the Resurrection*, because they supposed him not only to have made *Jesus a God* but also *Anastasis* or *Resurrection*, a Goddess too. Nay this Humour of Theologizing the Things of Nature transported these Pagans so far, as to Deifie Evil things also, that is, things both Noxious and Vicious. Of the former *Pliny* thus, *Inferi quoque in genera describuntur, Morbique, & multæ etiam Pestes, dum esse placatas trepido metu cupimus. Ideoque etiam publicè Febri Fanum in Palatio dedicatum est, Orbonæ ad ædem Larium Ara, & Male Fortunæ Exquiliis*: So great is the number of these Gods, that even Hell or the state of death it self, Diseases and Many Plagues are numbred amongst them, whilst with a trembling fear we desire to have these pacified. And therefore was there a Temple publickly Dedicated in the Palace to the Fever, as likewise Altars elsewhere erected to Orbona, and to Evil Fortune. Of the latter *Valerius Maximus* in *Cicero*, *Quo ex genere Cupidinis & Voluptatis, & Lubentina Veneris, Vocabula Consecrata sunt, Vitiosarum rerum & non Naturalium*: Of which kind also, are those Names of Lust, and Pleasure, and Wanton Venery, things Vicious and not natural, Consecrated and Deified. *Cicero* in his Book of Laws informs us, that at Athens there were Temples Dedicated also to Contumely and Impudence, but withal giving us this censure of such practices, *Quæ omnia ejusmodi detestanda & repudianda sunt, All which kind of things are to be detested and rejected, and nothing to be Deified but what is Vertuous or Good*. Notwithstanding which, it is certain, that such Evil Things as these, were Consecrated to no other end, than that they might be Deprecated. Moreover as these Things of Natures, or Nature of Things, were sometimes Deified by the Pagans plainly and nakedly in their own Appellative Names, so was this again sometimes done disguisedly, under other Counterfeit Proper Names: as Pleasure was Deified, under the Names of *Volupia*, and of *Lubentina Venus*; Time, (according to the Opinion of some) under the Name of *Cronos* or *Saturn*, which as it Produceth all things, so devours all things into it self again; Prudence or Wisdom likewise, under the Names of *Athena* or *Minerva*. For it is plain that *Origen* understood it thus, when *Celsus* not only approved of Worshipping God Almighty, in the Sun and in *Minerva*, as that which was Lawful, but also commended it as a thing Highly Pious; he making this Reply; Ὁ φημι δὲ ἡλίου ὡς καλὸν θεῶν δαίμονα, &c. Ἀβιῶν μόντοι μετὰ ἡλίου ταυτοχρόνῳ, ἐμυθοποίησαν οἱ Ἑλλήνων λόγοι, εἴτε ὑπονοίας, εἴτε χάρις ὑπονοίων, φάσκοντες ὅτι τὸ διὸς γεγενῆσθαι κεφαλῆς, καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ κεφαλῆ, &c. We speak well of the Sun, as a good work of God's, &c. but as for that *Athena* or *Minerva*, which *Celsus* here joyneth with the Sun, this is a thing Fabulously devised by the Greeks (whether according to some Mystical, Arcane and Allegorical Sence, or without it) when they say that she was begotten out of *Jupiter's Brain* All Armed. And again afterwards, ἵνα ἢ καὶ τροπολογηται καὶ λέγεται φρόνησις εἶναι ἢ Ἀβιῶν, if it be granted that by *Athena* or *Minerva*, be Tropologically meant Prudence, &c. Wherefore not only according to the Poetical, but also

H.N.L.2.c.7.

N.D.L.2.

Gruet's Edition a little otherwise.

C. Cels. L. 8. p. 421.

to

L. 2.

to the *Political and Civil Theology* of the Pagans, these *Accidental Things of Nature*, and *Affections of Substances*, *Personated*, were made so many *Gods and Goddesses*, *Cicero* himself in his *Book of Laws* approving of such *Political Gods* as these; *Benè verò quod Mens, Pietas, Virtus, Fides, consecratur manu: quarum omnium Romæ dedicata publicè Tempa sunt, ut illa qui habeant (habent autem omnes boni) Deos ipsos in animis suis collocatos putent: It is well, that Mind, Piety, Virtue and Faith, are consecrated, (all which have their Temples publicly dedicated at Rome) that so they who possess these things (as all Good men do) may think that they have the Gods themselves placed in their minds.* And himself makes a *Law* for them, in his own *Common-wealth*, but with a *Cautionary Provision*, that no *Evil and Vicious Things* be *Consecrated* amongst them; *Asi olla, propter quæ datur homini adscensus in Cælum, Mentem, Virtutem, Pietatem, Fidem, earumque laudum delubra sunt. Nec ulla vitiorum Solemnia obeunto: Let them also worship those things by means whereof, men ascend up to Heaven, and let there be Shrines or Temples Dedicated to them. But let no Religious Ceremonies be performed to Vicious things.*

P. 422.

Notwithstanding all which according to that *Theology* of the Pagans which was called by *Varro Natural*, (whereby is meant not that which was *Physiological* only, but that which is *True and Real*) and by *Scevola Philosophical*; and which is by both opposed, not only to the *Poetical and Fabulous*, but also to the *Political and Civil*; I say, according to this *Theology* of theirs, these *Accidental Things of Nature Deified*, could by no means be acknowledged for *True and Proper Gods*; because they were so far from having any *Life and Sense* in them, that they had not so much as $\upsilon\pi\sigma\tau\alpha\nu \kappa\epsilon \delta\epsilon\iota\alpha\nu$, any *Real Substance or Substantial Essence* of their own. And thus does *Origen* dispute against *Minerva's Godship*, as *Tropologically* interpreted, to *Prudence*, $\iota\nu\alpha \delta\epsilon \kappa\epsilon \tau\rho\omicron\pi\omicron\lambda\omicron\gamma\iota\tau\alpha\iota \kappa\epsilon \lambda\epsilon\gamma\iota\tau\alpha\iota \phi\rho\epsilon\nu\eta\sigma\iota\varsigma \epsilon\nu\alpha\iota \eta \text{'}\text{Αθ\text{η}\text{ν}\alpha\iota\alpha}$, $\text{ἡ δὲ σοφία τοῦ αὐτοῦ τὴν ὑπόστασιν ἔχει, τὴν δὲ σοφίαν, ὡς ὑπερφυῆς καὶ τὴν τροπολογίαν ταύτης.$ *If Athena or Minerva be Tropologized into Prudence, then let the Pagans show what Substantial Essence it hath, or that it Really Subsists according to this Tropology.* Which is all one as if he should have said, Let the Pagans then shew how this can be a *God or Goddess*, which hath not so much as any *Substantial Essence*, nor *Subsists* by it self, but is a meer *Accidental Affection* of Substances only. And the same thing is likewise urged by *Origen*, concerning other such kind of *Gods* of theirs, as *Memory* the Mother of the *Muses*, and the *Graces* all naked, in his *First Book*; where *Celsus* contended for a multiplicity of *Gods* against the *Jews*; that these things having not $\upsilon\pi\sigma\tau\alpha\nu \kappa\epsilon \delta\epsilon\iota\alpha\nu$, any *Substantial Essence or Subsistence*, could not possibly be accounted *Gods*, and therefore were nothing else, but $\epsilon\lambda\lambda\eta\nu\omega\nu \acute{\alpha}\nu\alpha\pi\lambda\acute{\alpha}\sigma\mu\alpha\tau\alpha \sigma\omega\mu\alpha\tau\omicron\pi\omicron\iota\sigma\mu\epsilon\nu\tau\alpha \acute{\alpha}\pi\omicron \tau\eta\varsigma \pi\rho\alpha\gamma\mu\acute{\alpha}\tau\omega\nu$, meer *Figments of the Greeks*; *Things made to have Humane Bodies, and so Personated and Deified.* And we think there cannot be a truer *Commentary* upon this *Passage of Origen's*, than these following verses of *Prudentius*, in his *Second Book* against *Symmachus*,

P. 285.

Desine,

*Desine, si pudor est, Gentilis ineptia, tandem
Res Incorporeas, Simulatis Fingere membris.*

Let the Gentiles be at last ashamed, if they have any shame in them, of this their folly, in describing and setting forth Incorporeal things with Counterfeit Humane Members. Where Accidents and Affections of Things, such as Victory was, (whose Altar Symmachus there contended for the Restauration of) are by Prudentius called *Res Incorporeæ*, Incorporeal Things, accordingly as the Greek Philosophers concluded, that ποιώματα were ἀσώματα, Qualities Incorporeal. Neither is it possible, that the Pagans themselves should be insensible hereof; and accordingly we find, that Cotta in Cicero doth for this reason utterly banish and explode these Gods out of the Philosophick and True Theology, *Num censet igitur subtiliore ratione opus esse ad hæc refellenda? Nam Mentem, Fidem, Spem, Virtutem, Honorem, Victoriæ, Salutem, Concordiam, ceteraque ejusmodi, Rerum Vim habere videmus, non Deorum. Aut enim in nobismet insunt ipsi, ut Mens, ut Spes, ut Fides, ut Virtus, ut Concordia; aut optanda nobis sunt, ut Honor, ut Salus, ut Victoria. Quare autem in his Vis Deorum sit, tum intelligam cum cognovero.* Is there any need, think you, of any great Subtily to confute these things? For Mind, Faith, Hope, Virtue, Honour, Victory, Health, Concord, and the like, we see them to have the Force of Things, but not of Gods. Because they either exist in us, as Mind, Hope, Virtue, Concord; or else they are desired to happen to us, as Honour, Health, Victory (that is, they are nothing but meer Accidents or Affections of Things) and therefore how they can have the Force of Gods in them cannot possibly be understood. And again afterwards he affirmeth, *Eos qui Dii appellantur, Rerum Naturas esse, non Figuras Deorum*, That those who in the Allegorical Mythology of the Pagans, are called Gods, are really, but the Natures of Things, and not the True Figures or Forms of Gods. N.D.L.3.

Wherefore since the Pagans themselves acknowledged, that those Personated and Deified Things of Nature, were not True and Proper Gods; the meaning of them could certainly be no other than this, that they were so many Several Names, and Partial Considerations of One Supreme God, as manifesting himself in all the Things of Nature. For that Vis or Force, which Cicero tells us, was that in all these things, which was called God or Deified, is really no other, than Something of God in Every Thing, that is Good. Neither do we otherwise understand, those following words of Balbus in Cicero, *Quarum Rerum, quia Vis erat tanta, ut sine Deo regi non posset, ipsa Res Deorum Nomen obtinuit;* Of which things because the Force is such, as that it could not be Governed without God, therefore have the Things themselves obtained the Names of Gods, that is, God was acknowledged and worshipped in them all, which was Paganically thus signified, by Calling of them Gods. And Pliny, though no very Divine Person, yet being ingenious, easily understood this to be the meaning of it; *Fragilis & laboriosa Mortalitas, in Partes ista digessit, Infirmis sua memor, ut Portionibus quisque coleret, quo maxime indigeret;* Frail and weak, Mortality, has thus broken and crumbled the Deity into Parts N.D.L.2.
Nat.H.L.2.
F.7.

Parts, mindful of its own Infirmary; that so every one by Parcels and Pieces, might worship that in God, which himself most stands in need of. Which Religion of the Pagans, thus worshipping God, not entirely all together at once, as he is One most Simple Being, Unmixed with any thing, but as it were brokenly, and by piece-meals, as he is severally Manifested, in all the Things of Nature, and the Parts of the World, Prudentius thus perstringeth in his Second Book against Symmachus;

N. 236.

*Tu, me præterito, meditaris Numina mille,
Quæ similes parere meis Virtutibus, ut me
Per varias partes minuas, cui nulla recidi
Pars aut Forma potest, quia sum Substantia Simplex,
Nec Pars esse queo.*

From which words of his we may also conclude, that Symmachus the Pagan, who determined, That it was *One Thing* that all worshipped, and yet would have *Victory*, and such like other things, worshipped as *Gods* and *Goddeses*, did by these and all those other Pagan Gods before mentioned, understand nothing but so many *Several Names*, and *Partial Considerations* of One Supreme Deity, according to its several *Vertues* or *Powers*: so that when he sacrificed to *Victory*, he sacrificed to *God Almighty*, under that *Partial Notion*, as the *Giver of Victory* to Kingdoms and Commonwealths. It was before observed out of *Plutarch*, that the *Egyptian Fable* of *Osiris*, being mangled and cut in pieces by *Typhon*, did *Allegorically* signify the same thing, viz. the *One Simple Deity's*, being as it were divided (in the *Fabulous* and *Civil Theologies* of the Pagans) into many *Partial Considerations* of him, as so many *Nominal* and *Titular Gods*; which *Isis* notwithstanding, that is *True Knowledge* and *Wisdom*, according to the *Natural* or *Philosophick Theology*, unites all together into *One*. And that not only such Gods as these, *Victory*, *Vertue* and the like, but also those other Gods, *Neptune*, *Mars*, *Bellona*, &c. were all really, but one and the same *Jupiter*, acting severally in the world, *Plantus* himself seems sufficiently to intimate, in the Prologue of his *Amphitryo* in these words,

*Nam quid ego memorem, ut alios in Tragædiis
Vidi, Neptunum, Virtutem, Victoriâ,
Martem, Bellonam, commemorare quæ bona
Vobis fecissent? Quis Benefactis meus Pater,
Deum Regnator, Architectus omnibus:*

Whereas there was before cited a Passage out of *G. I. Vossius* his Book, *De Theolog. Gent.* which we could not understand otherwise than thus, that the generality of the Pagans by their *Political* (or *Civil*) Gods, meant so many *Eternal Minds Independent* and *Self-Existent*; we now think our selves concerned, to do *Vossius* so much right, as to acknowledge, that we have since met with another place of his in that same Book, wherein he either corrects the former Opinion, or else declares himself better concerning it, after this manner; that the Pagans generally conceived, their *Political Gods*, to be so many

Substantial

That *Osiris* was the Supreme Deity, see the Egyptian Inscription, in *Theo. Smyrn. Maibem.* c. 47. *Ἰσας ὁ βασιλεὺς ὁ παλαιός* *Osiris* the most ancient King of all things.

Substantial Minds (or Spirits) not Independent and Self-existent, nor indeed Eternal neither; but Created by One Supreme Mind or God and appointed by him to preside over the Several Parts of the World and Things of Nature, as his Ministers. Which same thing he affirmeth also, of those Deified Accidents and Affections, that by them were to be understood, so many Substantial Minds or Spirits Created, presiding over those several Things, or dispensing of them. His words in the beginning of his Eighth Book (where he speaks concerning these Affections and Accidents Deified by the Pagans) are as followeth. Hujusmodi Deorum propè immensa est copia. Ac in Civili quidem Theologia, considerari solent, tanquam Mentis quædam, hoc honoris à Summo Deo sortitæ, ut Affectionibus istis præessent. Nempe crediderunt Deum, quem Optimum Max. vocabant, non per se omnia curare, quo pacto, ut dicebant, plurimum beatitudini ejus decederet, sed, instar Regis, plurimos habere Ministros & Ministras, quorum singulos huic illive curæ prefecisset. Sic Justitia, quæ & Astræa ac Themis, præfecta erat actibus cunctis, in quibus Justitia attenderetur: Comus curare creditus est Comestationes. Et sic in cæteris id genus Diis, nomen ab ea Affectione sortitis, cujus cura cuque commissa crederetur. Quo pacto si considerentur, non aliter different à Spiritibus sive Angelis bonis malisque, quam quod hi reverà à Deo conditi sint: illæ verò Mentes, de quibus nunc loquimur, sint Figmentum Mentis humanæ, pro numero Affectionum, in quibus Vis esse major videretur, comminiscens Mentes Affectionibus Singulis præfectas. Facile autem Sacerdotes suâ Commenta persuadere simplicioribus potuerunt, quia satis videretur verisimile, summæ illi Menti, Deorum omnium Regi, innumeras servire mentes, ut ed perfectior sit Summi Dei beatitudo, minusque curis implicetur: inque tot Famulantium numero, Summi Numinis Majestas magis eluceat. Ac talis quidem Opinio erat Theologiæ Civilis. Of such Gods as these, there was an innumerable company amongst the Pagans. And in their Civil Theology they were wont to be considered, as certain Minds (or Spirits) appointed by the Supreme God, to preside over the Affections so Things. They supposing, that God, whom they called the Best and the Greatest, did not immediately himself take care of every thing, since that must needs be a distraction to him, and a hinderance of his happiness: but that he had as a King, many He and She-Ministers under him, which had their several offices assigned to them. Thus Justice which was called also Astræa and Themis, was by them thought to preside over all those actions, in which Justice was concerned. And Comus over all Revelings, and the like. Which Gods, if considered after this manner, will no otherwise differ from Angels good and bad, than only in this, that these Latter are Beings really created by God; but the former the Figments of men only; they, according to the number of Affections, that have any greater force in them, devising and imagining certain Minds to preside over each of them. And the vulgar might therefore be the more easily led into this persuasion by their Priests, because it seemed reasonable to them, that that Supreme Mind, who is the King of all the Gods, should have many other Minds as his Subservient Ministers under him, both to free him from Solicitous Care, and also to add to his Grandeur and Majesty. And such was the Doctrine of the Civil Theology. Where though Vossius speak Particularly, of that kind of Pagan Gods, which were nothing but Affections and Accidents Deified, (which no

man in his wits could possibly suppose to be themselves *True* and *Proper Gods*, they having no *Subsistence* of their own) That these by the generality of the *Vulgar Pagans*, were conceived to be so many *Created Minds* or *Spirits*, appointed by the *Supreme God*, to preside as his *Ministers* over those several *Affections of Substances*; yet does he plainly imply the same, of all those other *Political Gods* of these *Pagans* likewise, that they were not look'd upon by them, as so many *Unmade, Self-existent, and Independent Beings*, but only as *Inferiour Minds* or *Spirits*, created by the *Supreme God*, and by him appointed to preside over the *Several Parts of the World*, and *Things of Nature*, and having their *Several Offices* assigned to them. Wherefore as to the main, We and *Vossius* are now well agreed, *viz.* That the ancient *Pagans* asserted no such thing as a *Multitude of Independent Deities*; so that there only remain, some *Particular Differences* of smaller moment, betwixt us.

Civ. D. L. 4.
c. 24.

Our selves have before observed, that *Æolus* was probably taken by *Epiſtetus* in *Arrianus*, (not indeed for One, but) for Many *Created Ministers* of the *Supreme God*, or *Demons Collectively*; appointed by him to preside over the *Winds*, in all the several *Parts of the World*. And the *Pagans* in *St. Austin*, seem to interpret those *Deified Accidents* and *Things of Nature* after the same manner, as the *Names* of certain *Unknown Gods* or *Demons* (one or more) that were appointed to preside over them respectively, or to dispense the same. *Quoniam sciebant Majores nostri nemini talia, nisi aliquo Deo largiente concedi, quorum Deorum nomina non inveniebant, earum rerum nominibus appellabant Deos, quas ab iis sentiebant dari; aliqua vocabula inde fluxerunt: sicut à Bello Bellonam nuncupaverunt non Bellum; sicut à cunis Cuninam non Cunam; sicut à segetibus Segetiam non Segetem; sicut à Pomis Pomonam non Pomum; sicut à bobus Bobonam non Bovem. Aut cerè nulla vocabuli declinatione sicut res ipse nominantur: ut Pecunia dicta est Dea quæ dat pecuniam, non omnino pecunia Dea ipsa putata: Ita Virtus quæ dat virtutem, Honor qui honorem, Concordia quæ concordiam, Victoria quæ victoriam dat. Ita, inquiunt, cum Felicitas Dea dicitur, non ipsa quæ datur sed, Numen illud attenditur, à quo Felicitas datur. Because our Forefathers knew well that these things, do not happen to any, without the special Gift and Favour of some God; therefore were those Gods, whose names they knew not, called from the names of those very things themselves, which they perceived to be bestowed by them, there being only a little Alteration made in them, as when the God that causeth War, was called not Bellum but Bellona; the God which presideth over Infants Cradles not Cuna but Cunina; that which giveth Corn Segetia; and that which affordeth apples Pomona, &c. But at other times, this was done without any Declension of the Word at all, they calling both the Thing and the God, which is the Bestower of it, by one and the self same name. As Pecunia doth not only signifie Money, but also the Goddess which giveth Money; Virtus the Goddess which giveth Virtue; Honor the God that bestoweth honour; Concordia the Goddess that causeth Concord; Victory the Goddess which affordeth Victory. So also when Felicity is called a Goddess, by it is not meant, that thing which is given, but that Divine Power, from whence it is given. Here, I say, the Pagans*

gans may seem to have understood, by those *Deified Things* of Nature, certain Inferiour *Gods* or *Demons* (One or More) the Ministers of the Supreme God, appointed by him to preside over those several Things respectively, or to dispense the same. Neither can we deny, but that in so much ignorance and diversity of Opinions as there was amongst the Pagans, some might possibly understand, those Political Gods and Deified Things also, after the way of *Vossius*, for so many *Single Minds* or *Spirits*, appointed to preside over those Several Things respectively, throughout the whole World, and nothing else. Nevertheless it seemeth not at all probable, that this should be the General Opinion amongst the Civilized Pagans, that all those Gods of theirs, were so many Single Created Minds or Spirits, each of them appointed to preside over some One certain thing every where throughout the Whole World, and nothing else. As for Example, that the Goddess Victory, was One Single Created *She-Spirit*, appointed to bestow Victory, to whosoever at any time enjoyed it, in all parts of the World: and so, that the Goddess Justice should be such another Single Mind or Spirit, created to dispence Justice every where and meddle with nothing else. And the like of all those other *Accidental Things*, or *Affections Deified*, as *Virtue*, *Honour*, *Concord*, *Felicity*, &c.

And *Lactantius Firmianus*, taking notice of that Profession of the Pagans, to worship nothing but One Supreme God and his Subservient Ministers Generated or created by him, (according to that of *Seneca* in his Exhortations, *Genuisse Regni sui Ministros Deum*; that the Supreme God had generated other Inferiour Ministers of his Kingdom under him, which were called by them also Gods) plainly denies all the Pagan Gods save One, to be the Created Ministers of that One Supreme, he making this Reply; *Verum hi neque Dii sunt, neque Deos se vocari, aut coli volunt, &c. Nec tamen illi sunt qui vulgo coluntur, quorum & exiguus & certus est numerus*: But these Ministers of the Divine Kingdom, or Subservient Created Spirits, are neither Gods, nor would they be called Gods, or honoured as such, &c. Nor indeed are they those Gods, that are now vulgarly worshipped by the Pagans, of which there is but a Small and Certain number. That is, the Pagan Gods, are reduced into certain Ranks, and the Number of them is determin'd by the Utilities of Humane Life; of which, their Noble and Select Gods, are but a few. Whereas, saith he, the Ministers of the Supreme God, are according to their own Opinion, not Twelve nor Twenty, nor Three Hundred and Sixty, but Innumerable; Stars, and Demons.

Moreover *Aristotle* in his Book against *Zeno* (supposing the Idea of God, to be this, the Most Powerful of all things, or the Most Perfect Being) objecteth thus, that according to the Laws of Cities and Countries (that is, the Civil Theology) there seems to be no One absolutely Powerful Being, but One God is supposed to be most Powerful as to one thing, and another as to another: *ἐπεὶ ἀπαντα ὑπερέστιον ἢ θεὸν λαμβάνει τὸ τοῦ δυνατώτατον καὶ βέλτιστον λέγων, ὃ δοκεῖ τὸ τοῦ καὶ νόμου, ἀλλὰ πολλὰ κρείττερος εἶναι ἀλλήλων οἱ θεοί. ἔκαστος δὲ τὸ δοκῶν ἑλκεῖ τὰ τοῦ καὶ τὸ θεὸς τὴν ὁμολογίαν.* Whereas *Zeno* takes it for granted, that

men have an Idea in their minds of God, as One the most Excellent and most Powerful Being of all; this doth not seem to be according to Law, (that is, the Civil Theology) for there the Gods are mutually Better one than another, respectively as to several things; and therefore Zeno took not this Consent of mankind concerning God, from that which vulgarly seemeth. From which passage of Aristotle's we may well conclude, that the Many Political Gods of the Pagans, were not all of them vulgarly look'd upon, as the Subservient Ministers of One Supreme God, and yet they generally acknowledging, (as Aristotle himself confesseth) a Monarchy, and consequently not many Independent Deities; it must needs follow, as Zeno doubtless would reply, that these their Political Gods, were but One and the same Supreme Natural God, as it were Parcell'd out, and Multiplied; that is, receiving Several Denominations, according to Several Notions of him; and as he exerciseth Different Powers, and produceth Various Effects. And this we have sufficiently prov'd already to have been the general sence of the Chief Pagan Doctors; that these Many Political and Popular Gods, were but the Polyonymy of One Natural God, that is, either Partial Considerations of him, or his Various Powers and Vertues, Effects and Manifestations in the World, severally Personated and Deified.

L. 8. c. 1.

And thus does Vossius himself afterwards confess also; That according to the Natural Theology, the Many Pagan Gods, were but so many Several Denominations of One God; though this Learned Philologer doth plainly straiten and confine the Notion of this Natural Theology too much, and improperly call the God thereof, the Nature of Things; however acknowledging it such a Nature, as was endued with Sense and Understanding. His Words are these, *Dispar verò sententia Theologorum Naturalium, qui non aliud Numen agnoscebant quàm Naturam Rerum, eoque omnia Gentium Numina referebant, &c. Nempe mens eorum fuit, sicut Natura esset occupata, circa hanc vel illam Affectionem, ita Numina Nominaque Deorum variare. Cum igitur ubicunque Vim aliquam majorem viderent, ita Divinum aliquid crederent: eò etiam devenere, ut immanem Deorum Dearumque fingerent Catervam. Sagaciores interim hæc cuncta, Unum esse Numen aiebant: putà Rerum Naturam, quæ licet una foret, pro variis tamen Effectis varia sortiretur nomina, vario etiam afficeretur cultu.* But the Case is very different as to the Natural Theologers, who acknowledged no other God but the Nature of Things, and referred all the Pagan Gods to that. For they conceived that as Nature was occupied about several things, so were the Divine Powers and the Names of Gods, multiplied and diversified. And where-ever they saw any Greater Force, there did they presently conceit something Divine, and by that means came they at length to feign an innumerable company of Gods and Goddeses. But the more sagacious in the mean time affirmed, all these to be but One and the same God; to wit the Nature of Things, which though Really but One, yet according to its various Effects both received divers Names, and was worshipped after different manners. Where Vossius calls the Supreme God of these Natural Theologers, the Nature of Things; as if the Natural Theology had been denominated from Physicks, or Natural Philosophy only, whereas we have already shewed, that the Natural Theology

logy of Varro and Scævola, was of equal extent with the Philosophick; whose only Numen, that it was not a Blind and Unintelligible Nature of Things, doth sufficiently appear, from that History thereof before given by us: as also that it was called Natural in another sence, as Real; and as opposite to Opinion, Phancy and Fabulosity, or what hath no Reality of Existence any where in the World. Thus does St. Austin distinguish betwixt *Natura Deorum*, the True Nature of the Gods, *C.D.L.6.c.3.* and *Hominum Instituta*, the Institutes of Men concerning them. As also he sets down the Difference, betwixt the Civil and Natural Theology, according to the Mind of Varro in this manner, *Fieri potest ut in Urbe, secundum Falsas opiniones ea colantur & credantur, quorum in Mundo vel extra Mundum Natura sit nusquam: It may come to pass, that those Things may be worshipped and believed in Cities, according to False opinions; which have no Nature or Real Existence any where, either in the World or without it.* Wherefore if instead of this Nature of Things, which was properly the God of none but only of such Atheistick Philosophers as Epicurus and Strato, we substitute that Great Mind or Soul of the whole World, which Pervadeth All Things, and is Diffus'd thorough All; (which was the True God of the Pagan Theists) this of Vossius will be unquestionably true, concerning their Natural Theologers, that according to them, those Many Poetical and Political Gods before mentioned, were but One and the same Natural or Real God; who in respect of his Different Vertues, Powers, and Effects, was called by several Names, and worshipped after different manners. Yet nevertheless so, as that according to those Theologers, there were Really also Many other Inferiour Ministers of this One Supreme God, (whether called Minds or Demons) that were supposed to be the Subservient Executioners of all those several Powers of his. And accordingly we had before, this full and true account of the Pagans Natural Theology set down out of Prudentius.

— — — — — In Uno

*Constituit jus omne Deo, cui serviat ingens
Virtutum ratio, Variis instructa Ministris.*

Viz. That it acknowledged One Supreme Omnipotent God, ruling over all, who displayeth and exerciseth his Manifold Vertues and Powers in the world, (all severally Personated and Deified in the Poetick and Civil Theologies) together with the subservient Ministry of other Inferiour Created Minds, Understanding Beings, or Demons, called also by them Gods.

It is very true, as we have already declared, that the more High-flown Platonick Pagans, did reduce those Many Poetical and Political Gods, and therefore doubtless all the Personated and Deified Things of Nature too, to the Platonick Ideas, or First Paradigms and Patterns of Things in the Archetypal World, which they affirmed to have been begotten from the Supreme Deity, that is, from the First Hypostasis of the Platonick Trinity; and which were commonly called by them *νοητὶ θεοὶ*, Intelligible Gods, as if they had been indeed, so many Distinct Substances and Persons. And as we have also proved out of Philo, that this High-flown Paganick Theology, was ancients than

than either *Julian* or *Apuleius* ; so do we think it not unworthy our Observation here, that the very same Doctrine, is by *Celsus* imputed also to the *Egyptian Theologers*, as pretending to worship Brute Animals no otherwise, than as *Symbols* of those *Eternal Ideas* ; *ὅτι φησὶ γὰρ ἡμᾶς* Orig. C. Cels. *ἥ μὲν Αἰγυπτίων καὶ λαγυγῶν, καὶ τοὶ πολλὰ καὶ ἡ φαῦλα παρεχόμενα αἰνίγματα* L. 3. p. 120. *ταῖς ἐπὶ τῶν ἰδεῶν αἰδέων, καὶ ὅχι (ὡς δοκεῖ οἱ πολλοὶ) ζῶων ἐφικμερίων τιμὰς εἶναι καὶ τοιαῦτα διδάσκουσιν.* *Celsus* also addeth, *That we Christians deride the Egyptians, without cause, they having many Mysteries in their Religion, for as much as they profess, that perishing Brute Animals are not worshipped by them, but the Eternal Ideas.* According to which of *Celsus* it should seem, that this Doctrine of *Eternal Ideas*, as the *Platonicks* and *Patterns* of all things here below in this Sensible World, was not proper to *Plato* nor the *Greeks* ; but common with them to the *Egyptians* also. Which *Eternal Ideas*, however supposed to have been Generated from, that First Divine *Hypostasis* of the *Platonick* and *Egyptian Trinity*, and called *Intelligible Gods* ; were nevertheless acknowledged by them, all to exist in One Divine Intellect, according to that of *Plotinus*, *ἐκ ἑξω τῷ νοῦ τὰ νοητὰ*, *that the Intelligibles exist nowhere of themselves, without Mind or Intellect* ; which *Mind* or *Intellect*, being the *Second Divine Hypostasis*, these *Intelligible and Invisible Gods*, (however Generated from God) yet are therefore said by *Julian* in his Book against the *Christians*, both to *Coexist* with God, and to *Inexist* in him. To which purpose also, is this other Passage of *Julian's* in his Sixth Oration, *πάντα γὰρ αὐτὸς ὄντιν, εἴθε καὶ ἐν ἐαυτῷ καὶ παρ' ἐαυτῷ ἔχει τῶν ὄντων ὄντων τὰς αἰτίας.* *ἔτι ἀθανάτων ἀθανάτους.* *ἔτι ἑπιμύμων καὶ θνητῶν καὶ ἑπιμύμων, αἰδώς ἢ καὶ μένος αἰ, αἰ καὶ τούτοις εἶναι αἰτίαι τῶν αἰσθητῶν.* *For God is All things, forasmuch as he containeth within himself, the Causes of all things, that any way are ; whether of Immortal things Immortal ; or of Corruptible and Perishing things, not Corruptible but Eternal also, and always remaining ; which therefore are the Causes of their perpetual Generation, and New production.* Now these Causes of All things contained in God, are no other than *The Divine Ideas*. Wherefore from hence it plainly appears, that these *Platonick* and *Egyptian Pagans*, who thus reduced their Multiplicity of Gods to the *Divine Ideas*, did not therefore make them to be so many *Minds* or *Spirits*, really distinct from the *Supreme God*, (though dependent on him too) but indeed only so many *Partial Considerations* of One God, as being *All things*, that is, containing within himself the Causes of all things. And accordingly we find in *Origen*, that as the *Egyptian Theologers* called their Religious Animals, *Symbols of the Eternal Ideas*, so did they also call them, *Symbols of God.* *τὰ τῶν Αἰγυπτίων σεμνολογούντων καὶ τὰ ὡς τῶν ἀλόγων ζῶων, καὶ φασκόντων εἶναι τινα αὐτὰ καὶ θεῶν σύμβολα.* *Celsus* applauds the *Egyptian Theologers* talking so magnificently and mysteriously of those *Brute Animals* worshipped by them, and affirming them to be, certain *Symbols of God.*

Or. C. Cels. P.
102.

And now we have given some account of the *Polyonymy* of the One *Supreme God*, in the Theologies of the Pagans : or of his being called by *Many Proper Personal Names*, carrying with them an Appearance of *So many Several Gods*. First, that God had many several Names bestowed

bestowed upon him, from many *Different Notions* and *Partial Considerations* of him, according to his *Universal* and *All-comprehending Nature*. *Janus*, as the *Beginning* of the *World*, and *All things*, and the *First Original* of the *Gods*. Whom therefore that ancient *Lyrick Poet*, *Septimius Apher*, accordingly thus invoked ;

*O cete rerum Sator ! O PRINCIPIUM DEORUM !
Stridula cui Limina, cui Cardinei Tumultus,
Cui referata mugiunt aurea Clausura Mundi.*

Genius, as the *Great Mind* and *Soul* of the whole *World*. *Saturn*, as that *Hidden Source* and *Principle*, from which all *Forms* and *Lives* issue forth, and into which they again retire ; being there laid up as in their *Secret Storehouse* : Or else as one of the *Egyptian* or *Hermack* Writers expresseth it, that which doth, πάντα ποιῆν καὶ εἰς αὐτὸν ἀποποιῆν, *make all things out of it self, and unmake them into it self again*. This *Hetrurian Saturn*, answering to the *Egyptian Hammon*, that likewise signified *Hidden*, and is accordingly thus interpreted by *Jamblichus*, ὁ τὴν ἀφανὴ τῆς κρυπτομένης λόγων δύναμιν εἰς φῶς ἄγων, *he that bringeth forth the secret Power of the Hidden Reasons of things (contained within himself) into Light*. God was also called *Athena* or *Minerva*, as *Wisdom* diffusing it self through all things : and *Aphrodite Urania*, the *Heavenly Venus* or *Love*. Thus *Phanes*, *Orpheus* his *Supreme God*, (so called according to *Laſtantiuſ*, *Quia cum adhuc nihil eſſet, Primus ex Infinito apparuerit, becauſe when there was yet nothing, he Firſt appeared out of that Infinite Abyſſ, but according to Proclus, becauſe he did ἐκφαλεῖν τοὺς νοητοὺς ἐν ὅδοις, discover and make manifeſt the Intelligible Unities (or Ideas) from himſelf ; though we think the Conjecture of Athanaſiuſ Kircheruſ to be more probable than either of theſe, that Phaneſ was an Egyptian Name ;) this *Phaneſ*, I ſay, was in the *Orphick* and *Egyptian Theology*, as *Procluſ* upon *Plato's Timæuſ* informſ uſ, ſtyled ἀεὶ ἥσως, *Tender and Soft Love*. And *Pherocydeſ Syruſ* likewiſe affirmēd, εἰς ἑῷα μετὰ βελήνδαι τὸ διὰ μέλλουſα δημιουργεῖν, *That Jupiter waſ turnēd all into Love, when he went about to make the world*. Beſideſ which, there were other ſuch Nameſ of the *Supreme God* and more than have been mentionēd by uſ ; as for example, *Summanuſ* amongſt the ancient *Romans*, that afterwaſd grew obſolete, : of which *St. Auſtin* C.D.L.4.c.23 thus ; *Romani veteres nescio quem Summanum, cui Nocturna Fulmina tribuebant, coluerunt magis quam Jovem, ad quem Diurna Fulmina pertinebant. Sed postquam Jovi Templum inſigne ac ſublime conſtructum eſt, propter adis dignitatem, ſic ad eum multitudo confluxit, ut vix inveniatuſ qui Summani nomen, quod audiri jam non poteſt, ſe ſaltem legiſſe meminerit : The ancient Romaniſ, worſhipped I know not what God called Summanuſ, more than they did Jupiter. But after that a ſtately and magnificent Temple waſ erectēd to Jupiter, they all betook themſelveſ thither ; in ſo much that the Name of Summanuſ now not at all heard, iſ ſcarcelly to be found in any ancient writingſ.**

Again as the *Paganiſ* had certain other *Godſ*, which they called *ſpecial* ; ſo were theſe but *ſeveral Nameſ* of that *Supreme God* alſo, according to *Particular Conſiderationſ* of him, either as *Preſiding*

ding over certain *Parts of the World*, and Acting in them ; or as Exercising certain *Special Powers and Vertues* in the World ; which Several *Vertues and Powers* of One God, *Personated and Deified* by the Pagans, though they had an appearance also of *Many Distinct Gods* ; yet were they really nothing but Several *Denominations* of One Supreme God : who as yet is considered as a Thing distinct from the World and Nature.

But Lastly, as God was supposed by these Pagans, not only to *Pervade All things*, and *To Fill All things*, but also, he being the Cause of All things, to be Himself in a manner All things ; so was he called also by the Name of *Every thing*, or *Every thing called by His Name* : that is, the several *Things of Nature and Parts of the World* were themselves *Verbally Deified* by these Pagans, and called *Gods and Goddeses*. Not that they really accounted them such in themselves, but that they thought fit in this manner to acknowledge *God in them*, as the Author of them all. For thus the Pagans in *St. Austin*, *Usque adeone, inquit, Majores nostros insipientes fuisse credendum est, ut hac nescirent Munera Divina esse, non Deos ? Can you think that our Pagan Ancestors were so sottish, as not to know, that these Things are but Divine Gifts, and not Gods themselves ?* And *Cicero* also tells us, that the meaning of their thus Deifying these *Things of Nature*, was only to signify, that they acknowledged *The Force of all things to be Divine*, and to be Governed by God ; and that *whatsoever brought any great Utility to Mankind, was not such Without the Divine Goodness*. They conceiving also, that the Invisible and Incomprehensible Deity, which was the Cause of All things, ought to be worshipped in All its Works and Effects, in which it had made it self *Visible*, accordingly as they declare in that place

Pr. Evan. L. 3.
c. 13.

of *Eusebius* before cited in part, *μη τὰ ὁράμενα σώματα ἡλίου καὶ σελήνης καὶ ἀστρον, μηδὲ τὰ αἰσθητὰ μέρη τῷ κόσμῳ φέρεται θεοποιεῖν, ἀλλὰ τὰς ἐν τούτοις ἀσφατοὺς δυνάμεις, αὐτῷ δὲ τῷ ὑπὲρ πάντων ἑνὰ ᾧ ὅλα θεόν, παντοίας δυνάμει τὰ πάντα πληρῶν, καὶ διὰ πάντων δύνειν, καὶ τοῖς πάντων ὄντων ἐπιτελεῖν ἁσώματως ἢ καὶ ἀφανῶς ἐν παντί ὄντα, καὶ διὰ πάντων δυνάμει, καὶ τῶν ἐκώτας διὰ τῆς δεδιωμένων σέβειν. That they did not Deifie those Visible Bodies of the Sun, and Moon and Stars, nor the other Sensible Parts of the World themselves, but those Invisible Powers of the God over all, that were displayed in them. For they affirm, that that God who is but One, but yet Filleth all things with his various Powers, and passes through all things, soasmuch as he is Invisibly and Incorporeally present in all, is reasonably to be worshipped in and by those Visible Things.*

Athanasius B^p of Alexandria, in his Book against the Greeks, reduces all the False Gods of the Pagans, under Two general Heads ; the First, *Poetical, Fictitious or Phantastical Gods* ; the Second, *Creatures or Real Things of Nature Deified* by them. His words are these ; *εἰ γὰρ δὴ τὰς ποικίλαις ποιμαίνουσιν λεγομένους θεοὺς, οὐ εἶναι θεοὺς ὁ λόγος ἔδειξε, καὶ τὰς τιμῇ κτίσιν θεοποιεῖντας ἠλεγξε πλανωμένους, &c. Since this Reason or Discourse of ours, hath sufficiently convinced, both the Poetical Gods of the Pagans to be no Gods at all ; and also that they who Deifie the Creatures, are in a great Error ; and so hath confuted the whole Pagan Idolatry, proving it to be meer Ungodliness and Impiety, there is nothing*

now

now but the True Piety left; he who is worshipped by us Christians, being the only True God, the Lord of Nature, and the Maker of all Substances. From whence we may observe, that according to *Athanasius*, the Pagan Poetick Gods, were no Real Things in Nature, and therefore they could be no other, than the Several Notions and Powers of the One Supreme God Deified, or several Names of him. So that *Athanasius* his Poetick Gods, or οἱ ἀπὸ ποιητικῆς μυθολογίας θεοὶ, Gods fabulously devised by the Poets, were chiefly those Two Kinds of Pagan Gods, first mentioned by us; that is, the Various Considerations of the One Supreme Numen, according to its general Notion, expressed by so many Proper Names; and Secondly his Particular Powers diffused thorough the World, severally Personated and Deified. Which considered, as so many distinct Deities, are nothing but meer Fiction and Phancy, without any Reality. And this do the Pagans themselves in *Athanasius*, acknowledge. ἵστας γὰρ ὡς αὐτοὶ φασί, καὶ τὰ ὀνόματα πέπλασται, P. 14. καὶ ἐν ἑα μὴ ὅλως ζῶντες, εἰδὲ κερύνοντες, εἰδὲ Ἡρα, εἰδὲ Ἀρης· πλάττονται ὅ τῆς, ὡς ὄντες οἱ ποιηταὶ πρὸς ἀπάτην τῆς ἀκρόντων, They say, that the names of those Gods are merely Fiction, and that there does nowhere Really Exist any such Jupiter, or Saturn, or Juno, or Mars; but that the Poets have feigned them to be so many persons Existing, to the deception of their Auditors. Notwithstanding which, that Third Sort of Pagan Gods also mentioned by us, which were Inanimate Substances and the Natures of Things Deified, may well be accounted Poetical Gods likewise; because though those things themselves be Real and not Feigned, yet is their Personation and Deification meer Fiction and Phancy: and however the first occasion thereof sprung, from this Theological Opinion or Perswasion, That God who is In All Things, and is the Cause of All Things, ought to be worshipped In All Things, especially he being himself Invisible; yet the making of those things themselves therefore to be so many Persons and Gods, was nothing but Poetick Fiction and Phantasy, accordingly as their old Mythology and Allegorical Fables of the Gods, run much upon this strain.

XXXIV. Hitherto have we declared the Sence of the Pagans in General, those also being included, who supposed God to be a Being Elevated above the World, That they agreed in these Two Things. First the Breaking and Crumbling as it were, of the Simple Deity, and Parcelling out of the same into Many Particular Notions and Partial Considerations, according to the Various Manifestations, of its Power and Providence in the world; by the Personating and Deifying of which Severally, they made as it were, so Many Gods of One. The chief Ground whereof was this, because they considered not the Deity according to its Simple Nature, and Abstractly only; but Concretely also with the World, as he Displayeth himself therein, Pervadeth all, and Diffuseth his Vertues thorough all. For as the Sun reflected by Grosser Vapours, is sometimes Multiplied, and the same Object beheld through a Polyedrous Glass, by reason of those many Superficies, being represented in several places at once, is thereby rendred Manifold to the Spectator; So One and the same Supreme God, considered Concretely with the World as Manifesting his Several Powers and Vertues in it, was multiplied into Several Names, not with-

out the Appearance of so *Many Several Gods*. Whereas πολυάνυμων with those ancient Pagans, was the same thing with πολυδύναμον, That which hath *Many Names*, all one with that which hath *Many Powers*: According to this of *Callimachus* concerning *Diana*,

Δός μοι παρθενίῳ αἰώνιον, ἅπῃα, φυλάσσειν,
καὶ Πολυωνυμίῳ.

And this of *Virgil* concerning *Aleſto*,

————— *Tibi Nomina Mille,*
Mille nocendi Artes.

And accordingly the *Many Pagan Gods* are in *Plato's Cratylus*, interpreted as the *Many Powers* of *One God Diffused* through the *World*. And the *Pagan Theologers* seemed to conceive, this to be more suitable to the *Pomp, State and Grandeur*, of the *Supreme God*, for him to be considered *Diffusively*, and called by *Many Names*, signifying his *Many Several Vertues and Powers* (Polyonymy being by them accounted an Honour) rather than to be contracted and shrunk all up, into *One General Notion*, of a *Perfect Mind*, the *Maker or Creator of the whole World*. The *Second Thing* in which the *Pagans* agreed is, their *Personating* and *Deifying* also the *Parts of the World*, and *Things of Nature* themselves, and so making them so many *Gods and Goddes* too. Their meaning therein being declared to be really no other than this; That *God* who doth not only *Pervade all things*, but also was the *Cause of All things*, and therefore himself is in a manner *All things*, ought to be worshipped in all the *Things of Nature* and *Parts of the World*: as also that the *Force* of every thing was *Divine*, and that in all things that were *Beneficial* to mankind, *The Divine Goodness* ought to be acknowledged.

We shall now observe how both those forementioned Principles, of *Gods Pervading all things*, and his *Being All things*, which were the Chief Grounds of the *Seeming Polytheism* of the *Pagans*, were improved and carried on further, by those amongst them, who had no *Higher Notion* of the *Supreme Deity*, than as the *Soul of the World*. Which Opinion that it found entertainment amongst so many of them, probably might be from hence, because it was so obvious for those of them that were Religious to conceive, that as themselves consisted of *Body and Soul*, so the *Body* of the *Whole World*, was not without its *Soul* neither: and that their *Humane Souls* were as well derived from the *Life and Soul of the World*, as the *Earth and Water* in their *Bodies* was, from the *Earth and Water* of the *World*. Now whereas the more refined *Pagans*, as was before observed, supposed *God* to *Pervade and Pass thorough All things ἀμυῶς Unmixedly*; these concluded *God* to be, (according to that Definition of him in *Quintilian*, taken in a rigid sense) *Spiritum omnibus Partibus Immixtum, a Spirit Immingled with all the Parts of the World*: or else in *Manilius* his Language,

Infusumque Deum Caelo, Terrisque Fretoque,

Infused

Infused into the Heaven, Earth, and Seas : Sacroque meatu Conspirare Deum, and intimately to conspire with his own Work the World, as being almost one with it. Upon which account he was commonly called *Nature* also, that being thus defined by some of the Stoicks, *Deus Mundo permixtus, God Mingled throughout with the World*, and *Divina Ratio toti Mundo insita, The Divine Reason inserted into the whole World*. Which *Nature* notwithstanding, in way of distinction from the Particular Natures of things, was called κοινὴ φύσις, and *Communis Natura, the Common Nature*. And it was plainly declared by them, not to be a *Senseless Nature*; according to that of *Balbus* in *Cicero*, *Natura est quæ continet Mundum omnem; eumque tuetur; atque eaquidem non sine Sensu, atque Ratione*: It is *Nature* by which the whole World is contained and upheld, but this such a *Nature* as is not without *Sense and Reason*. As it is elsewhere said to be, *Perfect and Eternal Reason*, the *Divine Mind and Wisdom* containing also under it, all the λόγοι σπερματικοί, the *Spermatick Principles* by which the things of *Nature* (commonly so called) are effected. Wherefore we see that such *Naturalists* as these, may well be allowed to be *Theists*; (*Moses* himself in *Strabo* being accounted one of them) whereas those that acknowledge no Higher Principle of the World, than a *Senseless Nature*; (whether *Fortuitous*, or *Orderly and Methodical*) cannot be accounted any other than *Absolute Atheists*. Moreover this *Soul of the World*, was by such of these Pagans as admitted no *Incorporeal Substance*, it self concluded to be a *Body* too, but λεπτότατον ἢ τὰ χυλόν, a *Most Subtil and Most Swift Body*, as was before observed out of *Plato* (though endued with *Perfect Mind and Understanding*, as well as with *Spermatick Reasons*) which insinuating it self into all other Bodies, did *Permeate and Pervade* the whole Universe, and frame all things, inwardly Mingling it self with all. *Heraclitus* and *Hippasus* thinking this to be *Fire*, and *Diogenes Apolloniates* *Air*; whom *Simplicius*, who had read some of his then extant Works, vindicates from that Imputation of *Atheism*; which *Hippo* and *Anaximander* lye under.

Again, whereas the more Sublimated Pagans affirmed the *Supreme God* to be *All*, so as that he was nevertheless something *Above All* too, he being *Above the Soul of the World*; (and probably *Æschylus* in that forecited passage of his, is to be understood after this manner, Ζῆς τοι τὰ πάντα καὶ τι ἤδ' ὑπερτατον, *Jupiter is the Ether, Jupiter is the Earth, Jupiter is the Heaven; Jupiter is All things, and yet something Higher than all; or Above all*;) those Pagans who acknowledged no Higher Numen, than the *Soul of the World*; made *God* to be *All Things* in a grosser sence, they supposing the whole *Corporeal World Animated* to be also the *Supreme Deity*. For though *God* to them, were Principally and Originally, that *Eternal Unmade Soul and Mind*, which diffuseth it self thorough all things, yet did they conceive, that as the *Humane Soul and Body*, both together, make up one whole Rational Animal, or Man; so this *Mundane Soul*, and its *Body* the World, did in like manner both together, make up One Entire *Divine Animal*, or *God*.

As *Simplicius* describeth *God*, to be πάντα πρὸ πάντων, *Omnia ante omnia. In Epictet. p. 234*

It is true indeed, that as the *Humane Soul* doth Principally act in some one Part of the Body, which therefore hath been called the *Hegemonicon* and *Principale*, some taking this to be the *Brain*, others the *Heart*, but *Strato* in *Tertullian* ridiculously, the Place betwixt the *Eye-browes*; so the *Stoicks* did suppose the *Great Soul* or *Mind* of the *World*, to act Principally in some one Part thereof, (which what it was notwithstanding they did not all agree upon) as the *Hegemonicon* or *Principale*; and this was sometimes called by them, *Emphatically*, *God*. But nevertheless they all acknowledged this *Mundane Soul*, as the *Souls* of other *Animals*, to *Pervade*, *Animate*, or *Enliven* and *Assuate*, more or less its whole *Body*, *The World*. This is plainly declared by *Laertius* in the *Life* of *Zeno*. τὸν δὲ κόσμον διοικῶσαι καὶ τὸν καὶ πρῶτον, εἰς ἅπαν αὐτῷ μετέχει δυνάμει τῷ νοῦ, καὶ ἀποφ' ἐφ' ἡμῶν τ' ἡμῶν· ἀλλ' ἡδὴ δι' ὧν μέν μᾶλλον, δι' ὧν ἢ ἥτον, δι' ὧν μέν γ' ὡς ἐξίς κεχρῆσθαι, ὡς διὰ τῆς οὐρανῆς τῆς νύκτων· δι' ὧν ἢ ὡς νοῦς, ὡς διὰ τῆς ἡγεμονικῆς· ἔτι δὲ καὶ τὸ ὅλον κόσμον ζῶον οἷα καὶ ἐμψυχον καὶ λογικόν, ἔχειν ἡγεμονικὸν μὲν τ' αἰθέρα, ἢ τ' ἑσπερόν, ἢ τ' ἥλιον. ὃ καὶ πρῶτον θεὸν λέγουσιν αἰσθητικῶς ὡς περ κεχρημέναι, διὰ τῆς ἐν αἰέρι, καὶ διὰ τῆς ζῶον ἀποτίτων καὶ φυχῆς, διὰ τῆς αὐτῆς καὶ ἐξίς. The *Stoicks* affirm, that the *World* is governed by *Mind* and *Providence*, this *Mind* passing through all the *Parts* of it, as the *Soul* doth in us: Which yet doth not act in all parts alike, but in some more, in some less: it passing through some parts only as a *Habit*, (as through the *bones* and *Nerves*) but through others as *Mind* or *Understanding*, (as through that which is called the *Hegemonicon* or *Principale*.) So the whole *World* being a *Living* and *Rational Animal*, bath its *Hegemonicon* or *Principal Part* too, which according to *Antipater* is the *Aether*, to *Possidonius* the *Air*, to *Cleanthes* the *Sun*, &c. And they say also, that this *First God* is, as it were, sensibly *Diffused* through all *Animals* and *Plants*, but through the *Earth* it self, only as a *Habit*. Wherefore the whole *World*, being thus *Assed* and *Animated* by one *Divine Soul*, is it self according to these *Stoicks* also *The Supreme God*. Thus *Didymus* in *Eusebius*, ὅλον ἢ τὸν κόσμον περσάγου εἶναι θεόν, The *Stoicks* call the whole *World* *God*; and *Origen* against *Celsus*, σαφῶς δὲ τὸ ὅλον κόσμον λέγουσιν εἶναι θεόν, Στωικοὶ μὲν τὸ πρῶτον· The *Greeks* universally affirm the *World* to be a *God*, but the *Stoicks*, the *First* and *Chief God*. And accordingly *Manilius*,

*Quà pateat Mundum Divino Numine verti
Atque Ipsum esse Deum:*

Whereby it may appear the *World* to be Governed by a *Divine Mind*, and also it self to be *God*. As likewise *Seneca* the *Philosopher*, Totum hoc quo continemur, & Unum est, & Deus est; This whole *World*, within which we are contained, is both *One thing*, and *God*. Which is not to be understood, of the Meer Matter of the *World*, as it is nothing but a *Heap of Atoms*, or as endued with a *Plastick* and *Senseless Nature* only; but of it as *Animated* by such a *Soul*, as besides *Sense* was originally endued with perfect *Understanding*; and as deriving all its *Godship* from thence. For thus *Varro* in *St. Austin* declares, both his own, and the *Stoical Sence* concerning this *Point*, Dicit idem *Varro*, adhuc de *Naturali Theologia* praloquens, Deum se arbitrari esse

P. Ev. L. 15.
c. 25.
L. 5 p. 235.

C. D. L. 7. c. 6.

esse Animam Mundi (quem Græci vocant κόσμον) & hunc ipsum Mundum esse Deum. Sed sicut Hominem Sapientem, cum sit ex Corpore & Animo, tamen ab Animo dici Sapientem; ita Mundum Deum dici ab Animo, cum sit ex Animo & Corpore: The same Varro discoursing concerning Natural Theology, declareth that according to his own sense God is the Soul of the World, (which the Greeks call Cosmos) and that this World it self is also God. But that this is so to be understood, that as a Wise man, though consisting of Soul and Body, yet is denominated Wise only from his Mind or Soul; so the World is denominated God, from its Mind or Soul only, it consisting both of Mind and Body.

Now if the Whole Animated World be the Supreme God, it plainly follows from thence, that the Several Parts and Members thereof, must be the Parts and Members of God; and this was readily acknowledged by Seneca, *Membra sumus Corporis magni; We are all Members of One great Body: and Totum hoc Deus est, Socii ejus & Membra sumus; This whole World is God, and we are not only his Members, but also his Fellows or Companions;* as if our Humane Souls, had a certain kind of Fellowship also, with that Great Soul of the Universe. And accordingly, the Soul of the World, and the whole Mundane Animal, was frequently worshipped by the Pagans, in these its several Members; the chief Parts of the World, and the most important Things of Nature; as it were by Piece-meal. Nevertheless it doth not at all follow from thence, that these were therefore to them Really so many Several Gods; for then not only every Man, and every Contemtable Animal, every Plant and Herb and Pile of Grass, every River and Hill, and all things else whatsoever, must be so many several Gods. And that the Pagans themselves did not take them for such, Origen observes against that Assertion of Celsus; *That if the Whole were God, then the Several Parts thereof must needs be Gods, or Divinetoos: ὡς εἶναι θεῖα τὰ μόνον ἀνθρώπους, ἀλλὰ καὶ πάντα τὰ ἄλογα ζῶα, καὶ τὰ ὄντα, καὶ αἱ θάλασσαι. ἅρ' ἐπεὶ ὅλη ὁ κόσμος θεὸς ὄντι, ἥδη καὶ οἱ ποταμοὶ καὶ αἱ θάλασσαι θεοὶ εἰσιν. ἀλλ' ἐδὲ τὸ τοιοῦτον φήσασιν Ἑλληνες. τὰς δὲ ὑπερβαίνοντας (εἰ ἄρα δαίμονας, ἢ θεούς, ὡς ἐκείνοι οὐνομαζέσθαι) ποταμοὺς καὶ θαλάσσεις, τούτους ἀν λέγουσιν θεούς. Καὶ τὸ καθελοικὸν κέλος γινέσθαι καὶ καθ' ἑλληνικὰς ψεύδους, ὅτι ἐάντι ὅλον ἡ οὐδὲς, πάντως τὰ μὲν τούτοις ἔστι θεῖα. καὶ τὸ γὰρ θεῖα ἔσθαι ζῶα, καὶ μύαι, καὶ σκνίφες, καὶ σκώληκες, καὶ πᾶν τὸ ἔχον φρονέειν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ ἄφρον, καὶ τὸ ἄλογον. ἅπερ εἰδ' οἱ λέγοντες θεὸν εἶναι τὸν κόσμον, φήσασιν.* *From hence it would follow, that not only Men must be Divine and Gods, but also all Brute Animals too (they being Parts of the World) and Plants to boot. Nay Rivers, and Mountains, and Seas, being Parts of the World likewise, (if the Whole World be God) must according to Celsus needs be Gods also. Whereas the Greeks themselves will not affirm this; but they would only call those Spirits or Demons, which preside over these Rivers and Seas, Gods. Wherefore this Universal Assertion of Celsus, is false even according to the Greeks themselves; That if the whole be God, then all the Parts thereof must needs be Divine or Gods. It following from thence that Flies, and Gnats, and Worms, and all kind of Serpents, and Birds, and Fishes, are all Divine Animals or Gods: Which they themselves, who assert the World to be God, will not affirm.* Wherefore

Wherefore though it be true, that the Pagans did many times Personate and Deifie, the Chief Parts of the World, and Things of Nature, as well as they did the Several Powers and Vertues of the Mundane Soul, diffused through the whole World, yet did not the intelligent amongst them, therefore look upon these, as so many True and Proper Gods, but only worship them as Parts and Members of One Great Mundane Animal; or rather, Worship the Soul of the whole World, their Supreme Deity, in them all, as its various Manifestations. This St. Austin intimates, when writing against Faustus the Manichean, he prefers even the Pagan Gods before the Manichean; Jam verò Cælum, & Terra, & Mare, & Aer, & Sol, & Luna, & cætera sydera omnia, hæc manifesta oculis apparent, atque ipsis sensibus præsto sunt. Quæ cum Pagani tanquam Deos colunt, vel tanquam PARTES UNIVS MAGNI DEI (nam universum Mundum quidam eorum putant MAXIMUM DEVM) ea colunt quæ sunt. Vos autem cum ea colatis, quæ omnino non sunt, propinquiores essetis Veræ Pietati, si saltem Pagani essetis, qui Corpora colunt, etsi non colenda, tamen vera. Now the Heaven, Earth, Sea, and Air, Sun, Moon, and Stars, are Things all manifest and really present to our senses, which when the Pagans Worship as Gods, or as PARTS OF ONE GREAT GOD, (for some of them think the Whole World to be the GREATEST GOD) they Worship things that are; so that you worshipping things that are not, would be nearer to true Piety than you are, were you Pagans and worshipped Bodies too; which though they ought not to be worshipped, yet are they True and Real Things. But this is further insisted upon by the same St. Austin in his Book De C. D. where after that large Enumeration of the Pagan Gods before set down; he thus convinces their Folly in worshipping the Several Divided Members, Parts and Powers, of the One Great God, after that manner Personated; Hæc omnia quæ dixi, & quæcunq; non dixi (non enim omnia dicenda arbitratus sum) Hi omnes Dii Deæque sit Unus Jupiter; siue sint ut quidam volunt omnia ista Partes ejus, siue Virtutes ejus, sicut eis videtur quibus eum placet esse Mundi Animum; quæ sententia velut magnorum, multorumq; Doctorum est. Hæc, inquam, si ita sint, quod quale sit, nondum interim quero, Quid perderent, si Unum Deum colerent prudentiori Compendio? Quid enim ejus contemneretur, cum ipse coleretur? Si autem metuendum sit nè Prætermisæ siue Neglectæ Partes ejus irascerentur: non ergo ut volunt velut Unius Animantis hæc tota vita est, quæ Omnes simul continet Deos, quasi Suas VIRTUTES, vel MEMBRA, vel PARTES: sed suam quæque Pars habet vitam à cæteris separatam, si præter alteram irasci altera potest, & alia placari alia concitari. Si autem dicitur Omnia simul, id est, Totum ipsum Jovem potuisse offendi, si PARTES ejus non etiam singillatim, minutatimque colerentur, stultè dicitur. Nulla quippe earum prætermitteretur, cum ipse Unus qui haberet Omnia, coleretur. All these things, which we have now said, and many more which we have not said (for we did not think fit to mention all) All these Gods and Goddesses, let them be One and the same Jupiter: whether they will have them to be his PARTS, or his POWERS and VERTUES, according to the sence of those who think God to be the Soul or Mind of the Whole World; which is the opinion of many and great Doctors. This I say, if it be so, which what it is, we will not now examine; What would these

these Pagans lose, if in a more prudent compendium, they should worship One only God? For what of him could be despised, when his whole self was worshipped? But if they fear, lest his PARTS pretermitted, or neglected, should be angry or take offence; then is it not as they pretend, the Life of One Great Animal, which at once contains all the Gods, as his VERTUES or MEMBERS or PARTS, but every Part hath its own Life by it self, separate from the rest, since One of them may be angry when another is pleased, and the contrary. But if it should be said that all together, that is, the whole Jupiter might be offended; if his Parts were not worshipped all of them severally and singly, this would be foolishly said, because none of the Parts can be pretermitted, when He, that hath All, is Worshipped.

Thus do the Pagans in *Athanasius* also declare, that they did not worship the several Parts of the World, as Really so many True and Proper Gods, but only as the Parts or Members, of their One Supreme God, that Great Mundane Animal (or Whole Animated World) taken all together as one thing; ἀλλ' ἵσως διαγόμενα μὲν, καὶ ἰαυτὰ λαμβανόμενα, ὅτι δὲ αὐτὰ καὶ αὐτοὶ συνομολογῶσιν, ὅμως δὲ πάντα συνάψοντες, καὶ ὡς ἐν ἀποτελέσιντες μέγα σῶμα, τὸ ὅλον θεὸν εἶναι φησὶ. But the Pagans themselves will acknowledge, that the Divided Parts of the World, taken severally, are but indigent and imperfect things; nevertheless do they contend, that as they are by them joyned all together, into One Great Body (enlivened by one Soul) so is the whole of them truly and properly God. And now we think, it is sufficiently evident, that though these Pagans Verbally Personated and Deified, not only the several Powers and Vertues, of the One Supreme God or Mundane Soul, diffused throughout the whole World, but also the several Parts of the World it self, and the Natures of Things, yet their meaning herein was not, to make these in themselves really, so many several True and Proper Gods, (much less Independent Ones) but to worship One Supreme God (which to them was the whole Animated World) in those his several Parts and Members; as it were by Piece-meal, or under so many Inadequate Conceptions,

The Pagans therefore were plainly Divided in their Natural Theology, as to their opinions concerning the Supreme God; some of them conceiving him to be nothing Higher, than a Mundane Soul: Whereas others of them, to use *Origen's* Language, did *Cont. Cels.* ὑπερβαίνειν πᾶσαν τιω αἰσθητὴν φύσιν, καὶ μηδεμὲς αὐτῆς νομίζειν ἰδεῖν ἢ θεὸν, p. 260. ἀνω ἢ καὶ ὑπὲρ τὰ σώματα ζητεῖν αὐτὸν, Transcend all the sensible Nature, and thinking God not at all to be seated there, look'd for him, above all Corporeal things. Now the Former of these Pagans, worshipped the whole Corporeal World, as the Body of God; but the Latter of them, though they had Higher thoughts of God, than as a Mundane Soul; yet supposing Him to have been the Cause of all things, and so at first to have Contained all things within himself; as likewise that the World after it was made, was not Cut off from him, nor subsisted alone by it self, as a Dead Thing, but was Closely united to him, and Livingly dependent on him; these, I say, though they did not take the World to be God, or the Body of God, yet did they also look upon it

De Leg. L. 2.
P. 335.

Protrept. p. 43.

L. 1. c. 14.

as Θεῖον, as that which was *Divine and Sacred*; and supposed that God was to be worshipped in *All*, or that the whole World was to be worshipped, as his *Image or Temple*. Thus *Plutarch*, though much disliking the *Deifying of Inanimate Things*, doth himself nevertheless approve, of worshipping God in the whole *Corporeal World*, he affirming it to be ἱερὸν ἀγιάσιον καὶ θεοπεπρωμένον, a *most Holy, and most God-becoming Temple*. And the ancient *Persians or Magi*, who by no means would allow of worshipping God in any *Artificial Temples* made with mens hands, did notwithstanding thus worship God, *Sub Dio*, and upon the *Tops of Mountains*, in the whole *Corporeal World*, as his *Natural Temple*, as *Cicero* testifieth; *Nec sequor Magos Persarum, quibus auctoribus Xerxes inflammasse Templa Græciæ dicitur, quod Parietibus includerent Deos quibus omnia deberent esse patentia ac libera, quorumq; hic Mundus Omnis Templum esset & Domicilium*: Neither do I adhere to the *Persian Magi*, by whose suggestion and perswasion, *Xerxes* is said to have burnt all the *Temples of the Greeks*, because they enclosed and shut up their Gods within walls, to whom all things ought to be open and free, and whose Temple and Habitation this whole World is. And therefore when *Diogenes Laertius* writeth thus of these *Magi*, that they did, θεὸς ἀποφάσκειν πῦρ καὶ γῆν καὶ ὕδωρ, τῶν δὲ θεῶν καταγινώσκουσιν, make *Fire and Earth and Water* to be Gods, but condemn all *Statues and Images*; we conceive the meaning hereof to be no other than this, that as they worshipped God in no Temple, save only that of the whole World, so neither did they allow any other *Statues or Images* of him, than the *Things of Nature*, and *Parts of the World*; such as *Fire*, and *Earth*, and *Water*, called therefore by them, in this sence and no other, Gods. For thus are they clearly represented by *Clemens Alexandrinus*, and that according to the expres Testimony of *Dion*; οὐκ ἐν ὑπαίθερ τὰς μάγας ὁ Διὸν λέγει, θεῶν ἀγάλματα μὴ τὰ πῦρ καὶ ὕδωρ νομίζοντας. οὐκ ἀπερυσμῶν δὲ τῶν τῶν ἀγνοίων. εἰ γὰρ τὰ μάλιστα ἀποφάσκειν οἴονται τὸ πλάνης, ἀλλ' εἰς ἑτέραν καταλογιστῆσαν ἀπίτῳ. ἀγάλματα μὲν θεῶν ὁ ξύλα καὶ λίθους ὑπελήφασιν, ὥσπερ Ἕλληες· ὁ δὲ μὲν ἱεῖδας καὶ ἰχθυόμενας καθάπερ Αἰγυπτῖοι· ἀλλὰ πῦρ τε καὶ ὕδωρ ὡς φιλόσοφοι. *Dion* affirmeth, that the *Persian Magi* sacrificed under the open Heavens, they accounting *Fire and Water* to be the only *Statues and Images* of the Gods. For I would not here conceal their ignorance neither, who thinking to avoid One Error fall into another; whilest they allow not *Wood and Stones* to be the *Images* of the Gods, as the *Greeks* do, nor *Ichneumones and Ibides*, as the *Egyptians*, but only *Fire and Water*, as *Philosophers*. Which difference betwixt the *Pagan Theologers*, that some of them look'd upon the whole World as *God*, or as the *Body of God*, others only as the *Image*, or the *Temple of God*; is thus taken notice of by *Macrobius* upon *Scipio's Dream*, where the World was called a Temple. *Benè autem Universus Mundus Dei Templum vocatur, propter illos qui aestimant, nihil esse aliud Deum, nisi Cælum ipsum & Cælestia ista quæ cernimus. Idè ut Summi Omnipotentiam Dei, ostenderet posse vix intelligi, nunquam posse videri, quicquid humano subjicitur aspectui Templum ejus vocavit; ut qui hæc veneratur ut Tempia, cultum tamen maximum debeat Conditori; sciatque quisquis in usum Templi hujus inducitur, ritu sibi vivendum Sacerdotis: The whole World is well called here the Temple of God, in way of opposition to those, who*
think

think God to be nothing else, but the Heaven it self, and those Heavenly things which we see, (or the whole Sensible World Animated :) Wherefore Cicero, that he might shew the Omnipotence of the First and Supreme God, to be such as could scarcely be understood, but not at all perceived by Sense, he calleth whatsoever falleth under humane sight, His Temple; that so he that worshippeth these things as the Temple of God, might in the mean time remember, that the chief Worship is due to the Maker and Creator of them; as also that himself ought to live in the World like a Priest or Mysta, holily and religiously. And thus we see that the Pagans were universally *Cosmolatrae*, or *World-worshippers*, in one sense or other: not that they worshipped the World as a *Dead and Inanimate thing*, but either as the *Body of God*, or at least as the *Temple or Image of him*. Neither of which terminated their worship, in that which was Sensible and Visible only, but in that great *Mind or Soul*, which Framed and Governeth the whole World Understandingly: though this was called also by them (not the *Nature of Things*, but) φύσις κοινὴ, *The Common Nature*, and φύσις τῆς παντὸς or τῶν ὅλων, *the Nature of the Universe*, because it contained under it, the *Spermatick Reasons*, or *Plastick Principles* of the whole World.

Furthermore these Pagan Theists Universally acknowledging the whole World to be an *Animal*, and that *Mundane Animal* also to be a *God*; those of them who supposed it not to be the *First and Highest God*, did consequently all conceive it, as hath been already observed, to be either a *Second* or at least a *Third God*. And thus Origen, σαφῶς δὲ ὅλον κόσμον λέγουσιν εἶναι θεόν; Στωικοὶ μὲν ἢ πρῶτον, οἱ ἢ ἀπὸ πλατῶν ἢ ἀδύτατον, πῦρ ἢ αὐτὸν ἢ τέλειον. *The Greeks do plainly affirm the whole World to be a God; some of them, as the Stoicks, the First God; others, as the Platonists, (to whom may be added the Egyptians also) the Second God: though some of these Platonists call it the Third God.* Those of the Platonists who called the *Mundane Animal*, or *Animated World*, the *Second God*, look'd upon that whole *Platonick Trinity of Divine Hypostases* (Τριαθὸν, Νῆς and Ψυχὴ) all but as *One First God*: but those others of them who called it a *Third God*, supposed a greater distinction betwixt those *Three Hypostases*, and made so many several *Gods* of them; the *First*, a *Monad* or *Simple Goodness*; the *Second*, *Mind* or *Intellect*; the *Third*, *Psyche* or the *Universal Soul*, which also without any more ado they concluded to be the *Immediate Soul of this Corporeal World*, Existing likewise from Eternity with it. Now this *Second God*, which was the whole *Animated World* as well to the Egyptians as the Platonists, was by them both said to be, not only the *Temple and Image*, but also the *Son of the First God*. That the Egyptians called the *Animated World*, the *Son of God*, hath been already proved; and that the other Pagans did the like also, is evident from this of *Celsus*, where he pretends, that the Christians called their *Jesus*, the *Son of God*, in imitation of those Ancient Pagans, who had styled the *World* so; ὅπθεν ἡ καὶ αὐτὸ τὸ ἐπικλεῖται αὐτοῖς, θεὸς ὡς ὁν καλεῖν, σημαίνω. Ἀνδρες παλαιοὶ, τίνδε ἡ καὶ κόσμον, ὡς ἐκ θεῶν γινόμενον, παῖδα τε αὐτῆς καὶ ἡθεὺς προσεῖπον. Πάνυ γὰρ ὅμοιον ἔτος τε καὶ αἰεὶν παῖς θεῶν. *Whence these Christians came to call their Jesus, the Son of God, I shall now declare. Namely because our Ancestors had called, the World as*

Orig. C. Cels.
p. 208.

made by God, the Son of God, and God. Now is there not a goodly similitude (think you) betwixt these two Sons of God, theirs and ours? Upon which words of his. Origen writeth thus, ὡς ἐν τῷ υἱὸν θεοῦ ἡμῶν λέγειν, ὡς ἐποίησαντες τὰ ὡσαύτως τὸ νόμιμον, ὡς ἐκ θεοῦ ἡγομένους, καὶ ἡς οὐκ αὐτὸς καὶ θεός, Celsus supposed, us Christians to have borrowed, this Appellation of the Son of God, from the Pagans, they calling the World, as made by God, the Son of God, and God. Wherefore these Pagans, who look'd upon the whole Animated World only as the Second God, and Son of God, did unquestionably also worship the First God, in the World, and that probably by Personating and Deifying his several Parts and Members too. Thus do we understand, what that was which gave occasion to this mistake of late Writers, that the Pagans worshipped the Inanimate Parts of the World, as such, for True and Proper Gods; viz. their not perceiving, that they worshipped these only, as the Parts or Living Members of One Great Mundane Animal, which was to them, if not the First God, yet at least the Second God; the Temple, Image, and Son, of the First God.

And now have we (as we conceive) given a full account of the Seeming Polytheism of the Pagans, not only in their Poetical and Fabulous, but also their Political or Civil Theology; the Former of which was nothing but Phancy and Fiction, and the Conforming of Divine, to Humane Things; the Latter nothing but Vulgar Opinion and Error, together with the Laws and Institutes of States-men and Politicians, designed Principally to amuze the Vulgar, and keep them the better in obedience and subjection to Civil Laws. Besides which the Intelligent Pagans, generally acknowledged another Theology, which was neither Fiction, nor meer Opinion and Law, but Nature and Philosophy, or Absolute Truth and Reality: according to which Natural and Philosophick Theology of theirs, there was only One Unmade Self-originated Deity, and many other Created Gods, as his Inferiour Ministers. So that those many Poetical and Political Gods, could not possibly be look'd upon otherwise, than either as the Created Ministers of One Supreme God, whether taken Singly or Collectively; or else as the Polyonymy and Various Denomination of him, according to several Notions and Partial Conceptions of him; and his several Powers and Manifestations in the World, Personated and Deified. Which latter we have already proved to have been the most generally received Opinion of the Pagan Theologers; according to that of Euclides the Philosopher, ἐν τὰ ἁπλῶν πολλοῖς ὀνόμασι καλεῖσθαι, There is One Supreme Good (or Highest Deity) called by Many Names: and according to that of Antisthenes before cited, That the Many Popular Gods, were but One and the same Natural God, viz. as Lactantius adds, Summa totius Artifex, The Maker of the whole World.

L. 1. c. 5.

We shall conclude with repeating what hath been already suggested, that though the Intelligent Pagans, did Generally disclaim their Fabulous Theology; St. Austin telling us, that when the absurdities thereof were urged against them, they would commonly make such replies as these, Absit, inquit, Fabularum est ista Garrulitas; and again, Rursus, inquit, ad Fabulas redis; Far be it from

C.D.L. 4. c. 10

from us (say they) to think so or so, this is nothing but the garrulity of idle Fables, and, You would bring us again to Fables; and though they owned another Theology besides their Civil also, which was the Natural and Philosophical, as the only True, yet did they notwithstanding acknowledge a kind of necessity, that in those times at least, there should be besides the Natural and Philosophical Theology, which the Vulgar were not so capable of, another Theology framed and held forth, that might be more accommodate to their apprehensions. Thus that Roman Pontifex *Scævola* in *St. Austin* declareth, *Expedire existimat falli in Religione Civitates*, That it was expedient (as he thought) that Cities and Commonwealths, should be deceived in their Religion, or have something False or Fabulous intermingled with it. He giving this reason for the same, Because the Natural and Philosophick Theology, contained many things in it, which though True, yet would be hurtful for the Vulgar to know; as for example, *Quod Verus Deus nec Sexum habeat, nec Ætatem, nec definita Corporis Membra*, That the True God hath neither Sex, nor Age, nor bodily Members; and that *Hercules* and *Æsculapius*, &c. were not Gods but Men, obnoxious to the same infirmities with others, and the like. And the Learned *Varro*, in his Book of Religions, publickly maintained the same Doctrine; *Varro de Religionibus loquens, evidenter dicit, Multa esse Vera quæ vulgo scire non sit Utile; Multaque quæ tametsi Falsa sint, aliter existimare Populum expediat*: & idè *Græcos Teletas & Mysteria taciturnitate parietibusque clausisse, &c.* That there were many things True in Religion, which it was not convenient for the Vulgar to know; as likewise many things False, of which it was expedient they should think otherwise: and that for this cause, the Greeks enclosed their *Teletæ* or *Mysteries* within walls, and kept them under a Seal of Secrecy. Upon which of *Varro* *St. Austin* thus noteth, *Hic certè totum Consilium prodidit Sapientium, per quos Civitates & Populi regerentur*; *Varro* here plainly discovers and betrays the whole counsel and secrecy of States-men and Politicians, by whom Cities and Nations were governed, and their very Arcanum of Government, namely this, That People were to be deceived in their Religion, for their own good and the good of their Governours. The same Father there adding, That Evil Demons were much gratified with this Doctrine, and liked this Fraud and Imposture very well, which gave them an advantage to Rule and Tyrannize, as well over the Deceivers as the Deceived. Lastly *Strabo* also, though otherwise a grave and sober Writer, speaks freely and broadly to the same purpose, *ἔ γδ ὁχλὸν τε γυναικῶν καὶ πάντων Ἰουδαίis πλήθος ἐπαρᾶσθαι λόγῳ δυνάτων φιλοσόφῳ, καὶ προσκαλέσασθαι πρὸς διδασκείαν καὶ δασύτητα καὶ πίσιν· ἀλλὰ οὐ καὶ διὰ δασυδαιμονίας, τὸτο ὃ ἐν ἀνδρὶ μυθοποιίας καὶ παρατείας·* It is not possible, that women and others of the Vulgar sort, should be conducted and carried on towards Piety, Holiness and Faith, merely by Philosophick Reason and Truth; but this must be done by Superstition, and that not without the help of Fables and Prodigious or Wonderful Narrations. From whence it is plain, that *Strabo* did not only allow a necessity of a Civil Theology besides the Natural and Philosophical, but also of a Fabulous and Poetical one too. And this is a thing the less to be wondered at in these Pagans, because some Christians also seem to acknowledge a kind of truth herein; *Synesius* himself writing after this man-

ner ; τὸ δ' ῥᾶσον καταγελάσσει οὗ δῆμον· δέεται γὰρ περὶ τῆς· *That which is easie and ordinary will be contemned by the Vulgar, or Common People ; and therefore there is need of something Strange and Prodigious in Religion for them.* Flavins Josephus, making this Free Acknowledgment, concerning the Wise men among the Greeks, ταῦτα αὖτις δεῖ φερεῖν οἱ σοφώτατοι δοκεῖσι τοῖς Ἕλλησι, *That they held the same things concerning God which the Jews did,* adds notwithstanding afterwards, εἰς πλῆθος δόξαις περὶ αἰτελημμένον, τῷ ἀλήθειαν τῆς δόξης ἐξενεσκέειν ἐκ ἐπιληψαν, *That they were afraid to declare the Truth of this their Doctrine to the Vulgar, prepossessed with other Opinions.* And indeed they did not think it safe to declare the Natural and True Theology, promiscuously to all ; Plato himself intimating as much in these Words, ὅτι ποιητῶν καὶ πατέρων τῶνδε τῆς παλίδος, εἰς πόλιν ἀδύνατον λέγειν· *That as it was hard, to find out the Maker of this Universe, so neither, being found out, could he be declared to the vulgar.* Wherefore since God was so hard to be understood, they conceived it necessary, that the Vulgar should be permitted, to Worship him in his Works, by Parts and Piecemeal, according to the various Manifestations of himself ; that is, should have a Civil Theology at least, distinct from the Natural and Philosophical, if not another Fabulous one too.

XXXV. We have now dispatched the First of those Three Heads proposed to be insisted on, viz. That the Pagans worshipped One and the same Supreme God, under Many Personal Names, so that much of their Polytheism, was but Seeming and Phantastical, and indeed nothing but the Polyonymy of One Supreme God, they making Many Poetical and Political Gods of that One Natural God : and thus worshipping God by Parts and Piece-meal ; according to that clear acknowledgement of Maximus Madanensis before cited ; *Unius Summi Dei Virtutes, per Mundanum Opus Diffusas, nos multis Vocabulis invocamus ; & dum Ejus quasi quedam Membra carptim variis Supplicationibus prosequimur, Totum colere videmur ;* The virtues of the One Supreme God diffused throughout the whole World, we (Pagans) invoke under many several Names, and so prosecuting with our supplications, his as it were Divided Members, must needs be thought to worship him whole, we leaving out nothing of him. We shall proceed to the Second Head proposed, That besides this Polyonymy of One Supreme God, in the Poetical and Civil Theology of the Pagans, which was their Seeming and Phantastick Polytheism, they had another Real Polytheism also, they acknowledging in their Natural and Philosophick Theology likewise, a Multiplicity of Gods, that is, of Substantial Understanding Beings, Superiour to men, really Existing in the world. Which though they were called by them Gods, yet were they not therefore supposed to be ἀγένητοι and αὐτοχρεῖς, *Unmade and Self-existent, or Independent Beings*, but all of them (One only excepted) *ἡμιτοὶ θεοί, Generated Gods*, according to the larger Notion of that word before declared, that is, though not *ἄν χρένον*, yet at least, *ἀπ' αἰτίας γεννῶν*, though not as Made in time, yet as Produced from a Superiour Cause. Plutarch propounding this for one amongst his Platonick Questions, Why ὁ ἀνωτάτω θεός, the Highest or Supreme God, was called by Plato, both The Father and Maker of all things, gives this Reply to it in the Words

Words before cited; ἢ τῷ μὲν Θεῷ τῷ γεννητῷ καὶ τῷ ἀνθρώπων πα-
 τέρῃ ὅτιν (ὡς Ὀμῆρος ἐπονομάζει) ποιητὴς ὃ τῷ ἀλόγων καὶ ἀψύχων, *That*
perhaps he was said to be the Father of all the Generated Gods, and of
Men, (as he is also stiled in Homer) but the Maker of all other Ir-
rational and Inanimate Beings. From which Passage of *Plutarch's* it
 plainly appears, that the ὁ ἀνωτάτω Θεός, *The One Highest God,*
 being every way ἀγῶνις, *Unmade and unproduced,* was
 thought to be the Maker or Father of all the other Gods,
 therefore called γεννητοί. Which is further plainly declared elsewhere
 by the same *Plutarch* in these words; Πλάτωνος πατέρα καὶ ποιητὴν τῶν
 κόσμων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων γεννητῶν, τὸ ἄγεννητον καὶ αἰδίων Θεὸν ἐπονομάζοντα. *Sympos. L. 8.*
Plato calleth the One Unmade and Eternal God, the Father and Maker of
the World, and of all other things Generated. And though some of those
 Many Gods of *Plato's* were by him also called αἰδίοι or *Eternal*, yet were
 they likewise, γεννητοί too, in another sence, that is *Produced and Derived*
 by way of Emanation, from that One, who is every way ἀγῶνις, *Un-*
derived and Independent upon any other Cause. And thus *Proclus* U. *Theol. P. L. 3.*
 niverally pronounces; Τὸ εἶναι Θεοὶ, πάντες οἱ Θεοὶ, διὰ τὸ πρῶτον ἔχουσι θεόν. *c. 7.*
All the Gods owe, their Being Gods, to the First God. He adding, that
 he is therefore called πηγὴ τῆς θεότητος, *The Fountain of the Godhead.*

Wherefore the *Many Gods* of the Intelligent Pagans, were derived
 from One God, and but ὑπερῶν δυνάμεις, (as *Plutarch* somewhere calls
 them) *The Subservient Powers, or Ministers of the One Supreme Un-*
made Deity. Which (as hath been before observed) was frequently
 called by these Pagans Θεός, *God,* κατ' ἐξοχὴν, or in way of Emi-
 nency; as likewise were those other *Inferiour or Generated Gods,* in
 way of distinction from him called Θεοὶ *The Gods.* And accordingly
 the sence of *Celsus* is thus represented in *Origen*, Θεὸς δημιουργὸς εἶναι
 πάντων σωμάτων, μόνος ψυχῆς ἔργον εἶναι Θεός. *L. 4. p. 100.*
That the Gods were the
Makers of the Bodies of all Animals, the Souls of them only, being the
Work of God. Moreover these *Inferiour Gods,* are stiled by *Ammia-*
nus Marcellinus, Substantiales Potestates, Substantial Powers, probably *L. 11.*
 in way of distinction from those other Pagan Gods, that were not
Substantial, but only so many Names and Notions of the One Supreme
 God, or his Powers severally Personated and Deified, Which *Substan-*
tial Powers of *Ami. Marcellinus,* (as Divination and Prophecy was by
 their means imparted to men) were all said to be subject to that One
 Sovereign Deity called *Themis*: whom (saith he) the ancient Theo-
 logers seated In Cubili & Solio Jovis, in the Bed-chamber and Throne
 of Jupiter; as indeed some of the Poets have made her to be the
 wife of Jupiter, and others his Sister. And *Anaxarchus* in *Plutarch*
 styles her πάρεδρον τῆς Διὸς, *Jupiter's Assessor,* though that Philosopher
 abused the Fable, and grossly depraved the meaning of it, as if it sig-
 nified πᾶν τὸ περὶθεν ὑπὸ τῆς κρατίστης δυνάμεως εἶναι καὶ δίκαιον, *That what-*
soever is done by the Sovereign Power, is therefore Just and Right:
 whereas the True Moral thereof was this, That *Justice or Righteous-*
ness sits in Counsel with God, and in his Mind and Will, prescribes
 Laws to Nature and the whole World. *Themis* therefore was ano-
 ther Name of God, amongst the Pagans, according to his Universal Con-
 sideration, besides those before mentioned: and when *Plato* in his
 Book

L. II.

De Dea Themide p. 39.

Book of Laws, would have men to swear by the Names of those Three Gods, *Jupiter, Apollo, and Themis*; these were but so many several Partial Notions of the One Supreme Deity; the meaning thereof being no other than this, as *Pighius* observeth, *Timore Divino, Veritate ipsa, ac Æquitate sanciri debere Juramenta.* In *Jove enim Summi Numinis Potestatem, Falsi ac Perjurii Vindicem*; in *Apolline Veritatis Lumen*; in *Themide, Jus, Fas atque Licitum esse intelligitur.* Est enim *Themis, ipsa Lex æterna atq; Universalis, Mundo ac Naturæ præscripta*; or according to *Cicero, Ratio recta Summi Jovis.* And *Ficinus* in his Commentary as to the main agreeth herewith. So that, when the Pagan Theologers affirmed, the *Numen of Themis* to preside over the *Spirits of the Elements*, and all those other *Substantial Powers*, from whom Divination was participated to men; their meaning therein was clearly no other than this; That there was One *Supreme Deity* ruling over all the other Gods, and that the *Divine Mind*, which prescribeth Laws to Nature and the whole World, and contains all the *Fatal Decrees* in it, according to the Evolution of which, things come to pass in the World, was the Fountain from whence all Divination proceeded; as these Secrets were more or less imparted from thence to those Inferiour Created Spirits. The Philosophy of the Pagan Theology amongst the Greeks was plainly no other than this; That there is One *Unmade Self-existent Deity* the Original of all, and that there are many other *Substantial Powers or Spirits*, created by it, as the *Ministers* of its Providence in the World: but there was much of *Poetry or Poetick Phancy*, intermingled with this Philosophy, as the Flourish to it, to make up their *Pagan Theology*.

Thus, as hath been before declared, the Pagans held both *One God*, and *Many Gods*, in different senses: One *Unmade Self-existent Deity*, and *Many Generated or Created Gods.* *Onatus* the Pythagorean declaring that they who asserted one only God and not Many, *Understood not what the Dignity and Majesty of the Divine Transcendency consisted in, namely in ruling over Gods*: and *Plotinus* conceiving that the Supreme God was most of all Glorified, not by being *Contracted into One*, but by having *Multitudes of Gods, Derived from him, and Dependent on him*; and that the Honour done to them, redounded unto him. Where there are Two Things to be distinguished; First, that according to the Pagan Theists, God was no *Solitary Being*; but that there were *Multitudes of Gods, or Substantial Powers, and Living Understanding Natures*, Superiour to men, which were neither *Self-existent*, nor yet *Generated out of Matter*, but all Generated or Created from One *Supreme*. Secondly, that forasmuch as these were all supposed to have some Influence more or less, upon the Government of the World, and the Affairs of Mankind, they were therefore all of them conceived to be the due Objects of mens Religious Worship, Adoration and Invocation; and accordingly was the Pagan Devotion scattered amongst them all. Nor were the Gods of the Oriental Pagans neither, meer *Dead Statues and Images*, as some would conclude from the Scripture, but *Living Understanding Beings, Superiour to men*, (though worshipped in Images) according to that Reply of the Chaldeans in *Daniel* to *Nebuchadnezzar*, when he required them to tell his Dream,

Dream, *There is none other that can shew this thing before the King, Except Those Gods whose Dwelling is not with Flesh*; that is, *The Immortal Gods*, or who are exalted above the Condition of Humane Frailty. Though some conceive, that these words are to be understood of a Peculiar sort of Gods; namely, that this was such a thing, as could not be done by those *Demons* and *Lower Aerial Gods*, which frequently converse with men, but was reserved to a *Higher Rank* of Gods, who are above humane converse. Now as to the Former of these Two Things, that God is no *Solitary Being*, but that there are Multitudes of Understanding Beings Superiour to Men, the *Creatures* and *Ministers* of One Supreme God; the Scriptures both of the Old and New Testament fully agree with the Pagans herein. *Thousand Thousands ministred unto him, and ten thousand times ten thousand stood before him, and Te are come to an innumerable Company of Angels.* But the Latter of them, That Religious Worship and Invocation doth of right belong to these Created Spirits, is constantly denied and condemned in these Writings, that Being a thing peculiarly reserved, to that one God, who was the Creator of Heaven and Earth. And thus is that Prophecy of *Jeremy* to be understood, expressed in the Chaldey Tongue, that so the Jews might have it in readiness for those Chaldean Idolaters, when they came into *Babylon*, Thus *Jeremy* 10. 11. *shall ye say unto them, the Gods that have not made the Heavens and the Earth, shall perish from the Earth, and from under these Heavens.* That is, there shall come a time, when none shall be *Religiously Worshipped* any where upon the face of the whole Earth, save only that God who made the Heavens and the Earth, and he without Images too. Which Prophecy, but in part yet fulfilled, shall then have its complete accomplishment, when the Kingdoms of this world, shall become the Kingdoms of our Lord and of his Christ. And thus is the Controversie rightly stated betwixt the Pagans and the Christians by *Lactantius*. *Sed fortasse querat aliquis à nobis, quod apud Ciceronem querit Hortensius; Si Deus Unus est, quæ esse beata Solitudo queat? Tanquam nos qui unum esse dicimus, Desertum ac Solitarium esse dicamus. Habet enim Ministros, quos vocamus Nuntios. Et est istud verum quod dixisse Senecam supra retuli: Genuisse Regni sui Ministros Deum. Verum hi neque Dii sunt, neque Deos se vocari aut coli volunt: quippe, qui nihil præter Jussum ac Voluntatem Dei faciant.* As if we who say, there is but one God, therefore made a Solitary and Deserted Deity. Whereas we acknowledge that God hath his Ministers, whom we call Angels: And we grant that to be true, which was before cited out of Seneca, That God hath Generated or Created Ministers of his Kingdom. But these are neither Gods, nor would they be called Gods, nor worshipped; forasmuch as they only Execute the will and command of God. And again afterwards to the same purpose, *Si eos multitudo delectat, non Duodecim dicimus, nec Trecentos sexaginta quinque (ut Orpheus) sed innumerabiles, & arguimus eorum errores in diversum, qui tam paucos putant. Sciant tamen quo nomine appellari debeant; nè Deum Verum violent, cujus Nomen exponunt, dum Pluribus tribuunt, &c.* If Multitude delight them, we say not, that there are Twelve, nor yet three hundred sixty five, as Orpheus, but innumerable. And we tax their error on the contrary who think them to be so few. Nevertheless let them know, by what name they

they ought to be called, Lest they violate the true God, whose Name is profaned, when it is given to many. From which passages of *Lactantius* it plainly appeareth, that the main Controversie between the Christians and the Pagans, was then only this, Whether or no, the Created Ministers of the Supreme God, might be called Gods, and Religiously Worshipped. But this Pagan Objection against the Solitary Deity of the Christians, is by some ancient Christian Writers also otherwise answered; namely from those Three Hypostases or Persons of the Trinity; they affirming upon that account, that though Christians did not acknowledge such a Multitude of Gods, as the Pagans, yet did they not therefore make God a Solitary and Steril Being, before the Creation neither, as the Jews did; but went in a middle way betwixt Jews and Pagans: they interpreting also *Moses* his *Faciamus Hominem*, to this sence.

XXXVI. We shall now shew Particularly what these *Many Gods* of the Pagans were. It hath been often observed, That the Pagans were divided in their *Philosophick* or *Natural Theology*, as to their Opinions concerning the Supreme God: some of them thinking, τὸ θεῖον ἐξηρημέζον εἶναι τὸ ὅλης φύσεως, That the Supreme Deity was an Abstract Being, Elevated above Nature and the Whole World: but others that he was nothing higher, than an *Anima Mundi*, or Soul of the World. Now the former of these Two were chiefly amongst the Greeks, the *Pythagoreans* and the *Platonists*, who had accordingly several Distinctions amongst them concerning their Gods, as between the ὑπερκόσμοι θεοὶ and the ἐνκόσμοι, The Supermundane and the Mundane Gods; The θεοὶ αἰδίοι and the γεννητοὶ, the Eternal and the Generated Gods; that Latter word being now taken in a narrower and more confined sence, for such as were made in Time, or had a Beginning of their Existence: and Lastly, the νοητοὶ θεοὶ and the αἰσθητοὶ, the Intelligible and the Sensible Gods. And the ὑπερκόσμοι, αἰδίοι and νοητοὶ θεοὶ, Supermundane, Eternal, and Intelligible Gods, of these *Pythagoreans* and *Platonists*, were first of all and Principally, those τρεῖς ἀρχαὶ ὑποστάδες, (as *Plotinus* calls them) those Three Divine Hypostases, that have the Nature of Principles in the Universe, viz. *Tagathon* or *Hen*, *Nous* and *Psyche*; or *Monad*, *Mind*, and *Soul*. That this Trinity was not first of all a meer Invention of *Plato's*, but much antienter than him, is plainly affirmed by *Plotinus* in these words, καὶ εἶναι τὰς λόγους τὰςδε μὴ καινὰς, μὴ ἢ νῦν, ἀλλὰ πολλὰ μὲν εἰρησθαι μὴ ἀναπεπηαμένως, τὰς ἢ νῦν λόγους ἐξηρημέζας ἀκείνων γεγονέναι. μαρτυροῖς πιστάμενοι τὰς δόξας ταύτας παλαιὰς εἶναι, τοῖς αὐτὲς τῷ Πλάτῳ γεγραμμένων. ἦπτετο μὲν ἐν καὶ Παρμενίδης πρὸς τὸν τοιαύτης δόξης. That these Doctrines are not new, nor of yesterday; but have been very antiently delivered, though obscurely (the discourses now extant, being but Explanations of them) appears from *Plato's* own writings; *Parmenides* before him having insisted on them.

En. 5 L. 1.

Now it is well known, that *Parmenides* was addicted to the *Pythagorick Sect*, and therefore probable, that this Doctrine of a Divine Triad was one of the *Arcanums* of that School also. Which is further confirmed from hence, because *Numenius* a famous *Pythagorean* entertained

entertained it, as such. And *Moderatus* (as *Simplicius* informeth *In. Ar. Phys.* us) plainly affirmeth, this *Trinity of Principles*, to have been a *Pythagorick Cabala*; *ἔστι γὰρ καὶ τῶν πυθαγορείων τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἐν ὑπὲρ τὸ ὄν καὶ πᾶσαν ἐξ ἑαυτοῦ ἀποφαινεῖται· τὸ δὲ δεύτερον ἐν, ὅπερ ἐστὶ τὸ οὐτως ὄν καὶ νοητὸν· τὰ ἑδὴ φησὶν εἶναι· τὸ δὲ τρίτον ὅπερ ἐστὶ ψυχικόν, μετέχειν τῶ ἐνὸς καὶ τῶ εἰδῶν.* *This (Moderatus) declareth, that according to the Pythagoreans, the First One or Unity, is above all Essence; that the Second One, which is that which truly is, and Intelligible, according to them, is the Ideas; and that the Third, which is Psychical or Soul, partaketh both of the First Unity, and of the Ideas. Lastly we have Iamblichus his Testimony also in Proclus to the same purpose; τρεῖς εἶναι θεοὺς τούτους καὶ ὡς τοῖς πυθαγορείοις ὁμωμενῶντας, That there were Three Gods also praised by the Pythagoreans. Now we have before shewed, that Pythagoras his Philosophy, was derived from the Orphick Cabala, which Proclus in another place thus fully testifieth, ἅπαντα γὰρ ἡ παρ' Ἑλλήνων θεολογία καὶ Ὁρ- *Theol. Plat.* φικῆς ἐστὶ μυστικῆς ἐκγονοῦ· πρῶτος μὲν πυθαγόρης ὡς Ἀγλαοφήμης *L. 1. c. 5.* τὰ ὡς δὲ θεῶν ὄργια διδασχένει· ἀδελφεὺς δὲ πλατῶν ὑποδεξαμένος τῷ παν- *πληρὶ ὡς* τῶν ὑπερῷων, ἐν τῇ πυθαγορείῳ καὶ Ὁρφικῶν γεγραμμάτων. *All the Theology of the Greeks, was derived from the Orphick Mystagorgia; Pythagoras being first instructed by Aglaophemus in the Orphick Orgia, or Mysteries concerning the Gods; and Plato being the next who received a perfect knowledge of all these Divine things, both out of the Pythagorick and the Orphick writings. And that a Trinity was part of that Orphick Cabala, we have already proved, out of Amelius, he affirming (in Proclus) that Plato's Three Kings were the same with Orpheus his Trinity, of Phanes, Uranus, and Cronus. Moreover, since all these Three, Orpheus, Pythagoras, and Plato, travelling into Egypt, were there initiated in that Arcane Theology of the Egyptians (called Hermaical) it seemeth probable (as was before observed) that this Doctrine of a Divine Triad, was also part of the Arcane Theology of the Egyptians. It hath been also noted, that there were some footsteps of such a Trinity in the Mithraick Mysteries amongst the Persians, derived from Zoroaster; as likewise that it was expressly contained in the Magick or Chalday Oracles, of whatsoever authority they may be. Moreover it hath been signified, that the Samothracians had very anciently a certain Trinity of Gods, that were the Highest of all their Gods, and that called by an Hebrew name too, Cabbirim, or the Mighty Gods: and that from thence the Roman Capitoline Trinity of Gods, was derived. The second whereof was Minerva, which amongst the Latins, as Athena amongst the Greeks, was understood to signify the Divine Wisdom. Lastly, the Ternary or Triad, was not only accounted a Sacred Number amongst the Pythagoreans, but also as containing some Mystery in Nature, was therefore made use of by other Greeks and Pagans, in their Religious Rites; as Aristotle informeth us; διὸ ὡς ἡ φύσις ἀληφότες ὡς ὁ νόμος οὐρανοῦ, καὶ πρὸς τοὺς ἀγιστάς τῃ θεῶν χεράμεθα τὰ ἀεὶ ὁμοῦ τότῳ. Wherefore from Nature, and as it were observing her Laws, have we taken this Number of Three, making use of the same in the Sacrifices of the Gods, and other Purifications.**

Now since it cannot well be conceived, how such a *Trinity of Divine Hypotheses*, should be first discovered merely by humane Wit and Rea-

son, though there be nothing in it (if rightly understood) that is repugnant to Reason: and since there are in the ancient Writings of the Old Testament, certain significations of a *Plurality* in the *Deity*, or of more than one *Hypostasis*, we may reasonably conclude, that which *Proclus* asserteth of this *Trinity*, as it was contained in the Chaldaick Oracles, to be true, that it was at first Θεολογία, a *Theology of Divine Tradition or Revelation*, or a *Divine Cabala*, viz. amongst the Hebrews first, and from them afterwards communicated to the Egyptians and other Nations. Neither ought it to be thought any considerable Objection to the contrary, because the Platonists, Pythagoreans, and other Pagan Theologers, did not express this their *Trinity*, in the very words of the *Athanasian Creed*, nor according to the *Form of the Nicene Council*. Forasmuch as this *Mystery* was gradually imparted to the World, and that first but sparingly to the Hebrews themselves, either in their Written or Oral *Cabala*; but afterwards more fully under Christianity, the whole Frame whereof was built thereupon. Nevertheless was it not so distinctly and precisely determined, nor so punctually and scrupulously stated amongst the Christians neither, till after the rising up of Heresies concerning it. Nor when all was done, did the Orthodox themselves at first Univerally agree, in the signification of the word ὁμοούσιον *Co-essential* or *Consubstantial*. Nor lastly is it a thing at all to be wondred at, that in such a *Difficult* and *Mysterious Point*, as this, there should be some diversity of apprehensions amongst the reputed Orthodox Christians themselves; and much less therefore amongst Pagans and Philosophers. However we freely acknowledge, that as this *Divine Cabala*, was but little understood by Many of those who entertained it among the Pagans, so was it by divers of them, much Depraved and Adulterated also.

In Timæ. Plat.
p. 93.
Ibid.

For first, the Pagans univerally called, this their *Trinity*, a *Trinity of Gods*, τὸ πρῶτον, τὸ δεύτερον, and τὸ τρίτον θεόν, the *First*, the *Second*, and the *Third God*; as the more Philosophical amongst them, called it also a *Trinity of Causes*, and a *Trinity of Principles*, and sometimes a *Trinity of Opificers*; thus is this *Cabala* of the *Trinity* styled in *Proclus*, ἡ τῶν τριῶν θεῶν παράδοσις, the *Tradition of the Three Gods*. And accordingly is it said of *Numenius* by him, that τρεῖς ἀνυμνήσας θεοὺς, he did τρεῖς ᾠδῶν καλεῖν, πατέρα, υἱόν, ἀπύγονον, having praised the *Three Gods*, *Tragically* or *Affectedly* called them, the *Grandfather*, the *Son*, and the *Nephew*. *Numenius* thereby intimating, that as the *Second* of these Gods, was the Off-spring of the *First God*, so the *Third* called the *Nephew* of the *First*, was derived both from him and from the *Second*, from the *First* as the *Grandfather*, and from the *Second*, as the *Father* of him. *Harpocration* likewise, *Atticus*, and *Amelius*, are said by *Proclus*, to have entertained this same *Cabala* or *Tradition of the Three Gods*, the Latter of these styling them, βασιλείας τρεῖς, and τρεῖς θεὸν δημιουργόν, *Three Kings*, and *Three Opificers* or *Makers* of the whole world. In like manner *Plotinus* speaking of the *Second* of these *Three Hypostases*, (that is, νῆς the *First Mind* or *Intellect*) calls him δεύτερον θεόν the *Second God*, καὶ θεὸς αὐτῇ ἡ φύσις, καὶ θεὸς δεύτερος, περφαίνων ἑαυτὸν, πρὶν ὅσον ἐκείνον. ὃ ὅτι ὑπερβαίνει καὶ ὑπερβαίνεται ἐν καλῇ ἑταίρῳ ὡς οἶον κρημνίδος, ἢ ἐξ αὐτοῦ ἐξήρτηται. ἐξ ἧς ἐκείνου βέλους.

Em 5. L. 5.
c. 3.

βαλινοντα μη ἐπ' ἀνέχεσθαι πινός, μη δ' αὖ ἐπὶ ψυχῆς αὐτοῦς βεβηκέναι, ἀλλ' εἶναι
 αὐτὰς καὶ ἄλλ' ἀμύχανον πρὸ αὐτῶν προίον. *And this Nature is God, I say a
 Second God, offering himself to view, before that other God can be seen,
 who is Seated above, this being as it were the Glorious Throne of him. For
 it is not fit, that he should be immediately Seated in anything that is In-
 animate; nor in meer Soul neither, but that there should be such an im-
 mense Pulchritude and Splendour shining before him; like the Pomp and
 Procession before the Great King. He also elsewhere mentions all these
 Three Gods together, making this World to be an Image of them all.*
 εἰκότως ἔν λέγειναι ἑστῶ ὁ κόσμος εἰκὼν, αἰεὶ εἰκονιζόμενος. ἐσκότων μὲν τὸ Ep. 2. L. 3. c. 19.
 πρῶτον, καὶ δ' ἄλλους, τὸ δ' τελευτῶν, ἐσκότος μὲν καὶ αὐτὸ, ἀλλ' ἐν τῇ ὕλῃ, καὶ κατ'
 συμβεβηκός κενεμένους. *Wherefore this World may well be called an Image,
 it depending upon that above, as an Image in a Glass, which is Threefold.*
*Whereof the First and Second God always stand Immovably; the Third like-
 wise is in it self Stable too, but accidentally moved, by reason of the Mobility
 of matter, and things below it. And that we may here give a Taste of the
 Mystical Theology and Enthusiasm of these Platonists too; Porphyrius
 in the Life of Plotinus affirmeth, that both Plotinus and Himself, had
 sometimes experience of a kind of Ecstatick Union with the First of
 these Three Gods, that which is above Mind and Understanding;*
 πολλὰκις ἐν ἀγῶνι ἑαυτὸν εἰς τὸ πρῶτον καὶ ἐπέκεινα θεὸν ταῖς ἐνοσίαις, ἐφάνη
 ἐκείνους ὁ μήτε μορφῶν, μή τέ τινα ἰδέαν ἔχων, ὑπὲρ ἧν καὶ πᾶν τὸ νοητὸν ἰδρυ-
 μένος. ὥ δὲ καὶ ἐγὼ Πορφύριος ἀπαξ λέγω πλησιάζειν καὶ ἐνωθῆναι. *Ploti-
 nus often endeavouring to raise up his mind to the First and Highest
 God; That God sometimes appeared to him, who hath neither Form nor
 Idea, but is placed above Intellect, and all that is Intelligible: to whom
 I Porphyrius affirm my self to have been once united in the Sixty eighth
 year of my age. And again afterwards, τέλος αὐτὰς καὶ σκοπὸς ἦν, τὸ ἐνω-
 θῆναι καὶ πελάσαι τὰς ἐπὶ πᾶσι θεῶν, ἔτυχεν δ' τετραβῆναι πρὸς ὅτε συνήμω αὐτὰς
 τὸ σκοπὸς τούτων, Plotinus his chief aim and scope was, to be united to, and
 conjoynd with the Supreme God, who is above all, which scope he attain-
 ed unto, Four several times, whilst my self was with him, by a certain
 ineffable Energie. That is, Plotinus aimed at such a kind of Raptu-
 rous and Ecstatick Union with the τὸ ἐν, and τὸ ἀρχαῖον, the First of the
 Three Highest Gods, (called The One and The Good) as by himself is de-
 scribed towards the latter end of his Last Book. Where he calls it
 ἐπαφῶν, and παρρησίαν ὁπλισμένην καὶ ἡσυχίαν, and τὸ ἑαυτὸν κέντρον, τὰς οἷον πέν-
 των κέντρον συνάπτεσθαι, a kind of Tactual Union, and a certain Presence
 better than Knowledge, and the joyning of our own Centre, as it were,
 with the Centre of the Universe. Thus we see that the Platonick Tri-
 nity, is a Trinity of Gods, of which Three Gods therefore, the Second
 and the Third must of necessity be Inferiour Gods, because otherwise,
 they would be Three Independent Gods, whereas the Pagan Theology
 Expressly disclaims a Plurality, of Independent and Self-originated
 Deities,*

But since according to the Principles of Christianity, which was partly designed to oppose and bear down the Pagan Polytheism, there is *One only God* to be acknowledged; the meaning whereof notwithstanding seems to be chiefly directed, against the *Deifying of Created Beings*, or giving Religious Worship to any, besides the *Uncrea-*

ted, and the Creatour of all : moreover, since in the Scripture which is the only true Rule and Measure of this *Divine Cabala* of the *Trinity*, though the λόγος or *Word* be said to have been, *With God* (that is, *God the Father*) and also it self to *Be God* (that is, not a *Creature*) yet is it no where called *An Other*, or *Second God*. Therefore cannot we Christians entertain this Pagan Language of a *Trinity of Gods*, but must call it either a *Trinity of Divine Hypostases*, or *Subsistences*, or *Persons*, or the like. Nevertheless it is observable, that *Philo*, though according to his Jewish Principles, he was a zealous Opposer of the *Pagan Polytheism* and *Idolatry*, yet did he not for all that, scruple to call the θεῖον λόγον the *Divine Word*, after the *Platonick* way, ἀδύνατον εἶναι a *Second God* ; as not suspecting this to clash with the Principles of his Religion, or that *Second Commandment* of the *Decalogue*, *Thou shalt have no other Gods before my Face* ; possibly because he conceived, that this was to be understood of *Creature-Gods* only ; whereas his *Second God*, the *Divine λόγος* or *Word*, is declared by him to be αἰδιος, *Eternal*, and therefore according to the Jewish Theology *Uncreated*. However this Language of a *Second* and *Third God*, is not so excusable in a Jew, as it might be in a Pagan ; because the Pagans according to the Principles of their Religion, were so far from having any *Scrupulosity*, against a *Plurality of Gods*, (so long as there was only *One Fountain of the Godhead* acknowledged) that they rather accounted it an honour to the Supreme God, as hath been already shewed, that he should have *Many other*, not only *Titular Gods* under him, but also such as were *Religiously Worshipped* : Wherefore besides this *Second* and *Third God*, they also did luxuriate in their other *Many Creature-gods*. And indeed *St. Austin* doth upon this accompt, seem somewhat to excuse the Pagans for this their *Trinity of Gods*, and *Principles*, in these words, *Liberis enim verbis loquuntur Philosophi, nec in rebus ad intelligendum difficillimis, offensionem religiosarum aurium pertimescunt. Nobis autem ad certam Regulam loqui fas est, ne Verborum licentia, etiam in rebus, quæ in his significantur, impiam gignat opinionem. Nos autem non dicimus Duo vel Tria Principia, cum de Deo loquimur : sicut nec Duos Deos vel Tres, nobis licitum est dicere, quamvis de Unoquoque loquentes, vel de Filio, vel de Spiritu Sancto, etiam singulum quemque Deum esse fateamur.* The Philosophers use *Free Language*, nor in these things which are extremely difficult to be understood, did they at all fear the offending of any Religious and *Scrupulous* ears. But the Case is otherwise with us Christians, for we are tied up to *Phrases*, and ought to speak according to a certain Rule, lest the licentious use of words, should beget a wicked Opinion in any concerning those things that are signified by them. That is, though this might be in a manner excusable in the Pagans, because each of those *Three Hypostases* is *God*, therefore to call them severally *Gods*, and all of them a *Trinity of Gods*, and *Principles* ; they having no such Rule then given them to govern their Language by as this, *That though the Father be God, the Son God, and the Holy Ghost God, yet are they not Three Gods, but One God* : yet is not this allowable for us Christians, to speak of a *Second* or *Third God* or *Principle*, or to call the *Holy Trinity* a *Trinity of Gods*, notwithstanding that when we speak of the Father or of the Son, or of the Holy Ghost severally, we confess each of them to be *God*. And

C. D. L. 10.
c. 23.

And indeed when the Pagans thus spake of a *First, Second* and *Third God*, and no more, though having Innumerable other Gods besides, they did by this Language plainly imply, that these *Three Gods* of theirs, were of a very different kind, from all the rest of their Gods; that is, not θεοὶ γεννητοὶ but αἰδίοι, not *Created*, but *Eternal* and *Uncreated Ones*. And that many of them did really take this *Whole Trinity of Gods*, for the τὸ θεῖον in general, the *Divine Numen*, and sometimes call it the *First God* too, in way of distinction from their *Generated Gods*; will be showed afterward. So that the πρῶτος θεός the *First God*, was used in different senses by these Pagans, sometimes in a larger sense, and in way of opposition to all the γεννητοὶ θεοὶ the *Generated* or *Created Gods*, or the Gods that were made in Time together with the World; and sometime again, more Particularly, in way of distinction from those *Two other Divine Hypostases Eternal*, called by them the *Second* and *Third God*. Which *First* of the *Three Gods*, is also frequently by them called θεός, *God*, *Emphatically* and by way of Excellency, they supposing a *Gradual Subordination* in these *Principles*.

Neither was this *Trinity of Divine Substances* only thus ill-languag'd by the Pagans generally, when they called it a *Trinity of Gods*; but also the *Cabala* thereof, was otherwise much Depraved and Adulterated, by several of the Platonists and Pythagoreans. For first, the *Third* of these *Three Hypostases* commonly called *Psyche*, is by some of them made to be ψυχή ἐν κόσμῳ the *Immediate Soul of the Corporeal World*, informing, acting, and enlivening it, after the same manner as the Souls of other Animals do their respective Bodies; insomuch that this Corporeal World it self, as together with its Soul it makes up one Complete Animal, was frequently called the *Third God*. This *Proclus* affirmeth of *Numenius* the Pythagorean, ὁ γὰρ κόσμος κατ' αὐτὸν ὁ τρίτος καὶ θεός, *That the World according to him, was the Third God*. And *Plotinus*, being a great Reader of this *Numenius*, seems to have been somewhat infected by him with this conceit also, though contrary to his own Principles; from those words before cited out of him, ὁ κόσμος θεός, ὡς ὅτι συνθεὶς λέγεται, τρίτος, *the World, as is commonly said, is the Third God*.

Now if the World be not a *Creature*, then is there no *Created Being* at all, but all is God. But not only *Timæus Locrus*, but also *Plato* himself, calls it, θεῖον γεννητὸν, that is, a *Created God*, the word γεννητὸν being here put for that, which after it once was not, is brought into Being; which is the proper Notion of a *Creature*. So that the *Animated World*, is by *Plato* made to be only the chief of all the γεννητοὶ θεοὶ, that is, the *Creature-Gods*. Wherefore it is plain that in this *Trinity* of some Platonists and Pythagoreans, wherein the World is made to be the *Third God*, there is a confused Jumble of *Created*, and *Uncreated Beings* together. For the *First* of those Gods is the Father and Fountain of all, or the Original of the Godhead. And the *Second*, so far as he is called by them, both ποιητής and δημιουργός, the *Maker*, and the *Opificer of the whole World*, he therefore

fore can be no Creature neither : whereas the *Third*, which is said to be the World, was by *Numenius* himself also expressly called, both ποιμα and τὸ δημιουργήμα, the *Work* or *Thing Made*, that is, plainly, the *Creature* of both the Former. *Proclus* thus fully represents his sense, Πρῶτος μὲν καλεῖται ὁ Πρωτων, ποιητὴς ὁ δὲ Δευτερος, Ποιμα ὁ δὲ Τελτος. ὥς ὁ κατ' αὐτὸν δημιουργὸς Διτῆς, ὁ, τε Πρωτος καὶ ὁ Δευτερος Θεός, τὸ δὲ δημιουργήμα ὁ Τελτος. *Numenius* called the *First* of the *Three Gods*, the *Father* ; the *Second* of them the *Maker* ; and the *Third* the *Work* or *Thing Made* ; so that according to *Numenius* there were two *Opificers* or *Creators* of the *World*, the *First* and the *Second God* ; and the *World* it self (that is, the *Thing Made* and *Created* by them both) is said to be the *Third God*.

And that this Notion of the Trinity, is an Adulterated One, may be also further concluded from hence, because according to this *Hypothesis*, they might have said that there were *Three Hundred* and more *Gods*, as well, as that there are *Three* : since all the other γεννητοὶ Θεοὶ, *Generated Gods*, might have come into the Number too, as well as the *World*, they being *Parts* thereof, and *Gods* that differ not in kind from it but only in degree. Wherefore these *Philosophers* ought not to have made a *Trinity of Gods*, distinguished from all the rest, but rather *First* to have distributed their *Gods* into Θεοὶ αἰδίοι and γεννητοὶ, that is *Eternal* or *Uncreated*, and *Created Gods*, and then to have subdivided those *Created Gods*, into the *Whole World*, and the *Parts* thereof *Animated*.

But because it may be here alledged in favour of this *Spurious Hypothesis* of the *Trinity*, That the *World* was accounted the *Third God*, only by *Accident*, in respect of its *Soul*, which is properly that *Third God* ; though *Numenius* with others plainly affirm the *World* it self, as ποιμα and δημιουργήμα, as the *Work* and *Thing Made*, to be the *Third* ; we shall therefore reply to this, that even the *Soul* of the *Mundane Animal* it self, according to *Timæus*, and *Plato*, and others, is affirmed to be γεννητὸς Θεός, a *Generated God*, that is, such as was produced from *Non-existence* into *Being*, and therefore truly and properly a *Creature*. Which *Aristotle* observing, therefore took occasion to tax *Plato* as contradicting himself, in making the *Soul* of the *World* a *Principle*, that is, the *Third God*, and yet supposing it to be ὕσεν καὶ ἄμα τῷ σενῶν, not *Eternal* but *Made* or *Created together with the Heaven*, of which something before. Wherefore we conclude, that this ancient *Cabala of the Trinity*, was *Depraved* and *Adulterated*, by those *Platonists* and *Pythagoreans*, who made either the *World* it self, or else ψυχὴ ἐγκόσμου, an *Informing Soul of the World*, to be the *Third Hypostasis* thereof, they *Mingling Created* and *Uncreated Beings* together, in that which themselves notwithstanding call a *Trinity of Causes* and of *Principles*.

And we think it highly probable that this was the true Reason, why *Philo*, though he admitted the *Second Hypostasis* of the *Platonick*, and *Pythagorick* (if not *Egyptian*) *Trinity*, called by him Θεὸς λόγος, the *Divine Word*, and styled Δευτερος Θεός, the *Second God*, and as *Eusebius*

Jeſius adds, ὁ δεύτερον αἴτιον *The Second Cause*, yet he would not *Platonize* or *Pythagorize* any further, ſo as to take in that *Third God* or *Cauſe*, ſuppoſed by ſo many of them to be *the Soul of the whole World*, as an *Animal*; becauſe he muſt then have offer'd violence to the Principles of his own Religion, in making the whole *Created World* a *God*: which Practice is by him condemned in the Pagans. It is true, that he ſomewhere ſticks not to call *God* alſo, the *Soul of the World*, as well as the *Mind thereof*, whether he meant thereby τὸ πρὸ τοῦ λόγου θεόν, *That God who is before the Word*, or elſe rather the *Word* it ſelf, the *Second God*, (according to him the *Immediate Creator* and *Governour* of the ſame) nevertheleſs he does not ſeem to underſtand thereby, ſuch a deeply *Immerſed Soul*, as would make the *World* an *Animal*, and a *God*, but a more *Elevated One*, that is, ψυχῶν ἀφροδύμων, a *Supermundane Soul*.

To this *First Depravation* of that θεοπαράδοτος θεολογία, that *Theology* of *Divine Tradition*, and ancient *Cabbala of the Trinity*, by many of the *Platonists* and *Pythagoreans*, may be added another, That ſome of them declaring the *Second Hypoſtaſis* of their *Trinity* to be the *Archetypal World*, or τὸ ἐκ τῆς ιδεῶν παλαιά κόσμον, as *Philo* calls it, *the World* that is compounded and made up of *Ideas*, and containeth in it all thoſe kinds of things *Intelligibly* that are in this *Lower World* *Senſibly*; and further concluding, that all theſe ſeveral *Ideas* of this *Archetypal* and *Intelligible World*, are really ſo many diſtinct *Subſtances*, *Animals*, and *Gods*; have thereby made that *Second Hypoſtaſis*, not to be *One God*, but a *Congeries* and *Heap of Gods*. Theſe are thoſe *Gods* commonly called by them, νοῦτοι θεοὶ *Intelligible Gods*, not as before in way of diſtinction from the αἰσθητοὶ the *Senſible Gods* (which is a more general notion of the word) but from thoſe other *Gods* of theirs (afterwards to be inſiſted on alſo) called νοετοὶ θεοὶ *Intellectual Gods*. *Proclus* upon *Plato's Politia* concludes, that there is no *Idea of Evil*, for this reaſon, becauſe if there were, καὶ ἡ τῆς κακῶν ιδέα θεὸς ἔσται, ἐπεὶ πάντες οἱ θεοὶ ὡς παρμενίδης εἰρηκεν. that very *Idea of Evil* alſo would it ſelf be a *God*, becauſe Every *Idea* is a *God*, as *Parmenides* hath affirmed. Neither was *Plotinus* himſelf, though otherwiſe more ſober, altogether uninfected with this *Phantaſtick Conceit*, of the *Ideas* being all of them *Gods*, he writing thus concerning the *Second God*, *The First Mind* or *Intellect*; γεννόμενον ὃ ἵδεν ταῦ ὄντα σὺν αὐτῷ γεννησάμην, πᾶν μὲν τὸ τῆς ιδεῶν κόσμος, πάντας ὃ θεὸς νοητὸς, *That he being begotten by the First God*, (that is, by way of *Emanation*, and from *Eternity*) generated all *Entities* together with himſelf, the *Pulchritude* of the *Ideas*, which are all *Intelligible Gods*. *Apuleius* alſo (as hath been already noted) groſsly and fulſomely imputes the ſame to *Plato*, in thoſe words, Quos Deos Plato exiſtimat, Veros, Incorporales, Animales, ſine ullo neque ſine neque exordio, ſed prorsus ac retrò æternos, ingenio ad ſummam beatitudinem porrecto, &c. And he with *Julian* and others, reduce the Greater part of the *Pagan Gods*, to theſe *Ideas* of the *Intelligible* or *Archetypal World*, as making *Apollo* for Example, to be the *Intelligible Sun*, the *Idea of the Senſible*; and *Diana*, the *Intelligible Moon*, and the like for the reſt. Laſtly, it hath been obſerved alſo that the *Egyptian Theologers*, pretended in like manner, to worship

Worship these *Intelligible Gods*, or *Eternal Ideas*, in their Religious Animals, as *Symbols* of them.

De Mun. Orif.
p. 6.

P. 6.

Philo indeed Platonized so far, as to suppose God to have made an Archetypal and Intelligible World, before he made this Corporeal and Sensible : βασιθεὶς (ὁ θεός) τὸ ὄρατον τῶτον κόσμον διμυροῦναι, προεξέ-
τύπε τὸ νοητὸν, ἵνα χεώμεν αὐτῶν καὶ θεοειδέσθαι παρὰ δέγματι, τὸν
σωματικὸν ἀπεργασθῆναι, πρεσβύτερον νεώτερον ἀπεικονίσμα, τοσαῦτα ὡς ἐξ ὧν
αἰσθητὰ γένῃ, ὅσα καὶ ἐν αἰθέρι νοητὰ· τὸ δὲ ἐκ τῶν ἰδεῶν συνεστὸς κόσμος ἐν
τῷ πᾶσι ὑπονοεῖν ἀδύνατον. God intending to make a Visible World, first
formed an Intelligible One ; that so having an Incorporeal, and most
God-like Pattern before him, he might make the Corporeal World agreeably
to the same, this Younger an Image of that Older, that should contain
as many Sensible kinds in it, as the other did Intelligible. But it is not
possible (saith he) to conceive this World of Ideas to exist in any place.
Nay according to him, Moses himself philosophized also after
the same manner, in his *Cosmopæia*, describing in the First Five Ver-
ses of *Genesis*, the making of an Intelligible Heaven and Earth, be-
fore the Sensible ; πρῶτον ἐν παρὰ τῆς νοητῆς κόσμος ὁ ποῖαν ἐποίησεν ἄ-
σωματον καὶ γλῶσσοις, καὶ αἴετος ἰδεῶν καὶ κενός, εἰς ὃ δὲ αὐτῶν αὐτῶν ἔσαν καὶ
πνέυματι, καὶ ὅτι πᾶσιν ἐσθδμς φωτὶς, ὁ πᾶσιν αὐτῶν ἦν καὶ νοητὸν ἡλὶς παρὰ
δέγμα, &c. The Creator first of all made, an Incorporeal Heaven and
an Invisible Earth ; the Ideas of Air and Vacuum ; Incorporeal Water
and Air ; and last of all Light, which was also the Incorporeal and In-
telligible Paradigm of the Sun and Stars, and that from whence their
Sensible Light is derived. But Philo does not plainly make these Ideas of
the Intelligible and Archetypal World, to be so many distinct Substances,
and Animals ; much less Gods : though he somewhere takes notice of
those, who admiring the Pulchritude of both these Worlds, did not
only Deify the whole of them, but also their several Parts ; that is,
the several Ideas of the Intelligible World also, as well as the Greater
Parts of the Sensible ; an Intelligible Heaven and Earth, Sun and
Moon ; they pretending to worship those Divine Ideas, in all these
Sensible things. Which high-flown Platonick Notion, as it gave San-
ctuary and Protection, to the grossest and foulest of all the Pagan
Superstitions and Idolatries, when the Egyptians would worship
Brute Animals, and other Pagans, all the Things of Nature, (Inani-
mate Substances, and meer Accidents) under a pretence of worshipping
the Divine Ideas in them ; so did it directly tend to absolute Impiety,
Irreligion, and Atheism ; there being few that could entertain any
thoughts at all of those Eternal Ideas, and scarcely any who could
thoroughly persuade themselves, that these had so much Reality in
them, as the Sensible things of Nature ; as the Idea of a House, in the
mind of an Architect, hath not so much Reality in it, as a Material
House, made up of Stones, Mortar and Timber ; so that their Devo-
tion must needs sink down wholly into those Sensible Things, and
themselves naturally at length fall, into this Atheistick Perswasion ;
That the Good Things of Nature, are the only Deities.

Here therefore have we a Multitude of Pagan Gods *Supermundane*
and *Eternal*, (though all depending upon *One Supreme*) the Gods by
them

them properly called, *νοῦτοι* *Intelligible*, or the *Divine Ideas*. And we cannot but account this for another *Depravation* of the ancient *Mosaic Cabbala of the Trinity*, that the *Second Hypostasis* thereof, is made to be the *Archetypal World*, and all the *Divine Ideas*, as so many distinct *Substances*, *Animals*, and *Gods*; that is, not One God, but a whole *World of Gods*.

But over and besides all this, some of these Platonists and Pythagoreans, did further Deprave and Adulterate, the ancient Hebrew or *Mosaic Cabbala* of the Trinity, (the certain Rule whereof is now only the Scriptures of the New Testament) when they concluded, that as from the *Third Hypostasis* of their Trinity, called ἡ πρώτη ψυχή, *The First Soul*, there were Innumerable other *Particular Souls* derived, namely the Souls of all Inferiour Animals, that are Parts of the World; so in like manner, that from their *Second Hypostasis*, called ὁ πρῶτος νῦς, *The First Mind or Intellect*, there were innumerable other μετέχοντες νόες *Particular Minds or Intellects Substantial Derived*, Superiour to the First Soul; and not only so, but also, That from that First and Highest *Hypostasis* of all, called τὸ ἓν, and τὰγαθόν, *The One*, and *The Good*, there were derived likewise many *Particular* ἐνάδες, and Ἀγαθότητες, *Unities and Goodnesses Substantial*, Superiour to the *First Intellect*. Thus Proclus in his Theologic Institutions, μετὰ τὸ ἐν ἄρα τὸ πρῶτον, ἐνάδες· καὶ μετὰ τὸν ἓν πρῶτον, νόες· καὶ μετὰ τὴν ψυχὴν τὴν πρῶτην, ψυχὰς· καὶ μετὰ τὴν ἄλλαν φύσιν, φύσεις· *N. 21.*
After the First One, (and from it) there are many *Particular Henades* or *Unities*; after the *First Intellect* and from it, many *Particular Noes*, *Minds or Intellects*; after the *First Soul*, many *Particular and Derivative Souls*; and lastly, after the *Universal Nature*, many *Particular Natures*, and *Spermatick Reasons*. Where it may be obiter observed, that these Platonists supposed, below the *Universal Psyche*, or *Mundane Soul*, a *Universal φύσις*, or *Substantial Nature* also, but so as that besides it, there were other *Particular λόγοι σπερματικοί*, *Seminal Reasons*, or *Plastick Principles* also.

As for these *Noes*, and that besides the *First Universal Mind or Intellect*, there are other *Particular Minds or Intellects Substantial*, a Rank of Beings not only immutably *Good and Wise*, but also every way *Immovable*, and therefore above the Rank of all Souls, that are *Self-moveable Beings*; Proclus was not singular in this, but had the concurrence of many other Platonists with him; amongst whom Plotinus may seem to be one, from this Passage of his besides others, ὅτι ἀθάνατοι ἡ αἱ ψυχὰς, καὶ νῦς πᾶς, καὶ ἄλλοις διὰ πλείονων εἴηται· *P. 653.* That Souls are Immortal, and every Mind or Intellect, we have elsewhere largely proved. Upon which words Ficinus thus, Hic, & supra & infra sepe, per verba Plotini notabis, Plures esse Mentium Animarumque Substantias inter se distinctas, quamvis inter eas Unio sit. Mirabilis: Here and from many other places, before and after, you may observe, that according to Plotinus there are many *Substantial Minds*, distinct from Souls, though there be a wonderful Union betwixt them. Moreover, that there was also above these *Noes* or *Immovable* but *Multi-form Minds*, not only one *Perfect Monad*, and *First Good*, but also a Rank of Many *Particular Henades* or *Monades*, and *Agathotetes*; was, besides

In Epist. Ench.
p. 9.

besides Proclus and others, asserted by Simplicius also; ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ τὸ ἀγαθὸν πάντα παράγει, τότε πρῶτα, καὶ τὰ μέσα, καὶ τὰ ἑχέστα· ἀλλὰ τὰ μετὰ πρῶτα καὶ ἑαυτὰ προσεχῆ, ὁμοία ἑαυτὰ παράγει, μιὰ ἀγαθότης πολλὰς ἀγαθότητας, καὶ μία ἑνὴς ἢ ὑπὲρ πολλὰς, πολλὰς ἐνάδας· The Highest Good (saith he) produceth all things from himself, in several Ranks and Degrees; The First, the Middle, and the Last or Lowest of all. But the First and the next to himself, doth he produce like himself, One Goodness Many Goodnesses, and one Unity or Henade, Many Henades. And that by these Henades and Autoagathotetes, he means Substantial Beings, that are Conscious of themselves, appears also from these following words, τὰ μετὰ τὴν πρῶτα ἥδη ὑπὸ τῆς πρώτης ἀγαθῆς παραγωγῶν, διὰ τὸ πρὸς αὐτὸ ὁμοίους, ἐκ ἐξου τῆς εἶναι ἀγαθῆς, ἀκίνητα ὄντα καὶ ἀμετέβλητα, καὶ ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ αἰὲ μακαριότητι ἰδρυμένα, ἐκ αὐτῆς τῆς ἀγαθῆς, ὅτι αὐτοαγαθότητες εἰσι· Those Beings which are first produced from the First Good, by reason of their Sameness of Nature with him, are immovably and unchangeably Good, always fixed in the same Happiness, and never indigent of Good or falling from it, because they are all Essentially Goodnesses. Where afterward he adds something concerning the νόες also, that though these were a Rank of Lower Beings, and not αὐτοαγαθὰ, not Essentially Goodnesses, but only by Participation; yet being by their own Nature also Immovable, they can never degenerate, nor fall from that Participation of Good. Notwithstanding which, we must confess that some of these Platonists, seem to take the word Henades sometimes in another sense, and to understand nothing else thereby, but the Intelligible Ideas before mentioned; though the ancient Platonists and Pythagoreans were not wont to call these Unities, but Numbers.

P. 11.

And now have we discovered, more of the Pagans Inferiour Gods, Supermundane and Eternal; viz. besides those νοῦτοι θεοί, those Intelligible Gods; Troops of Henades and Autoagathotetes, Unities and Goodnesses; and also of Noes, Immovable Minds or Intellects; or as they frequently call them, θεοὶ ἐνιαῖοι, and θεοὶ νοεοὶ, Henadical (or Monadical) Gods, and Intellectual Gods.

But since these Noes, or νοεοὶ θεοί, are said to be all of them in their own nature a Rank of Beings above Souls, and therefore Superiour to that First Soul, which is the Third Hypostasis of this Trinity; as all those Henades or ἐνιαῖοι θεοί, those Simple Monadical Gods, are likewise yet a higher Rank of Beings above the Noes, and therefore Superiour to the Second Hypostasis also, the First Mind; and yet all these Henades and Noes, however supposed by these Philosophers to be Eternal, forasmuch as they are Particular Beings only, and not Universal, cannot be placed higher than in the Rank of Creatures; it follows from hence unavoidably, that both the Second and Third Hypostasis of this Trinity, as well the First Mind as the First Soul, must be accounted Creatures also; because no Created Being, can be Superiour to any thing Uncreated. Wherefore Proclus and some others of those Platonists, plainly understood this Trinity no otherwise, than as a certain Scale or Ladder of Beings in the Universe; or a Gradual Descent of things from the First or Highest, by steps downward, lower and lower, so far as to the Souls of all Animals. For which

which cause, *Proclus* to make up this *Scale* complete, adds to these three Ranks and Degrees, below that *Third of Souls*, a *Fourth of Natures* also; under which there lies nothing but the Passive Part of the Universe, Body and Matter. So that, their Whole Scale, of all that is above Body, was indeed not a *Trinity*, but a *Quaternity*, or *Four Ranks* and Degrees of Beings, one below another; the First of *Henades* or *Unities*, the Second of *Noes*, *Minds* or *Intellects*, the Third of *Souls*, and the Last of *Natures*: these being as it were so many Orbs and Spheres, one within and below another. In all which several Ranks of Being, they supposed *One First Universal*, and *Unparticipated*, as the Head of each respective Rank, and Many Particular, or Participated Ones: as *One First Universal Henade*, and Many *Secondary Particular Henades*; *One First Universal Nous*, Mind or Intellect, and Many *Secondary and Particular Noes* or *Minds*; *One First Universal Soul*, and Many *Particular Souls*; and Lastly *One Universal Nature*, and Many *Particular Natures*. In which Scale of Beings, they Deified, besides the First *Τὸ ἐν* and *Τὰ ὅλα*, *One*, and *Good*, not only the *First Mind*, and the *First Soul*, but also those other *Particular Henades*, and *Noes* universally; and all *Particular Souls* above Humane: leaving out besides them and Inferiour Souls, that Fourth Rank of *Natures*, because they conceived, that nothing was to be accounted a *God*, but what was *Intellectual* and *Superiour to Men*. Wherein though they made Several Degrees of Gods, one below another, and called some *αἰδώς* and some *ἄωτος*, some *Eternal*, and some *Generated*, or *Made in time*; yet did they no where clearly distinguish, betwixt the *Deity* properly so called, and the *Creature*; nor shew how far in this Scale, the True Deity went, and where the Creature began. But as it were melting the Deity by degrees; and bringing it down lower and lower, they made the Juncture and Commixture betwixt God and the Creature, so smooth and close, that where they indeed parted, was altogether undiscernible. They rather implying them, to differ only in Degrees, or that they were not Absolute but Comparative Terms, and consisted but in *More* and *Less*. All which was doubtless a gross Mistake of the ancient *Cabbala* of the Trinity.

This is therefore that *Platonick Trinity*, which we oppose to the *Christian*, not as if *Plato's* own *Trinity* in the very Essential Constitution thereof, were quite a Different Thing from the *Christian*; it self in all probability having been at first derived from a *Divine* or *Mosaick Cabbala*; but because this *Cabbala*, (as might well come to pass in a thing so Myste-
rious and Difficult to be conceived) hath been by divers of these Platonists and Pythagoreans, *Misunderstood*, *Depraved* and *Adulterated*, into such a *Trinity*, as *Confounds the Differences* between God and the *Creature*, and removes all the Bounds and Land-marks betwixt them: sinks the Deity lower and lower by Degrees; (still multiplying of it, as it goes) till it have at length brought it down to the *Whole Corporeal World*, and when it hath done this, is not able to stop there neither, but extends it further still, to the *Animated Parts* thereof, Stars and Demons. The Design or Direct Tendency thereof, being nothing else but to lay a Foundation, for *Infinite Poly-*

theism, Cosmolatry (or World-Idolatry) and Creature-Worship. Where it is by the way observable, that these *Platonick Pagans*, were the only Publick and Professed Champions against Christianity; for though *Celsus* were suspected by *Origen* to have been indeed an Epicurean, yet did he at least Personate a Platonist too. The reason whereof might be; not only because the *Platonick* and *Pythagorick Sect*, was the Divinest of all the Pagans, and that which approached nearest to Christianity and the Truth, (however it might by accident therefore prove the worst, as the Corruption of the Best thing,) and by that means could with greatest confidence, hold up the Bucklers against Christianity and encounter it; but also because the *Platonick Principles*, as they might be understood, would of all other, serve most plausibly to defend the Pagan *Polytheism* and *Idolatry*.

Concerning the Christian Trinity, we shall here observe only *Three Things*; First, that it is not a *Trinity of meer Names or Words*, nor a *Trinity of Partial Notions and Inadequate Conceptions*, of One and the Same Thing. For such a kind of Trinity as this, might be conceived, in that First *Platonick Hypostasis* it self, called τὸ ἐν and τὰ ἁ.δ.ν *The One and The Good*, and perhaps also in that *First Person* of the *Christian Trinity*; namely of *Goodness*, and *Understanding or Wisdom*, and *Will or Active Power*, Three *Inadequate Conceptions* thereof. 'Tis true, that *Plotinus* was so high flown, as to maintain, that the First and Highest Principle of all, by reason of its Perfect *Unity* and *Simplicity*, is above the Multiplicity of Knowledge and Understanding, and therefore does not so much as νοεῖν ἑαυτῷ, in a proper sence, *Understand it self*: Notwithstanding which, this Philosopher himself adds that it cannot therefore be said to be *Ignorant* nor *Unwise* neither; these Expressions belonging only to such a Being, as was by Nature Intellectual, ὡς μὲν γὰρ μὴ νοῶν, ἀνόητος, *Intellectus nisi intelligat, demens merito judicatur*. And he seems to grant, that it hath a certain *Simple Clarity* and *Brightness* in it, Superiour to that of Knowledge: As the Body of the Sun has a certain *Brightness* Superiour to that Secondary Light which streameth from it; and that it may be said, to be νοῶνς αὐτῇ *Knowledge it self*, that does not *Understand*, as Motion it self does not Move. But this can hardly be conceived by ordinary Mortals, that the Highest and most Perfect of all Beings, should not fully comprehend it self, the Extent of its own Fecundity and Power, and be conscious of all that proceedeth from it, though after the most Simple manner. And therefore this high-flown conceit of *Plotinus* (and perhaps of *Plato* himself too) has been rejected by latter *Platonists*, as *Phantastical*, and *Unsafe*: for thus *Simplicius*, ἀλλὰ καὶ γινώσκον ἔχειν ἀνάγκη τῷ ἀποτέλει, καὶ γὰρ ἐν τῇ ὑπ' αὐτῷ ἀπαγορευμένῃ ἀγνοίᾳ, *But it must needs have also the most perfect Knowledge, since it cannot be ignorant of any thing, that is produced from it self*. And *St. Austin* in like manner, confutes that Assertion of some Christians, that the λόγος, or *Eternal Word*, was that very *Wisdom* and *Understanding* by which the Father himself was wise; as making it nothing, but an *Inadequate Conception of God*. But this opinion, that the *Christian Trinity* is but a *Trinity of Words*, or meer *Logical Notions*, and *Inadequate Conceptions of God*, hath been plainly condemned by the *Christian Church*.

En. 6. L. 7.
6. 37.

In Epiſt. P.
235.

Church in *Sabellius* and others. Wherefore we conclude it to be a Trinity of *Hypostases*, or Subsistences, or Persons.

The Second Thing that we observe concerning the Christian Trinity is this, that though the *Second Hypostasis* or *Person* thereof, were begotten from the First, and the *Third* Proceedeth both from the First and Second; yet are neither this *Second* nor *Third*, *Creatures*; and that for these following Reasons. First, because they were not made ἐξ ἑν ὄντων, as *Arius* maintained, that is, from an Antecedent Non-existence brought forth into being, nor can it be said of either of them, *Erat Quando Non erant*, that once they were not, but their *Going forth Was from Eternity*, and they were both *Coeve* and *Coeternal* with the Father. Secondly, because they were not only *Eternal Emanations* (if we may so call them) but also *Necessary*, and therefore are they both also, *Absolutely Undestroyable* and *Unannihilable*. Now according to true Philosophy and Theology, no *Creature* could have existed from *Eternity*, nor be *Absolutely Undestroyable*, and therefore that which is both *Eternal*, and *Undestroyable*, is *ipso facto Uncreated*. Nevertheless, because some Philosophers have asserted (though erroneously) both the whole World's *Eternity*, and its being a *Necessary Emanation* also from the Deity, and consequently, that it is *Undestroyable*; we shall therefore further add, that these *Second* and *Third Hypostases* or *Persons* of the Holy Trinity, are not only therefore *Uncreated*, because they were both *Eternal*, and *Necessary Emanations*, and likewise are *Unannihilable*; but also because they are *Universal*, each of them comprehending the Whole World, and all created things under it; which *Universality* of theirs, is the same thing with *Infinity*: Whereas all other Beings besides this Holy Trinity, are *Particular* and *Finite*. Now we say, that no *Intellectual Being*, which is not only *Eternal*; and *Necessarily Existent*, or *Undestroyable*; but also *Universal* or *Infinite*, can be a *Creature*.

Again in the Last place we add, that these *Three Hypostases* or *Persons*, are truly and really *One God*. Not only because they have all *Essentially One* and the same Will, according to that of *Origen*, *C. Cels. p. 386.* θεουδύομιον ἐν τῷ πατρί, ὡς ἀληθείας, καὶ τὸν υἱὸν τῷ ἀληθείαν, ὅτι αὐτοὶ τῇ ὑποστάσει περὶ γινώσκονται, ἐν ᾧ τῇ ὁμονοίᾳ καὶ τῇ συμφωνίᾳ καὶ τῇ ταυτότητι τοῦ βουλήσεως, *We worship, the Father of Truth, and the Son the Truth it self, being Two Things as to Hypostasis; but one in Agreement, Consent, and Sameness of Will:* but also because they are *Physically* (if we may so speak) *One* also; and have a *Mutual* περιχώρησις, and ἐνύπαρξις, *In-existence, and Permeation of one another*; according to that of our Saviour Christ, *I am In the Father, and the Father In Me. And the Father that Dwelleth In Me, he doth the Works.* We grant indeed, that there can be no Instance of the like Unity or Oneness found in any Created Beings; nevertheless we certainly know from our very selves, that it is not impossible, for two distinct Substances, that are of a very different Kind from one another, the One Incorporeal, the other Corporeal, to be so closely united together, as to become *One Animal* and *Person*; much less therefore should it be thought impossible, for these *Three Divine Hypostases*, to be *One God*.

We

We shall conclude here with Confidence, that the *Christian Trinity*, though there be very much of *Mystery* in it, yet is there nothing at all of *plain Contradiction* to the Undoubted Principles of Humane Reason, that is, of *Impossibility* to be found therein, as the Atheists would pretend, who cry down all for *Non-sence* and *Absolute Impossibility*, which their Dull Stupidity cannot reach to, or their Infatuated Minds easily comprehend, and therefore even the Deity it self. And it were to be wished, that some *Religionists* and *Trinitarians* did not here symbolize too much with them, in affecting to represent the *Mystery* of the *Christian Trinity*, as a thing directly contradictory to all Humane Reason and Understanding; and that perhaps out of design to make men surrender up themselves and Consciences, in a Blind and *Implicit Faith*, wholly to their Guidance: as also to debauch their Understandings by this means, to the swallowing down of other Opinions of theirs, plainly repugnant to Humane Faculties. As who should say, he that believes the *Trinity*, (as we all must do, if we will be Christians) should boggle at nothing in Religion never after, nor scrupulously chew or examine any thing: as if there could be nothing more Contradictious or Impossible to Humane Understanding propounded, than this Article of the *Christian Faith*.

But for the present we shall endeavour only to shew, that the *Christian Trinity* (though a *Mystery*, yet) is much more agreeable to Reason, than that *Platonick* or *Pseudo-Platonick Trinity* before described; and that in those Three Particulars then mentioned. For First, when those *Platonists* and *Pythagoreans*, interpret their *Third God*, or Last *Hypostasis* of their *Trinity* to be either the *World*, or else a $\Psi\chi\eta\ \epsilon\kappa\theta\acute{o}\sigma\mu\iota\theta\varsigma$, such an *Immediate Soul* thereof, as together with the *World* its Body, makes up *One Animal* and *God*; as there is plainly too great a Leap here betwixt their *Second* and *Third Hypostasis*, so do they *Debase the Deity* therein too much, confound God and the Creature together, laying a Foundation not only for *Cosmo-Latry* or *World-Idolatry* in general, but also for the grossest and most sottish of all Idolatries, the worshipping of the *Inanimate Parts* of the *World* themselves, in pretence as *Parts* and *Members* of this great *Mundane Animal*, and *Sensible God*.

L. 2. C. 1.

It is true indeed that *Origen* and some others of the ancient *Christian Writers*, have supposed, that God may be said in some sence to be the *Soul of the World*. Thus in that Book *Peri Archon*, *Sicut Corpus nostrum unum ex multis Membris aptatum est, & ab una Anima continetur, ita & Universum Mundum, velut Animal quoddam Immane opinandum puto; quod quasi ab una Anima, Virtute Dei ac Ratione teneatur. Quod etiam à Sanctâ Scripturâ indicari arbitror, per illud quod dictum est per Prophetam; Nonne Cælum & Terram ego repleo, dicit Dominus? & Cælum mihi Sedes, Terra autem Scabellum pedum meorum; Et quod Salvator cum ait, non esse jurandum neque per Cælum, quia Sedes Dei est, neque per Terram quia Scabellum pedum ejus. Sed & illud quod ait Paulus, Quoniam in ipso Vivimus & Movemur & Sumus. Quomodo enim in Deo Vivimus, & Movemur, & Sumus, nisi quod in Virtute suâ Universum constringit & continet Mundum?* As our own Body is made up of many Members, and contained by

One

One Soul, so do I conceive that the whole World is to be looked upon, as One huge great Animal, which is contained as it were by One Soul, the Vertue and Reason of God. And so much seems to be intimated by the Scripture in sundry places ; as in that of the Prophet, Do not I fill Heaven and Earth ? And again, Heaven is my Throne and the Earth my Footstool. And in that of our Saviour, Swear not at all, neither by Heaven, because it is the Throne of God, nor by the Earth because it is his Footstool. And lastly in that of Paul to the Athenians, For in him we Live and Move, and have our Being. For how can we be said to Live and Move, and have our Being in God, unless because he by his Vertue and Power, does Constringe and Contain the whole World ? And how can Heaven be the Throne of God, and the Earth his Footstool, unless his Vertue and Power fill all things both in Heaven and Earth ? Nevertheless, God is here said by Origen, to be but *Quasi-Anima*, As it were The Soul of the World : As if he should have said, That all the Perfection of a Soul, is to be attributed to God, in respect of the World ; he Quickening and Enlivening all things, as much as if he were the Very Soul of it, and all the Parts thereof were his Living Members. And perhaps the whole Deity ought not to be look'd upon, according to Aristotle's Notion thereof, meerly as *ἀκίνητος ὁ θεός*, an Immoveable Essence, for then it is not conceivable, how it could either Act upon the World, or be Sensible of any thing therein : or to what purpose any Devotional Addresses should be made by us to such an Unaffectible, Inflexible, Rockie and Adamantine Being. Wherefore all the Perfection of a Mundane Soul, may perhaps be attributed to God in some sence, and he called, *Quasi-Anima Mundi*, As it were the Soul thereof : Though St. Cyprian would have this, properly to belong to the Third Hypostasis or Person of the Christian Trinity, viz. The Holy Ghost. But there is something of Imperfection also, plainly cleaving and adhering to this Notion of a Mundane Soul, besides something of Paganity likewise necessarily consequent thereupon, which cannot be admitted by us. Wherefore God, or the Third Divine Hypostasis, cannot be called the Soul of the World in this sence, as if it were so Immerged therein, and so Passive from it, as our Soul is Immerged into, and Passive from its Body. Nor as if the World and this Soul together, made up one Entire Animal, each Part whereof, were incomplete alone by it self. And that God or the Third Hypostasis of the Christian Trinity, is not to be accounted in this Sence properly, the Soul of the World, according to Origen himself, we may learn from these words of his ; *Solius Dei, id est, Patris, & Filii, & Spiritus Sancti, Naturæ, id proprium est ; ut sine Materiali Substantia, & absque ulla Corporeæ adjectionis societate intelligatur subsistere* : It is proper to the Nature of God alone, that is, of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, to subsist without any Material Substance, or Body Vitally United to it. Where Origen affirming, that all Created Souls and Spirits whatsoever, have always some Body or other Vitally United to them, and that it is the Property only of the Three Persons of the Holy Trinity, not to be Vitally United to any Body, as the Soul thereof ; whether this Assertion of his be true or no (which is a thing not here to be discussed) he does plainly hereby declare, that God or the Third Hypostasis of the Trinity, is not to be accounted in a true and proper sence, the Soul of the World. And

*Peri Arch.
L. 1. c. 6.*

In *Timæ.* p. 93,
94.

And it is certain that the more *Refined Platonists*, were themselves also, of this Perswasion; and that their *Third God*, or *Divine Hypostasis*, was neither the Whole World (as supposed to be Animated) nor yet $\psi\chi\eta\ \epsilon\gamma\kappa\omicron\varsigma\mu\omicron\varsigma$, the *Immediate Soul of this Mundane Animal*, but only $\psi\chi\eta\ \upsilon\pi\epsilon\rho\omicron\varsigma\mu\omicron\varsigma$, a *Supermundane Soul*; that is, such a thing as though it Previde over the Whole World, and take Cognizance of all things in it, yet is not properly an *Essential Part* of that *Mundane Animal*, but a Being Elevated above the same. For thus *Proclus* plainly affirmeth, not only of *Amelius* but also of *Porphyrius* himself, who likewise pretended to follow *Plotinus* therein; $\mu\epsilon\lambda\grave{\alpha}\ \delta\ \tau\ \alpha\mu\epsilon\lambda\iota\omicron\upsilon\ \delta\ \pi\omicron\omicron\rho\phi\upsilon\tau\epsilon\omicron\ \omicron\iota\omicron\mu\epsilon\lambda\upsilon\ \tau\omega\ \pi\lambda\omega\tau\iota\omega\varsigma\ \sigma\upsilon\nu\epsilon\delta\iota\epsilon\nu$, $\tau\omega\ \mu\epsilon\lambda\upsilon\ \psi\chi\eta\ \tau\omega\ \upsilon\pi\epsilon\rho\omicron\varsigma\mu\omicron\varsigma\ \alpha\pi\omicron\chi\alpha\lambda\epsilon\iota\ \delta\eta\mu\iota\upsilon\epsilon\rho\omicron\varsigma$, $\tau\ \delta\ \nu\epsilon\nu\ \alpha\upsilon\tau\eta\varsigma$, $\pi\epsilon\rho\epsilon\varsigma\ \delta\ \nu\ \alpha\pi\epsilon\rho\epsilon\gamma\gamma\eta\alpha\iota$, $\tau\ \alpha\upsilon\tau\omicron\upsilon\tau\omicron\varsigma$, $\omega\varsigma\ \epsilon\iota\nu\alpha\iota\ \tau\ \pi\alpha\rho\alpha\delta\iota\gamma\mu\alpha\ \tau\ \delta\eta\mu\iota\upsilon\epsilon\rho\omicron\varsigma\ \kappa\alpha\tau\grave{\alpha}\ \tau\epsilon\tau\omicron\nu$. After *Amelius*, *Porphyrius* thinking to agree with *Plotinus*, calls the *Supermundane Soul*, the *Immediate Opificer or Maker of the World*, and that *Mind or Intellect*, to which it is converted, not the *Opificer himself*, but the *Paradigm thereof*. And though *Proclus* there make a question whether or no, this was *Plotinus* his true meaning, yet *Porphyrius* is most to be credited herein, he having had such an intimate acquaintance with him. Wherefore according to these Three *Platonists*, *Plotinus*, *Amelius*, and *Porphyrius*, the *Third Hypostasis* of the *Platonick Trinity*, is neither the *World*, nor the *Immediate Soul of the Mundane Animal*; but a certain *Supermundane Soul*, which also was $\delta\eta\mu\iota\upsilon\epsilon\rho\omicron\varsigma$ the *Opificer and Creator of the World*, and therefore no *Creature*. Now the *Corporeal World*, being supposed by these *Platonists* also, to be an *Animal*, they must therefore needs acknowledge a Double Soul, one $\psi\chi\eta\ \epsilon\gamma\kappa\omicron\varsigma\mu\omicron\varsigma$, the *Immediate Soul of this Mundane Animal*, and another $\psi\chi\eta\ \upsilon\pi\epsilon\rho\omicron\varsigma\mu\omicron\varsigma$, a *Supermundane Soul*, which was the *Third* in their *Trinity of Gods*, or *Divine Hypostases*, the *Proper and Immediate Opificer of the World*. And the same in all probability, was *Plato's* opinion also, and therefore that Soul, which is the only Deity, that in his *Book of Laws* he undertakes to prove, was $\psi\chi\eta\ \upsilon\pi\epsilon\rho\omicron\varsigma\mu\omicron\varsigma$ a *Supermundane Soul*, and not the same with that $\psi\chi\eta\ \epsilon\gamma\kappa\omicron\varsigma\mu\omicron\varsigma$ that *Mundane Soul*, whose *Genesis* or *Generation* is described in his *Timeus*; the Former of them being a *Principle* and *Eternal*; the Latter made in *Time*, together with the *World*; though said to be Older than it, because in order of *Nature* before it. And thus we see plainly, that though some of these *Platonists* and *Pythagoreans*, either *Misunderstood* or *Depraved*, the *Cabbala of the Trinity*, so as to make the *Third Hypostasis* thereof, to be the *Animated World*, which themselves acknowledged to be, $\pi\omicron\iota\eta\mu\alpha$ and $\delta\eta\mu\iota\upsilon\epsilon\rho\omicron\varsigma\ \mu\epsilon\lambda\upsilon\varsigma$, a *Creature* and *Thing made*; yet others of the more *Refined* of them, supposed this *Third Hypostasis* of their *Trinity*, to be, not a *Mundane* but a *Supermundane Soul*, and $\delta\eta\mu\iota\upsilon\epsilon\rho\omicron\varsigma$, not a *Creature*, but the *Creator or Opificer of the Whole World*.

And as for the *Second Particular proposed*; it was a gross Absurdity in those *Platonists* also, to make the *Second*, in their *Trinity of Gods*, and *Hypostases*, not to be one *God* or *Hypostasis*, but a *Multitude of Gods* and *Hypostases*: as also was that a *Monstrous Extravagancy* of theirs, to suppose the *Ideas*, all of them, to be so many distinct Substances

stances and Animals. Which besides others *Tertullian* in his Book De P. 320. *Pig.* *Anima* thus imputes to *Plato*; Vult *Plato* esse quasdam Substantias Invisibiles, Incorporeales, Supermundiales, Divinas, & Aternas, quas appellat Ideas, id est, Formas & Exempla, & Causas Naturalium istorum manifestorum, & subjacentium Corporalibus: & illas quidem esse Veritates, hæc autem Imagines earum: *Plato* conceiveth, that there are certain Substances, Invisible, Incorporeal, Supermundial, Divine and Eternal; which he calls Ideas, that is, Forms, Exemplars and Causes of all these Natural and Sensible Things, they being the Truths, but the other the Images. Neither can it be denied, but that there are some odd Expressions in *Plato*, sounding that way, who therefore may not be justified in this, nor I think in some other Conceits of his, concerning these Ideas; as when he contends that they are not only the Objects of Science, but also the Proper and Physical Causes of all things here below; as for example, that the Ideas of Similitude and Dissimilitude, are the Causes of the Likeness and Unlikeness of all things to one another by their Participation of them. Nevertheless it cannot be at all doubted, but that *Plato* himself and most of his Followers very well understood, that these Ideas, were all of them, really nothing else but the Noemata or Conceptions, of that one Perfect Intellect, which was their Second Hypostasis; and therefore they could not look upon them in good earnest, as so many Distinct Substances Existing severally and apart by themselves out of any Mind; however they were guilty of some Extravagant Expressions concerning them. Wherefore when they called them, *Essences* or Substances (as they are called in *Philo* ἀναγκασίτατοι σοφίαι the most necessary Essences) their true meaning herein was only this, to signify that they were not such Accidental and Evaniid things, as our Conceptions are, they being the Standing Objects of all Science, at least, if not the Causes also of Existent Things. Again when they were by them sometimes called Animals also, they intended only to signify thereby that they were not meer Dead Forms, like Pictures drawn upon Paper, or Carved Images and Statues. And thus *Amelius* the Philosopher, plainly understood that Passage of *St. John* the Evangelist, concerning the Eternal λόγος, he pointing the Words otherwise than our Copies now do, ὃ γέγονεν ἐν αὐτῷ ζωὴ ἦν, That which was made, in him was Life: this Philosopher glossing after this manner upon it, ἐν ᾧ τὸ γενομένον ζῶν, καὶ ζῶν, καὶ ὃν πεφυκέναι, In whom whatsoever was made, was Living, and Life, and True Being. Lastly no wonder if from Animals these Ideas forthwith became Gods too, to such men, as took all occasions possible to multiply Gods; in which there was also something of that Scholastick Notion, Quicquid est in Deo, est Deus, Whatsoever is in God is God. But the main thing therein, was a piece of Paganick Poetry; these Pagan Theologers being Generally possessed with that Poetick humour of Personating Things and Deifying them. Wherefore though the Ideas were so many Titular Gods to many of the Platonick Pagans, yet did *Julian* himself (for Example) who made the most of them, suppose them all συνυπάρχειν καὶ ἐνυπάρχειν, to Coexist with God and Inexist in him, that is, in the First Mind, or Second Hypostasis of their Trinity.

So Clem. Al.
S. Cyril. S.
Aug. and o-
ther Latins.

Lastly whereas *Proclus* and others of the *Platonists* intermingle Many Particular Gods with those Three Universal Principles or *Hypostases*, of their *Trinity*, as *Noes*, *Minds*, or *Intellects* Superiour to the First Soul; and *Henades* and *Agathotetes*, *Unities* and *Goodnesses* Superiour to the First Intellect too; thereby making those Particular Beings, which must needs be Creatures, Superiour to those *Hypostases* that are Universal and Infinite, and by consequence Creaturizing of them; this Hypothesis of theirs (I say) is altogether Absurd and Irrational also: there being no Created Beings Essentially Good and Wise, but all by Participation, nor any Immovable Natures amongst them whose *ἔσσις* is their *ἐνέργεια*, their Essence their Operation; but all Mutable and Changeable, and probably, as *Origen* and others of the Fathers add, Lapsable and Peccable. *Nulla Natura est, quæ non recipiat Bonum & Malum, Exceptâ Dei Naturâ, quæ Bonorum omnium Fons est; & Christi Sapientia, Sapientiæ enim Fons est, & Sapientia utique Stultitiam recipere non potest; & Justitia est, quæ nunquam profecto Injustitiam capiet; & Verbum est vel Ratio, quæ utique Irrationalis effici non potest; Sed & Lux est, & Lucem certum est quod Tenebræ non comprehendunt. Similiter & Natura Spiritus Sancti, quæ sancta est, non recipit Pollutionem; Naturaliter enim vel Substantialiter Sancta est. Siqua autem alia Natura Sancta est, ex Assumptione hoc vel Inspiratione Spiritus sancti habet, ut sanctificetur, non ex suâ Naturâ hoc possidens, sed ut Accidens; propter quod & decidere potest, quod accidit. There is no Nature, which is not capable both of Good and Evil, excepting only the Nature of God, who is the Fountain of all Good; and the Wisdom of Christ, For he is the Fountain of Wisdom, and Wisdom it self never can receive Folly; he is also Justice it self which can never admit of Injustice and the Reason and Word it self, which can never become Irrational; he is also the Light it self, and it is certain that Darknes cannot comprehend this Light, nor insinuate it self with it. In like manner the Nature of the Holy Ghost, is such as can never receive Pollution, it being Substantially and Essentially Holy. But whatsoever other Nature is Holy, it is only such in way of Participation and by the Inspiration of this Holy Spirit; so that Holiness is not its very Nature and Essence, but only an Accident to it, and whatsoever is but Accidental may fail. All Created Beings therefore having but Accidental Goodness and Wisdom, may Degenerate and fall into Evil and Folly. Which of *Origen's* is all one as if he should have said, there is no such Rank of Beings as *Autogathotetes*, Essential Goodnesses, there being only one Being Essentially Good, or Goodness it self. Nor no such Particular Created Beings existing in Nature, as the *Platonists* call *Noes* neither, that is, *Minds* or *Intellects* Immovable, Perfectly and Essentially Wise, or Wisdom it self, whose *ἔσσις* is their *ἐνέργεια*, whose Essence is their Operation, and who consequently have no Flux at all in them, nor Successive Action; (only the Eternal Word and Wisdom of God being such) who also are absolutely Ununitable to any Bodies. It is true that *Origen* did sometimes make mention of *Noes*, *Minds* or *Intellects*, but it was in another sence, he calling all souls, as first Created by God, and before their Lapse, by that name: which*

was

Peri Archon
L. i. c. 8.
p. 685.

was as much as if he should have said, though some of the Platonists talk much of their *Noes*, yet is there nothing answerable to that name, according to their Notion of them, but the only *Noes* really existing in Nature, are, *Unfallen* but *Peccable Souls*; he often concluding, that the Highest Rank of Created Beings, are indeed no better than those which the Platonists commonly call ψυχαί, or *Souls*. By which *Souls* he understood first of all, Beings in their own nature *Self-moveable*, and *Active*; whereas the *Noes* of the Platonists are altogether *Immoveable* and *above Action*. And then again, such Beings or *Spirits Incorporeal*, as exist not *Abstractly* and *Separately* from all Matter, as the *Noes* of the Platonists were supposed to do, but are *Vitally Unitable to Bodies*, so as together with those Bodies, to compound and make up *One Animal*. Thus, I say, *Origen* conceived even of the *Highest Angelical*, and *Arch-Angelical Orders*, that they were all of them ψυχαί, *Souls* United to Bodies, but such as were *Pure*, *Subtil* and *Ethereal*: however he supposed it not *Impossible* for them to sink down into Bodies, more *Gross* and *Feculent*. And it is certain that many of the *Ancient Christian Writers* concurred with *Origen* herein, that the *Highest Created Spirits* were no *Naked* and *Abstract Minds*, but *Souls* clothed with some *Corporeal Indument*. Lastly, *Origen's Souls* were also supposed to be all of them, endowed with *Liberum Arbitrium* or *Free-Will*, and consequently to be *Self-improvable* and *Self-impairable*; and no Particular Created Spirits to be absolutely in their own Nature *Impeccable*, but *Lapsible* into *Vicious Habits*: Whereas the *Platonick Noes*, are supposed to be such Beings, as could never *Fall* nor *Degenerate*. And the *Generality* of the *Christian Writers* seem'd to have consented or conspir'd with *Origen* in this also, they supposing him who is now the *Prince of Devils*, to have been once an *Angel* of the *Highest Order*. Thus does *St. Jerome* determine; *Solus Deus est, in quem Peccatum non cadit; cetera cum sint Liberi Arbitrii, possunt in utramque partem suam flectere voluntatem*: God is the only Being, that is absolutely incapable of sin, but all other Beings, having *Free Will* in them, may possibly turn their *Will* to either way, that is, to *Evil* as well as to *Good*. It is certain, that God in a sense of *Perfection*, is the most *Free Agent* of all, neither is *Contingent Liberty* Universally denied to him; but here it is made the only *Privilege* of God, that is, of the *Holy Trinity*, to be devoid of *Liberum Arbitrium*, namely as it implieth *Imperfection*, that is, *Peccability* and *Lapsibility*, in it.

It is true that some of the *Platonick Philosophers*, suppose that even in that Rank of Beings called by them *Souls*, though they be not *Essentially Immutable* but all *Self-moveable*, and *Active*, yet there are some of them of so high a Pitch and Elevation, as that they can never *Degenerate*, nor sink down into *Vicious Habits*. Thus *Simplicius* for one; ἀλλὰ αἱ μὲν πρῶται τῆς ψυχῶν, ὅτι προσεχῶς ὑπὸ αὐτὰρ αἰδῶν παραχθῆσονται, καὶ ἔχον τι πρὸς ἐκείνα ὑπερμέτρον, διὰ τὸ μὴ εἶναι ἀκαθάρτους, ἀλλὰ ὀρέσθαι τὸ ἀγαθόν, πλὴν ὡς συγγενὲς πρὸς αὐτὸ, συμφυῆς τε αὐτῷ καὶ ἀναποσπώσας ὀρέγονται, καὶ τὴν αἰρεσιν μονοειδῶς πρὸς ἐκείνο τιταμένω ἔχουσιν, ὥστε πῦρ ἀποκλίνεσθαι πρὸς τὸ χεῖρον· καὶ ἔπερ ἡ προαίρεσις αὐτῶν ἄλλως τοῦ ὄντος αἰρεσις, τάχα καὶ ἂν εἴη προαίρεσις ἐκείνοις; εἰ μή τις αὐτῶν προαίρεσιν

In Epist.
p. 12, 13.

ὡς τὰ πρῶτα ἀγαθὰ αἰετὸς μὲν καλοῖ. But the First and Higheſt of Souls which were Immediately produced from what are Eſſentially Good, although they have ſome abatement in them, they being not Goodneſſes Eſſentially, but deſirous of Good; nevertheless are they ſo near a kin to that Higheſt Good of all, as that they do Naturally and Indivulſively cleave to the ſame, and have their Volitions always uniformly directed towards it, they never declining to the worſer. Inſomuch that if Proæreſis, be taken for the Choofing of one thing before another, perhaps there is no ſuch thing as Proæreſis to be imputed to them, unleſs one ſhould call the choofing of the Firſt Goods, Proæreſis. By theſe higher Souls, Simplicius muſt needs underſtand, either the Souls of the Sun, Moon and Stars, or elſe thoſe of the Superiour Orders of Demoniack or Angelick Beings. Where though he make a Queſtion, Whether Proæreſis or De-liberation belong to them, yet does he plainly imply that they have none at all of that Lubricous Liberum Arbitrium or Free-will belonging to them, which would make them capable of Vice and Immorality as well as Vertue.

But whatever is to be ſaid of this, there ſeems to be no neceſſity at all, for admitting that Aſſertion of Origen's, that all Rational Souls whatſoever, even thoſe of Men and thoſe of the higheſt Angelical Orders are Univerſally of one and the ſame Nature, and have no Fundamental or Eſſential Difference in their Conſtitution; and confequently that all the difference that is now betwixt them, did ariſe only from the Difference of their Demeanour, or Uſe of that Power and Liberty, which they all alike once had. So that Thrones, and Dominions, and Principalities, and Powers, were all made ſuch by their Merits; and Humane Souls though now ſunk ſo low, yet are not abſolutely Uncapable of Commencing Angels, or aſcending to thoſe higheſt Altitudes: as it is not impoſſible, according to him neither, but that the Higheſt Angels alſo, the Seraphim and Cherubim, might in length of time, not only Degenerate into Devils, but alſo ſink down into Humane Bodies. His reaſon for which Monſtrous Paradox is only this, that the Divine Juſtice cannot otherwiſe well be ſalved, but God muſt needs be a προſοπλήνης, an Acceptor of Perſons, ſhould he have Arbitrarily made ſuch vaſt Differences amongſt Intellectual Beings. Which Ground he alſo extendeth ſo far, as to the Humane Soul of our Saviour Chriſt himſelf, as being not Partially appointed to that transcendent Dignity, of its Hypoſtatick Union, but by reaſon of its moſt faithful adherence to the Divine Word and Wiſdom, in a Pre-exiſtent State, beyond all others Souls, which he endeavours thus to prove from the Scripture, Quid dilectionis Perfectionis, & affectus ſinceritas, ei inſeparabilem cum Deo fecerit Unitatem, ita ut non fortuita fuerit, aut cum Perſonæ acceptione, Animæ ejus aſſumptio, ſed Virtutum ſuarum ſibi merito delata; audi ad eum Prophetam dicentem, Dilexiſti Juſtitiam & odiſti iniquitatem; propterea unxit te Deus, Deus tuus, oleo lætitiæ præ participibus tuis: Dilectionis ergo merito ungitur Oleo lætitiæ Anima Chriſti, id eſt, cum Verbo Dei Unum efficitur. Unga namque oleo lætitiæ, non aliud intelligitur quam Spiritu Sancto repleti. Præ Participibus autem dixit; quia non Gratia Spiritus ſicut Prophetis ei data eſt, ſed ipſius Verbi Dei in ea Subſtantialis inerat Plenitudo. That

πρὸς ἀρχῶν,
L. I. c. 6.

the Perfection of Love and Sincerity of Divine Affection, procured to this Soul its Inseparable Union with the Godhead, so that the Assumption of it was neither Fortuitous nor Partial, or with Prosopolepsie (the *Acception of Persons) but bestowed upon it justly for the Merit of its Vertues; hear (saith he) the Prophet thus declaring to him; Thou hast loved Righteousness and hated Iniquity, therefore hath God, even thy God, anointed thee with the oil of Gladness above thy Fellows. The Soul of Christ therefore was anointed with the oil of Gladness or made one with the Word of God, for the Merits of Love and faithful adherence to God; and no otherwise. For to be anointed with the oil of Gladness, here properly signifies nothing else, but to be replenish'd with the Holy Ghost. But when it is said, that he was thus anointed above his Fellows, this intimateth, that he had not the Holy Ghost bestowed upon him, only as the Prophets and other Holy men had, but that the Substantial Fulness of the Word of God dwelt in him. But this Reason of Origen's seems to be very weak, because if there be a Rank of Souls below Humane, specifically differing from the same, as Origen himself must needs confess (he not allowing the Souls of Brutes to have been Humane Souls Lapsed, as some Pythagoreans and Platonists conceived, but renouncing and disclaiming that Opinion as monstrously Absurd and Irrational) there can be no reason given, why there might not be as well other Ranks and Orders of Souls Superiour to those of Men, without the Injustice of Prosopolepsie, as besides *Simplicius*, *Plestinus* and the Generality of other Platonists conceived.

But least of all can we assent to Origen, when from this Principle, that Souls as such, are Essentially endowed with *Liberum Arbitrium* or Free Will and therefore never in their own Nature Impeccable, he infers those Endless Circuits of Souls Upwards and Downwards, and so makes them to be never at rest, denying them any Fixed State of Holiness and Happiness by Divine Grace; such as wherein they might be free from the Fear and Danger of ever losing the same. Of whom *St. Austin* therefore thus, *Illum & propter alia nonnulla, & maxime propter alternantes sine cessatione beatitudines & miserias, & statutis seculorum intervallis ab istis ad illas, atque ab illis ad istas Itus ac Reditus Interminabiles; non immerito reprobavit Ecclesia: quia & hoc quod Misericors videbatur, amisit, faciendo sanctis Veras Miserias, quibus penas luerent, & Falsas Beatitudines, in quibus verum ac securum, hoc est, sine Timore certum, sempiterni boni gaudium, non haberent.* The *Church hath deservedly rejected Origen, both for certain other opinions of his, and especially for those his Alternate Beatitudes and Miseries without end, and for his infinite Circuits, Ascents and Descents of Souls from one to the other, in restless Vicissitudes and after Periods of Time. Forasmuch as hereby he hath quite lost, that very Title of Pitiful or Merciful, which otherwise he seemed to have deserved, by making so many True Miseries for the best of Saints, in which they should successively undergo Punishment and Smart; and none but False Happinesses for them, such as wherein they could never have any True or Secure joy, free from the Fear of losing that Good which they possess. For this Origenical Hypothesis, seems directly contrary to the whole Tenour of the Gospel, promising Eternal and Everlasting Life, to those, who believe in Christ, and Per-

Perseveringly obey him ; 1 *Joh.* 2. *This is the Promise that he hath Promised us, even Eternal Life :* and *Titus* 1. 2. *In hope of Eternal Life, which God that cannot Lye hath promised.* And, *God so loved the World, that he gave his only Begotten Son, that whosoever believeth in him should not perish, but have Everlasting Life :* and left all this should be taken for a Periodical Eternity only, *John* 3. 26. *He that believeth in me shall never die.* And possibly this might be the Meaning of *St. Paul*, 2 *Tim.* 1. 10. when he affirmeth of our Saviour Christ, *That he hath abolished Death, and brought Life and Immortality to Light thorough the Gospel ;* not because he was the First who had discovered and published to the World, the Souls Immortality, which was believed before, not only by all the *Pharisaick Jews*, but also by the Generality of *Pagans* too ; but because these for the most part held their *Endless Circuits and Transmigrations of Souls ;* therefore was he the First who brought *Everlasting Life to Light*, and gave the World assurance, in the Faith of the Gospel, of a *Fixed and Permanent State of Happiness*, and a never fading Crown of Glory to be obtained, *Him that overcometh, will I make a Pillar in the Temple of my God, and he shall go no more out,* *Apoc.* 3. 12.

Now the Reason why we mention'd *Origen* here, was because he was a Person, not only thoroughly skilled in all the *Platonick Learning*, but also one who was sufficiently addicted to those *Dogmata*, he being commonly conceived to have had too great a kindness for them ; and therefore had there been any Solidity of Reason, for either those *Particular Henades*, or *Noes* of theirs, Created Beings above the Rank of Souls, and consequently according to the *Platonick Hypothesis*, Superiour to the *Universal Psyche* also, (which was the *Third Hypostasis* in their *Trinity*, and seems to answer to the *Holy Ghost* in the *Christian* :) *Origen* was as likely to have been favourable thereunto, as any other. But it is indeed manifestly repugnant to Reason, that there should be any such *Particular*, that is, *Created Henades*, and *αὐταρχαὶ ὁντως* *Essential Goodnesses*, Superiour to the *Platonick First Mind*, or any such *Noes*, and *αὐτοσοφίαι*, *Essential Wisdoms*, Superiour to their *Universal Psyche*, it being all one, as if in the *Christian Trinity* ; besides the First Person or the *Father*, one should suppose a Multitude of *Particular Paternities* Superiour to the *Second*, and also besides that *Second Person*, the *Son* or *Word*, a Multitude of *Particular Sons* or *Words*, all Superiour to the *Third Person* the *Holy Ghost*. For this is plainly to make a Breach upon the Deity ; to confound the Creator and Creature together ; and to suppose a company of such *Creaturely-Gods*, as imply a manifest contradiction in the very Notion of them.

Wherefore we shall here observe, that this was not the *Catholic Doctrine* of the *Platonick School*, that there were such *Henades* and *Noes*, but only a *private Opinion* of some Doctors amongst them, and that of the latter sort too. For First, as for those *Henades*, as there are not the least Footsteps of them to be found any where in *Plato's Writings*, so may it be plainly gather'd from them, that he supposed no such thing. Forasmuch as in his *Second Epistle*, where

where he describes his *Trinity*, he doth not say of the First, *ᾧ τὸ πρῶτον τὰ πρῶτα* about the First are the First, as he doth of the Second *ᾧ τὰ δευτέρω* *ᾧ τὰ τρίτῳ*, and of the Third *τῷ τῷ τῷ* *ᾧ τὰ τέταρτα*, about the Second are the Second, and about the Third the Third; but of the First he saith, *ᾧ ἡ πάντων βασιλέα πάντ' ἔστι, καὶ ἐκείνους ἐνεκα πάντων, καὶ ἐκείνο αἰτιον ἀπάντων τῶν καλῶν*, About the King of all things, are all things; and for his sake are all Things; and he is the cause of all Things that are good: Wherefore here are no Particular *Henades* and *Autoagathotetes*, *Unities* and *Goodnesses*, about the First *τὸ ἓν* and *τὰγαθόν*, One and Good; but all Good things are about him, he being both the *Efficient* and *Final Cause* of all. Moreover *Plotinus* throughout all his Works discovers not the Least suspicion neither, of these *Henades* and *Agathotetes*, this Language being scarcely to be found any where in the Writings of any Platonists, Seniour to *Proclus*: who also as if he were conscious that this *assumentum* to the *Platonick Theology*, were not so defensible a thing, doth himself sometime as it were tergiversate and decline it by equivocating in the Word *Henades*, taking them for the *Ideas*, or the *Intelligible Gods* before mentioned. As perhaps *Synesius* also uses the Word, in his First Hymn, when God is called by him

Ἐνοτήτων ἑνὸς ἀγνῷ,
Μονάδων μόνος τε πρῶτη.

The First *Henad* of *Henades*; and the First *Monad* of *Monades*: That is, The First *Idea* of Good, and Cause of all the *Ideas*. And as for the Particular *Noes*, *Minds* or *Intellects*, these indeed seem to have crept up somewhat before *Plotinus* his time, he besides the Passage before cited, elsewhere giving some Intimations of them, as *Enn. 6. L. 4. c. 4. P. 847, 848.* *ἀλλὰ πῶς ψυχὰι πολλαὶ καὶ νοὶ πολλοὶ; But how can there be many Souls, and many Minds, and not only one, but many Entia?* From which and other places of his, *Ficinus* concluded *Plotinus* himself really to have asserted, above the Rank of Souls, a Multitude of other Substantial Beings, called *νόες* or *νοί*, *Minds* or *Intellects*. Nevertheless *Plotinus* speaking of them so uncertainly, and making such an Union betwixt all these *Noes*, and their Particular Respective Souls; it may well be question'd, whether he really took them, for any thing else, but the Heads and Summities of those Souls; he supposing that all Souls, have a Mind in them, the Participation of the First Mind; as also a Unity too, the Participation of the First Unity; whereby they are capable of being conjoyn'd with both: *ἡ δὲ νῦν ἐν ἡμῖν εἶναι, καὶ νῦν ἀρχὴ, καὶ αἰτία, καὶ θεὸν. ὥσπερ τὸ κέντρον ἐφ' ἑαυτῇ ἔστιν. ἔχει ἡ καὶ ἑκάστη τῶν ἐν ταύτῃ κληθ' ὁμῶς ἐν αὐτῇ. καὶ αἱ γεγραμμέναι τὸ ἴδιον προσφέρουσι πρὸς ταῦτα. τὰ γὰρ τοιαῦτα τῶν ἐν ἡμῖν ἡμεῖς ἐφαπτόμεθα, καὶ σύνεσμεν, καὶ ἀνηγεθήμεθα, ἐνδεχόμεθα δὲ, οἱ δὲ συνδυασμῶν ἐκεί. There must needs be Mind in us, as also the Principle and Cause of Mind, God. Not as if he were divided, but because though remaining in himself, yet he is also considered in Many, as capable to receive him. As the Centre, though it remain in itself, yet is it also in every Line, drawn from the Circumference, each of them, by a certain Point of its own, touching it. And by some such Thing in us, is it, that we are capable of touching God, and of being United*

to him, when we direct our Intention towards him. And in the next Chapter he adds, ἔχουσιν τὰ τοιαῦτα ἐν αὐτῷ λαμβανόμενοι, ἀλλ' ἀγνοοῦνται ταῖς τοιαύταις ἐνεργείαις τὰ πολλὰ. οἱ δ' ὁδὸς ἐνεργεῖσιν. ὁκνεῖν μὲν ἔστιν ἐν ταῖς ἐαυτῶν ἐνεργείαις αἰεὶ, νῆς ὃ ἐν τῷ πρὸς νῆς ἐν ἐαυτῷ, &c. That though we have these things, in us, yet do we not perceive them, being for the most part idle and asleep as to these higher Energies; as some never at all exercise them. However those do always act; Mind, and that which is before Mind, Unity; but every thing which is in our Souls, is not perceived by us unless come to the Whole, when we dispose our selves towards it, &c. Where Plotinus seems to make, the Noes or Minds, to be nothing else, but something in Souls, whereby they partake of the First Mind. And it is said of Porphyrius, who was well acquainted with Plotinus his Philosophy that he quite discarded and rejected these Noes or Intellekts, as Substances really distinct from the First Mind, and separate from Souls. And it is certain that such Minds as these, are no where plainly mentioned by Plato, he speaking only of Minds in Souls, but not of any Abstract and Separate Minds save only one. And though some might think him to have given an Intimation of them in his δευτέρῳ ὡς τὰ δευτέρῳ, (before mentioned) his Second about the Second Things, or Second Things about the Second; yet by these may very well be understood, the Ideas; as by the Third Things about the Third, all Created Beings. Wherefore we may conclude, that this Platonick or rather Pseudo-Platonick Trinity, which confounds the Differences betwixt God and the Creature, and that probably in favour of the Pagan Polytheism and Idolatry; is nothing so agreeable to Reason it self, as that Christian Trinity before described, which distinctly declares how far the Deity goes, and where the Creature begins: namely, that the Deity extends so far as to this Whole Trinity of Hypostases; and that all other things whatsoever, this Trinity of Persons only excepted, are truly and properly their Creatures, produced by the joynt concurrence and Influence of them all, they being really but One God,

But it is already manifest, that all the forementioned Depravations and Adulterations of that Divine Cabbala of the Trinity, and that Spurious Trinity described, (which because asserted by some Platonists, was called Platonical, in way of distinction from the Christian) cannot be justly charged neither upon Plato himself, nor yet upon all his Followers Universally. But on the contrary we shall now make it appear, that Plato and some of the Platonists, retained much of the Ancient Genuine Cabbala, and made a very near approach to the True Christian Trinity; forasmuch as their Three Hypostases, distinguish'd from all their other Gods, seem to have been none of them accounted Creatures, but all other things whatsoever the Creatures of them.

First therefore we affirm, that Plato himself, does in the beginning of his *Timæus*, very carefully distinguish betwixt God and the Creature, he determining the Bounds between them, after this manner: ἔστιν ἔν ὃ κατ' ἐμὴν δόξαν πρῶτον διαμετέον τάδε. τί τὸ ὄν μὲν αἰεὶ, ἡβέσιν ὃ ἐκ ἔχον· καὶ τί τὸ γινόμενον μὲν, ὃν ὃ εἰδέσθαι· τὸ μὲν ὃ νοῦς μετὰ λόγῳ ἀεὶ ληπτόν, αἰεὶ καὶ ταῦτα ὄν· τὸ δ' αὖ δόξῃ μετ' αἰσθησεὶς ἀλόγῳ, δοξαστὸν, γινόμενον

γινόμενον ἢ ἀπολλύμενον, ὅτις ἡ ἀθάνατος οὐ· πᾶν δ' αὖ τὸ γινόμενον,
 ἢ αὖτις τινὸς ἐξ ἀνάγκης γίνεσθαι. We being here to treat, con-
 cerning the Universe, judge it necessary to begin with a Distinction,
 betwixt that which always Is, and hath no Ortus or Generation; and
 that which is Made, but never truly Is. The Former of which, being
 always like it self and the same, is comprehensible by Intellection with
 Reason, or is the Object of Knowledge; the latter of them, that which
 is Made and Perisheth, but never truly Is, is not properly Knowable,
 but Opinable only, or the Object of Opinion together with Irrational
 Sense. Now every thing that is made must of necessity be made by some Cause.
 The reason why Plato being to treat of the Universe, begins here with
 this Distinction, was, as Proclus well observes, because, *ἐν ταῖς κοιναῖς*
ἡμῶν ἐνοιαῖς ἀποκρίσται, τὸ εἶναι τι αἰεὶ οὐ. It is either one of our Common
 Notions, or a thing Mathematically Demonstrable, that there must be some-
 thing Eternal, or which was never Made, but alwayes was, and had no
 Beginning. And it is evident by Sense and experience that all things
 are not such, but that some things are Made and Perish again, or Gene-
 rated and Corrupted. Now the Latter Platonists, being strongly pos-
 sessed with a Prejudice, of the World's Eternity; or that it had no
 Beginning, have offered strange violence to Plato's Text in this place,
 and wrested his words to quite a different sence from what he in-
 tended; as if by his τὸ γινόμενον That which is Made, he did not
 at all mean, That which had a Beginning, but only, that whose Du-
 ration is, Flowing and Successive or Temporary, which might not-
 withstanding be without Beginning; and as if he supposed the whole
 Corporeal World to be such, which though it hath a Successive and
 Temporary Duration, yet was without any Beginning. And the Cur-
 rent ran so strong this way, that even Boetius, that Learned Christian
 Philosopher, was himself also carried away with the force thereof, he
 taking it for granted likewise, that Plato held the Eternity of the
 World in this sence, that is, its Being without Beginning, *Non rectè qui-*
dam. (saith he) *qui cum audiunt visum Platoni, Mundum hunc nec habuisse*
Initium Temporis, nec habiturum esse Defectum; hoc modo Conditori
Conditum Mundum fieri Coeternum putant. Aliud est enim, per In-
terminabilem duci vitam, quod Mundo Plato tribuit; aliud Intermina-
bilis Vita totam pariter complexum esse praesentiam; quod Divina Men-
tis proprium esse manifestum est. Neque Deus, Conditis rebus Antiquior
videri debet, Temporis Quantitate, sed Simplicis potius proprietate Natu-
ræ. Some when they hear, Plato to have held, that the World had no
 beginning, nor shall never have an end, do not rightly from thence in-
 fer, That Plato therefore made the World Co-Eternal with God, because
 it is One Thing always to Be, and another thing, to possess an Endless
 Life all at once; which is proper to the Divine Mind. Neither ought
 God to be thought Older than the World, in respect of Time; but only
 in Respect of the Simplicity of his Nature. To which purpose he adds
 afterwards, *Itaque si dignarebus Nomina velimus imponere, Platonem*
sequentes, Deum quidem Eternum, Mundum verò dicemus esse Perpetuum:
 Therefore, if we would give proper Names to things agreeable to their
 Natures, following Plato, we should say, That God was Eternal; but the
 World only Perpetual. But as this Doctrine of the latter Platonists,
 quite frustrates Plato's Design in this place, which was to prove, or

Consol. Phil.
 L. 5. Pro. 6^a

assert a *God*, because if the World had no beginning, though its Duration be never so much Successive, yet would it not follow from thence, that therefore it must needs have been made by some other Cause; so is it directly contrary to that Philosopher's own Words; himself there declaring, that by his τὸ γινόμενον, *Ortum*, or *That which is Made* he did not understand only, That whose Duration is Successive, but also τὸ γενέσθαι ἀρχὴν ἔχον, *That which had a beginning of its Generation*, and τὸ ἀπ' ἀρχῆς τινος ἀρξάμενον, *That which begun from a certain Epocha of Time*; or *that which Once was not*, and therefore must needs be brought into being by some other Cause. So that Plato there plainly supposed, all *Temporary Beings*, once to have had a Beginning of their Duration, as he declareth in that very *Timæus* of his, that *Time it self was not Eternal*, or without Beginning, but *Made together with the Heaven or World*; and from thence does he infer, that there must of necessity be, another *Eternal being*, viz. such as hath both a *Permanent Duration*, and was without Beginning, and was the Cause both of *Time* and the *World*: for as much as nothing can possibly be made without a Cause; that is, nothing which once was not, could of it self come into Being, but must be produced by some other thing; and so at last we must needs come, to something which had no Beginning. Wherefore Plato, thus taking it for granted, that whatsoever hath a *Temporary and Flowing Duration*, was not without Beginning; as also that whatsoever was without Beginning, hath a *Permanent Duration* or *Standing Eternity*; does thus state the Difference betwixt *Uncreated* and *Created Beings*, or betwixt *God* and *Creature*: namely, that *Creature* is That whose, *Duration* being *Temporary* or *Successive*, once had a Beginning; and this is his, τὸ γινόμενον μὲν, ὃν ἡ ὁδὸς ποτε, *That which is Made, but never truly Is*, and that which ὑπ' αἰτίας τινος ἔξ ἀνάγκης γίνεσθαι; *Must of necessity be Produced by some Cause*; but that whatsoever is without Beginning, and hath a *Permanent Duration*, is *Uncreated* or *Divine*; which is his τὸ ὃν μὲν ἀεί, ἡ δὲ οὐκ ἔχειν, *That which always Is, and hath no Generation, nor was ever Made*. Accordingly as *God* is styled in the Septuagint Translation, of the Mosaick Writings, ὁ ὢν, *He that Truly is*.

Now as for this αἰδιον ὄντα or φῶς, *this Eternal Nature*, which alwayes *Is*, and was never *Made*, Plato speaks of it, not Singularly only, as we Christians now do, but often in the Paganick way Plurally also; as when in this very *Timæus*, he calls the World, τῆς αἰδίου θεῶν γεγονὸς ἀγαλμα, *a Made or Created Image, of the Eternal Gods*. By which *Eternal Gods* he there meant doubtless that τὸ πρῶτον, and τὸ δεύτερον, and τὸ τρίτον, *that First, and Second, and Third*; which in his Second Epistle to *Dionysius*, he makes to be the *Principles of All things*; that is, his *Trinity of Divine Hypostases*, by whose Concurrent Efficiency, and according to whose Image and Likeness, the whole World was made; as *Plotinus* also plainly declareth in these words of his before cited, ἑστὸς μὲν ὁ κόσμος εἰκὼν αἰεί εἰκονιζόμενος, ἐσμὸς τῶν μὲν τῶν πρώτων καὶ τῶν δευτέρων, καὶ τῶν τρίτων. *This World is an Image always Iconized, or perpetually Renewed* (as the Image in a Glass is) *of that First, Second, and Third Principle, which are always Standing*; that is, fixed in Eternity, and were never Made. For thus *Eusebius* records, that

that the Ancient Interpreters of Plato expounded this First, Second and Third of his in the forementioned Epistle, of a *Trinity of Gods*; ταῦτα οἱ τ' Πλάτωνα διασαφεῖν πηρώμενοι, ὅτι τὸν Πρῶτον Θεὸν ἀνάγκη; Pr. Ev. L.ii. ὅτι τὸ Δεῦτερον αἴτιον, καὶ Τρίτον τὴν τὸν κόσμον Ψυχὴν, Θεὸν Τρίτον καὶ αὐτῶν ἐκτιθέμενοι εἶναι. These things do the Interpreters of Plato refer, to the First God; and to the Second Cause; and to the Third the Soul of the World; they calling this also the Third God. Wherefore we think there is good reason to conclude, that those *Eternal or Uncreated Gods* of Plato in his *Timæus*, whose *Image or Statue* this whole Generated or Created World is said by him to be, were no other than his *Trinity of Divine Hypostases*, the *Makers or Creators* thereof. And it was before (as we conceive) rightly guessed, that *Cicero* also was to be understood of the same *Eternal Gods*, as *Platonizing*, when he affirmed; *A Diis omnia à Principio facta*, That all things were at first made by the Gods, and *à Providentiâ Deorum, Mundum & omnes Mundi partes constitutas esse*, That the World and all its Parts were constituted by the Providence of the Gods.

But that the *Second Hypostasis* in Plato's *Trinity*, viz. *Mind or Intellect*, though said to have been Generated, or to have Proceeded by way of *Emanation* from the First called *Tagathon*, The Good; was notwithstanding unquestionably acknowledged, to have been *Eternal* or without *Beginning*, might be proved by many express Testimonies of the most Genuine Platonists; but we shall here content our selves only with Two, one of *Plotinus* writing thus concerning it, *Enn. 3. L. 1. c. 6.* ἀπαρτὸν ὃ ἡμῶν ἔσται γενεὴς ἢ ἐν χρόνῳ, τ' λόγον ὡς τῶν αἰεὶ ὄντων ποιημένοις, &c. Let all Temporal Generation here, be quite banished from our thoughts, whilst we treat of things Eternal, or such as alwayes are, we attributing Generation to them only in respect of Causality and Order, but not of Time. And though *Plotinus* there speak particularly of the *Second Hypostasis* or *Nous*, yet does he afterwards extend the same also to the *Third Hypostasis* of that *Trinity*, called *Psyche*, or the Mundane Soul; which is there said by him likewise to be the *Word of the Second*, as that *Second* was the *Word of the First*, καὶ τὴν γυνώμενον ἀπὸ κρείττωνος Νῆς, Νῆς εἶναι, καὶ κρείττων ἀπάντων Νῆς, ὅτι πάντα μετ' αὐτῶν, ὅιον καὶ ἡ ψυχὴ λόγου νῆς, καὶ ἐνέργειά τις, ὥστε αὐτὴς ἐκείνης, That which is Generated from what is better than Mind, can be no other than Mind, because Mind is the Best of all things, and every thing else is after it, and Junior to it, as *Psyche* or Soul, which is in like manner the *Word of Mind*, and a certain *Energy* thereof, as *Mind* is the *Word and Energy of the First Good*. The other Testimony is of *Porphyrinus*, cited by *S. Cyril* out of the Fourth Book of his *Philosophick History*, where he sets down the Doctrine of Plato after this manner, εἰποῦσι Πλάτωνος ὡς τὸ Ἄγαθόν ἕκαστος ἀπὸ ὃ τὸς S. Cyril. C. τρέπον τινὰ ἀνθρώποις ἀνεπινόητον νῦν γενέσθαι τὴν ὅλον καὶ ἐαυτῶν ὑφεστῶ. Ful. L. 1. p. τα, ἐν ᾗ ὃ τὰ ὅλης ὄντα, καὶ ἡ πάντα εἶσα τῶν ὄντων. ὃ ὃ καὶ πρῶτος καλὸν καὶ αὐτοκαλόν, παρ' ἐαυτοῦ καλονύτης ἔχον τὸ εἶδος. προῦλθε ὃ προαιώνιον ἀπ' αὐτῆς τὸ δεῦτερον ἀρρημένον, αὐτογενὲς ὡν καὶ αὐτοπάτωρ. ὃ γὰρ ἐκείνης κινούμενος πρὸς γενεὴν τὴν τὸς ἢ προῦλθε γίγνεται, ἀλλὰ τότε παρελθόντος αὐτογενὸς ἐκ δεῦς, παρελθόντος ὃ ἐκ ἀπ' ἀρχῆς τινος χρονικῆς; ὅπως γὰρ χρόνος ἦν. ἀλλὰ ὅτε χρόνος γινόμενος πρὸς αὐτὸν ὅτι π ὁ χρόνος, ἀ-
P P P 2 χρόνος

χρὸν ὃ ἀεὶ καὶ μόνος αἰώνιος ὁ νῦν. Plato thus declareth concerning the First Good, That from it was Generated a certain Mind Incomprehensible to Mortals; in which subsisting by it self, are contained the things that truly are, and the Essences of all Beings. This is the First Fair, and Pulchritude it self, which proceeded or sprung out of God from all Eternity as its Cause, but notwithstanding after a peculiar manner, as Self-begotten, and as its Own-Parent. For it was not begotten from that as any way moved towards its Generation; but it proceeded from God as it were Self-begottenly. And that not from any Temporal beginning, there being as yet no such thing as Time. Nor when Time was afterwards made, did it any way affect him; for Mind is alwayes Timeles, and alone Eternal. Here besides the Eternity of Mind or Intellect, the Second Divine Hypostasis in the Platonick Trinity, there are other strange and unusual expressions concerning it; for though it be acknowledged to have been Generated from the First Original Deity, yet is it called αὐτοπατὴρ and αὐτογέννητος, Its Own-Parent, and its Own-Offspring, and said to have sprung out, αὐτογένως Self-begottenly.

En. 5. L. i.
c. 6.

Now because this is so great a Riddle or Mystery, it is worth the while to consider its true meaning and the ground thereof; which is thus declared by Porphyrius. Mind though it sprung from the First Good or Supreme Deity from Eternity, yet is it said to be Self-Begotten, because it did not spring from that, as any wayes moved towards its Generation, but as alwayes standing still or quiescent. Which Doctrine was before delivered by Plotinus after this manner, ὃ καὶ νῦν φασὶν γινέσθαι, εἰ ὃ καὶ νῦν ἐστὶν αὐτῷ τὴν γνῶσιν, τέλει τὸν ἀπ' ἐαυτοῦ τὸ γινόμενον μετὰ τὴν κίνησιν ἀν γνῶσιν, καὶ ὃ δίδωκεν. Δεῖ ἐν αἰωνίῳ ὄντος, εἰ δίδωκεν μετ' αὐτὸ, ὃ προγενέστατος, ὃ δὲ βελονθέντος, ὃ δὲ ὅλας καὶ νῦν ἐστὶν, ὑποσυνῶν αὐτῷ. That which was immediately generated from the First, did not proceed from it as any wayes moved towards its Generation, because then it would not have been the Second, but the Third after that Motion. Wherefore if there be any Second after that First Good, it must needs proceed from that First, as remaining Immoveable, and not so much as actively consenting thereto, nor willing it, which would be Motion. Now this in Porphyrius his Language, is paraphrased to be, a Being produced from the First Good or Original Deity, αὐτογένως Self-Begottenly, or in a way of Self-Generation. But the plain meaning thereof, seems to be no other than this, that though this Second Divine Hypostasis, did indeed proceed from the First God, yet was it not produced thence after a Creaturely, or in a Creating Way, by the arbitrary will and Command thereof, or by a particular Fiat of that Supreme Deity, but by way of Natural and Necessary Emanation. Neither was Porphyrius singular in this Language, we finding the very same expression, of αὐτοπατὴρ and αὐτογέννητος Self-Parent and Self-Begotten, in Iamblichus his Mysteries, where it is likewise by him applied not to the First Principle of all, but to a Second Divine Hypostasis, ἀπὸ ἧς τὸ ἐνὸς τῶν τῶν, ὃ ἀντικεινὸς θεὸς ἐκ τῶν ἑξελάμψε, διὸ καὶ αὐτοπατὴρ καὶ αὐτογέννητος. From this One, the Self-sufficient God, made himself to shine forth into light; and therefore is he called Sui-Pater, and Seipso-Genitus, his own Father, and Self-begotten. But of this God or Divine Hypostasis in Iamblichus more afterward. We cannot Justifie such kind of Language as this in the Christian Trinity, because we

we have no warrant for it from the Scripture; though we are not ignorant that some late Divines have ventured to call the Christian *Logos*, after the same manner *αὐτὸς Θεός*, and *ex seipso Deum*, God from himself.

Dionysius Petavius having rightly declared the Doctrine of *Arius* after this manner, That the Father was the only Eternal God, and that the Son or Word, was a *Creature* made by him in Time, and out of nothing; that is, after he had not been, produced into Being; subjoyns these Words, *In ea verò professione, quod supra memoravi, planissime constat, Germanum Platonium Arium extitisse.* From the profession of this Doctrine, it is most undeniably manifest (what was before affirmed) that *Arius* was a German or Genuine Disciple of *Plato's*. But from what we have now cited out of *Plato* himself, and others of his most Genuine Followers, it is certain, that *Petavius* (though otherwise Learned and Industrious) was herein grossly mistaken, and that *Arius* was no Platonist at all. And indeed for either *Plato* or *Plotinus*, to have denied the Eternity of that Second Hypostasis of his, called *Nous* or *Logos*, and the Son of the First; would have been all one as if they should have denied the Eternity of *Wisdom* and *Understanding* it self; because according to them, this Second Hypostasis is Essentially nothing but *αὐτοσοφία*, Original *Wisdom* it self, and consequently that very *Wisdom*, by which God himself is wise. Which how far, or in what sense it is true, we do not here dispute. Nevertheless *Athanasius* seems to have been fully of the same Opinion, with them herein, from this passage of his, *καὶ σοφία ἡ ἀνοητὰ ἔστιν ὁ κύριος, ἡ ἐν ἑαυτῇ ἀλλης σοφίας ἀδύνατος, ἀλλὰ μόνου ἑαυτοῦ. ἢ ἡ τοῦ παντός πεποίηκεν ὁ πατήρ, &c.* Our Lord is both *Wisdom* and *Truth*, Neither is he Second from any other *Wisdom*; but it is he alone, by whom the Father made all things. And again, *ἔτι τὸ λόγος ἔστιν ὁ τὸ λόγος πατήρ. For the Father of the Word, is not properly himself the Word.* And *ἐν ἡν λόγος ὁ τὸ λόγον προέμενον, ἡν τὸ ὁ λόγος πρὸς τὸ θεόν. σοφία γεννῆσαι ὁ κύριος. ἐν ἡν ἐν σοφία ὁ τὸν σοφίαν ἀνέλες ἐστὶν τὸ ἡμῖν, φῶς, ἢ προέχαιρεν.* That was not *Word* which produced the *Word*, for the *Word* was with God. The Lord is *Wisdom*, therefore that was not *Wisdom*, which produced *Wisdom*, that speaks thus of her self, *His delight was with me.* But those latter Words, he citeth with approbation out of *Dionysius* Bishop of *Alexandria*. And the same *Athanasius* affirmeth, *Arius* on the contrary, to have maintained, That there was another *Word* and *Wisdom*, Senior to that *Word* and *Wisdom* in our Saviour Christ. To conclude, no Platonist in the World, ever denied the Eternity of that *Nous* or Universal Mind, which is the Second Hypostasis of their Trinity; but on the contrary, as hath been already observed, some of them seemed rather to attribute too much to it, in calling it *αὐτοπατὴρ* and *αὐτογονος*, its Own-Parent and its Own-Off-spring, as that which was *Self-Begotten*, though this but in a certain Mystical sense, they otherwise not denying it to have proceeded also, from the First Good, and to be the Off-spring thereof. Wherefore *Plato*, who supposed the World not to have been Eternal, asserting the Eternity of that Second Hypostasis of his Trinity, thereby plainly made it to be no *Creature*, according to *Athanasius* his own Doctrine, *εἰ ἀίδιος ἔστιν ὁ υἱός, ἐν τῷ κατὰ ἑαυτὸν εἰς τὸ κατὰ ἑαυτὸν τῆς ἐκείνου, ἐν τῷ ἀίδιῳ* Page 119.

αἰδιος. If the Son be Eternal, he was no Creature; and on the contrary, if he be a Creature, he was not Eternal.

Neither is there any force at all in that Testimony of Macrobius, which Petavius urgeth to the Contrary; wherein the First Cause is said, *De se Mentem Creasse, to have Created Mind from it self*; and again this Mind, *Animam de se Creasse, to have Created from it self Soul*; because it is certain, that these Ancient Pagans, did not then so strictly confine that Word *Creare*, (as we Christians now do) to that narrow Sence and Notion, of the *Production of Things in Time*; but used it generally, for all manner of *Production or Efficiency*. But the chief Ground of Petavius his mistake herein, besides his Prejudice against Platonism in general, was his not distinguishing betwixt that *Spurious Trinity* of some Platonists, wherein the Third *Hypostasis*, was the *Whole Animated World*, (which gave him occasion to write thus, *Tertius verò Deus manifestè Creatus ab iisdem Platoniciis putatur, quem ὁ πρίμῳ nominant*;) and that other Doctrine of those, who made it not to be the World it self, that is a Creature, but the *Opificer or Creator* thereof.

But we grant, that there may be some more reason to make a Question, whether Plato himself held the Eternity of the *Mundane Soul* (commonly said to be the *Third Hypostasis* of his *Trinity*) or no; because in his *Timæus*, though he acknowledged it to be *Senior* to the World; yet does he seem to attribute a *Temporary Generation or Nativity* to it. Nevertheless it is no way probable, that Plato's *Third Principle* of all things, in his Epistle to *Dionysius*, and that *Psyche or Soul* of his, which is the only God, that in his Tenth *De Legibus* he goes about to prove against the Atheists; should ever not have been: and therefore it is most reasonable to compound this business, thus, by supposing with Plotinus and others, that Plato held a *Double Psyche or Soul*, one ἐνκόσμιον or *Mundane*, which is as it were the Concrete Form of this corporeal World; whereby this World is properly made an Animal, and a *Second or Created God*; Another ὑπερένκοσμιον, *Supramundane*, or *Separate*; and which is not so much the *Form*, as the *Artificer of the World*. The First of which Two, Plotinus calling it the *Heavenly Venus*, thus describeth; τὴν ἢ ἑσθλὴν λεγόμενῳ, ἢ καὶ Κερὸν νῦν ὄντος κόσμου, ἀνάγκη ψυχὴν θηοτάτῳ εἶναι, ἐκδὸς δὲ αὐτῇ ἀκρόατον ἀκμῶντος, μέναισαν ἄνω ὡς μὴ ἢ εἰς τὰ τῆδε εἰσεῖναι, μὴτε ἐσελίσσασθαι, μὴτε δυναμένην, ὅτι ὡς φύσεως μὴ κατὰ τὰ κατὰ φύσιν βαλὴν. καὶ εἰς τὴν πινὰ ὑπόστασιν, καὶ ἀμέτοχον ὕλης εἶναι. ὅθεν αὐτῷ τὰς ἡνίκα ὄντο, τὰς ἀμάρτας εἶναι ἢ καὶ τὸν ἄντικθ' ἀδικίας, καὶ δ' αἰμονα εἶποι, ἀμύλλον εἶναι, καὶ κατὰ τὴν ἐφ' ἑαυτῆς, δεσ. ὅθεν καὶ ἂν ἐκπέσοι, νῦν δὲ χρηστέμεν πολὺ μᾶλλον, ἢ ἡλίου ἂν ἔχοι δὲ αὐτῇ, ὅσον αὐτὸν ἐξελάμπει φῶς, εἰς αὐτὸν συνηρημένον. ἐφεπομένην ἢ τὰς Κερῶν, ἢ εἰ βέλῃ τὰς πᾶσι τῷ Κερῶν ἑσθλῶν, ἀνέστησι τι πρὸς αὐτὸν καὶ ἀμείωδι, καὶ ἐραδιῶσα ἔρωτα ἐγγίνοι. This Heavenly Venus, which they affirm to have been begotten from Saturn, that is from a Perfect Mind or Intellect, must needs be that most Divine Soul (the Third Archical Hypostasis) which being immediatly begotten, pure from that which is pure, alwayes remains above, so that it neither can nor will ever descend down to these lower things, so as to be immersed in them: it being of such

En. 3. L. 5.
c. 2.

such a nature, as is not inclinable to sink or lapse downward. A certain Separate Substance, which doth not at all partake of Matter, as the fable intimated, when it called it Motherless; and therefore may it well be styled by us, not a Demon but a God. Whence it comes to pass, that this Soul can never fall, it being much more closely united and connected with that Immoveable Mind or Intellect, than that Light which is circumsufed about the Sun, is connected with the Sun. This Venus therefore following Chronus, or rather the Father of Chronus Uranus, atting towards it, and being enamoured with it, begat Love. *χωριστὴν δὲ ἐκείνῳ τῷ ψυχῷ λέγοντες, τῷ πρώτῳ ἐλλάμπυσαν τὰς ὁρατὰς, χωριστὴν δὲ τὴν ἑρῶτα τῶτον συνόμεθα.* Moreo^{er} as we call this Soul it self Separate, so is this Love of it, or begotten by it, a separate Love. After which he speaks of another Soul of the World, which is not separate from it, but closely conjoyned therewith, he calling it, a Lower Venus and Love; namely, that other Venus which in the Fable, is said to have been begotten from Jupiter himself (the Superiour Soul of the World) and Dione, a Watery Nymph. We conclude therefore, that though this Lower Mundane Soul, might according to Plato, have a Temporary production together with the World, or before it; yet that other Superiour and most Divine Soul, which Plotinus calls the Heavenly Venus and Love, the Son of Chronus without a Mother, and which was truly the Third Hypostasis of Plato's Trinity, was Eternal, and without Beginning. And thus according to the forementioned Principle of Athanasius, none of these Three Hypostases of Plato's Trinity, were Creatures, but all of them Divine and Uncreated.

Which to make yet more evident, we shall further observe, First that Plato himself in that Second Epistle of his to Dionysius, after he had mentioned his First, Second, and Third; that is, his Trinity of Divine Hypostases, immediately Subjoyns these Words, *ἡ ἐν ἀνθρώπῳ ψυχῇ, ὡς ἐν ταῖς αὐτὰς ὁρῶνται μαθεῖν πῶς ἅπασα ὄρεται, βλέπουσα εἰς τὰ αὐτῆς συγκύου, ἐν ᾧ ἰκανῶς ἔχει· τὴν δὲ βασιλείαν πέρι, καὶ ὡς ἔπον, ἔδεν τοῖστο.* The Mind of man, (as Parturient,) has alwayes a great desire to know what these things are, and to that end does it look upon things cognate to it, which are all Insufficient, Imperfect and Heterogeneous. But in that King of all things, and in the other, Second, and Third, which I spake of, there is nothing of this kind; that is, nothing like to these Created Things.

Secondly the Three Hypostases of Plato's Trinity, are not only all Eternal, but also Necessarily Existent and Absolutely Undestroyable. For the First of them, can no more Exist without the Second, nor the First, and Second, without the Third, than Original Light can Exist without its splendor, Coruscation, or Effulgency. And Plotinus writing against some Gnosticks in his time, who would make more of these Divine Hypostases or Principles, than Three; concludes that there can be neither more of them, nor fewer, in this manner, *καὶ τοίνυν οὐδὲ ἐφ' ἑτέρας ἀρχαῖς ἵεναι, ἀλλὰ τὸτο περὶ τῶν μόνων, ἔπειτα νῦν μετ' αὐτὸ καὶ νοῦν πρώτῳ, αὐτὰ ψυχῇ μετὰ νῦν· αὐτὴ γὰρ τὰς καὶ φύσιν, μὴτε πλεονεξῆσαι ἐν τῷ νοῦ, μὴτε ἐλάττω· ἔπειτα γὰρ ἐλάττω, ἢ ψυχῇ καὶ νῦν ταυτὸ φήσασιν, ἢ νῦν καὶ τὸ πρώτον, ἀλλ' ὅτι ἑτέρων ἀλλήλων, ἐσ' εἰς ἑκάστη πολλὰ καὶ λεπτὴν δὲ ὅτι καὶ φαίνεται*

En. 1. L. 9^a
c. 1.

ἵαταται ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ, ἐπὶ πλείω τέτων, &c. Wherefore we ought not to entertain any other Principles, but having placed First, the Simple Good; to set Mind or the Supreme Intellect next after it, and then the Universal Soul in the third place. For this is the right order according to Nature, neither to make More Intelligibles (or Universal Principles) nor yet Fewer than these three. For he that will contract the number, and make fewer of them, must of necessity either suppose Soul and Mind to be the same, or else Mind and the First Good. But that all these three are divers from one another, hath been often demonstrated by us. It remains now to consider, that if there be more than these three Principles, what Natures they should be, &c.

Thirdly, as all these three Platonick Hypostases are Eternal and Necessarily Existent, so are they plainly supposed by them, not to be Particular, but Universal Beings; that is, such as do ἀρχειν τὸ ὅλον contain and comprehend the whole World under them, and preside over all things, which is all one as to say, that they are each of them Infinite and Omnipotent. For which reason are they also called by Platonick Writers, ἀρχαὶ and αἰτια, and δημιουργοί, Principles and Causes, and Officers of the whole World. First, as for Νῆς Mind or Understanding: Whereas the Old Philosophers before Plato, as Anaxagoras, Archelaus, &c. and Aristotle after him, supposed Mind and Understanding, to be the very First and Highest Principle of all: which also the Magick or Caldee Oracles take notice of as the most Common opinion of mankind,

“ΟΝ ΠΡΩΤΟΝ ΚΛΗΡΙΖΕΤΑΙ ὁ θεὸς ἀνθρώπων.

Page 30.

That, Mind is generally by all men look'd upon, as the First and Highest God; Plato considering, that Unity was in order of Nature before Number and Multiplicity; and that there must be νοῦτον before νῆς, an Intelligible before Intellect; so that Knowledge could not be the First; and Lastly, that there is a Good transcending that of Knowledge; made One most Simple Good, the Fountain and Original of all things, and the First Divine Hypostasis; and Mind or Intellect only the Second next to it, but Inseparable from it, and most nearly Cognate with it. For which cause in his *Philebus*, though he agree thus far with those other Ancient Philosophers, ὡς αἰετὸν πάντος νῆς ἀρχὴ that Mind alwayes rules over the whole Universe, yet does he add afterwards, ὅτι Νῆς ὅτι γινώσκων τῷ πάντων αἰτίῃς, that Mind is (not absolutely the First Principle, but) Cognate with the Cause of all things; and that therefore it rules over all things, with, and in a kind of subordination to that First Principle, which is Tagathon or the Highest Good, Where when Plato affirms that Mind or his Second Divine Hypostasis is γινώσκων with the First, it is all one as if he should have said, that it is συγγενὴς, and ὁμοειδὲς, and ὁμογενὴς, with it; all which words are used by Athanasius, as Synonymous, with ὁμοούσιος Co-Essential or Con-Substantial. So that Plato here plainly and expressly agrees or Symbolizes, not with the Doctrine of Arius; but with that of the Nicene Council and Athanasius; that the Second Hypostasis of the Trinity, whether called Mind, or Word, or Son, is not ἑτεροούσιος,

ἐτερόσιος, but γυνέσιος or ὁμοσιόσιος *Co-Essential* or *Con-Substantial* with the *First*; and therefore not a *Creature*.

And then, as for the Third *Hypostasis*, called *Psyche* or the *Superior Mundane Soul*, Plato in his *Cratylus*, bestowing the name of *Zeus*, that is, of the Supreme God upon it, and etymologizing the same from ζῆν, adds these words concerning it, ὅτι ζῆν ἡμῖν καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις πᾶσιν, ὅστις ζῆν αἴτιος μᾶλλον τοῦ ζῆν, ἢ ὁ ἀρχὸν τε καὶ βασιλεύς τῶν πάντων. *There is nothing which is more the Cause of Life to us and all other Animals, than this Prince and King of all things; And that therefore God was called by the Greeks Zeus; because it is by him that all Animals live.* And yet that all this was properly meant by him, of the Third *Hypostasis* of his Trinity, called *Psyche*, is manifest from those words of his that follow; where he expounds the Poetick Mythology before mentioned, making *Zeus* to be the Son of *Chronos*; ὁ λόγον δὲ, μεγάλῃς πινὸς διανοίας, ἐκγονὸν εἶναι τὴν Δίαν, *It is agreeable to reason, that Zeus should be the Progeny or Off-spring of a certain great Mind.* Now ἐκγονος and γυνέσιος, are equivalent Terms also; and therefore Plato here makes the Third *Hypostasis* of his Trinity likewise to be ὁμοσιόσιος, *Co-Essential* with the Second; as he elsewhere made the Second, *Co-Essential* with the First.

It is true that by the δημιουργός, or *Opificer* in Plato, is commonly meant *Nous* or *Intellect*, his Second *Hypostasis*; (*Plotinus* affirming as much, δημιουργός ὁ ὢν πλάτωνι, *The Demiurgus to Plato is Intellect.*) En. 5. L. 1.
Procl. in Tim. Nevertheless, both *Amelius*, and *Plotinus*, and other Platonists, called this Third *Hypostasis* also δημιουργόν, the *Artificer* or *Opificer* of the whole World: Some of them making him to be the Second from *Mind* or *Intellect*; others the Third from the First Good the Supreme Cause of all things; who was by *Atticus* and *Amelius* styled *Demiurgus* also. Wherefore as was before suggested, according to the Genuine and most ancient Platonick Doctrine, all these Three *Hypostases*, were the Joint-Creators of the whole World, and of all things besides themselves; as *Ficinus* more than once declares the Tenour thereof, *Hi Tres uno quodam consensu omnia producunt, These Three with one common consent produce all things;* and before him *Proclus*, πάντα ἀνιήσονται τῷ ἐνὸς διὰ τὴν μὲν καὶ ψυχῆς, *All things depend upon the First One, by Mind and Soul;* and accordingly we shall conclude in the words of *Porphyrus*, That the True and Real Deity according to Plato, extends to Three Divine *Hypostases*, the last whereof is *Psyche* or *Soul*. In Plat. En. 1.
L. 2.

From all which it appears, that *Arius* did not so much Platonize, as the Nicene Fathers and *Athanasius*; who notwithstanding made not Plato, but the Scripture, together with Reason deducing natural Consequences therefrom, their Foundation. And that the Platonick Trinity, was a certain Middle thing also, betwixt the Doctrine of *Sabellius* and that of *Arius*; it being neither a Trinity of Words only, or Logical Notions, or meer Modes; but a Trinity of *Hypostases*; nor yet a Jumbled Confusion of God and Creature (Things Heterogeneous) together: neither the Second nor Third of them being *Creatures*,

or *Made in Time*, but all *Eternal, Infinite, and Creators*.

But that it may yet more fully appear, how far the most *Refined Platonick and Parmenidian or Pythagorick Trinity*, doth either *Agree, or Disagree* with the *Scripture-Doctrine*, and that of the *Christian Church* in several Ages; we shall here further observe *Two Things* concerning it. The *First* whereof is this, That though the *Genuine Platonists and Pythagoreans*, supposed none of their *Three Archical Hypostases* to be indeed *Creatures*, but all of them *Eternal, Necessarily Existent, and Universal or Infinite*, and consequently *Creators* of the whole *World*; yet did they nevertheless, assert an *Essential Dependence* of the *Second Hypostasis* upon the *First*, as also of the *Third* both upon the *First* and *Second*; together with a *Gradual Subordination* in them. Thus *Plotinus*, writing of the *Generation* of the *Eternal Intellect*, which is the *Second* in the *Platonick Trinity*, and answers to the *Son or Word* in the *Christian*: τὸ ὃ αἰεὶ τέλειον, αἰεὶ καὶ ἀίδιον γενῶν, καὶ ἐκ αὐτοῦ ἑαυτῷ γενῶν. τί ἐν ἑαυτῷ τῷ τελειοτάτῃ λέγειν; μὴδὲν ἄπ' αὐτοῦ γενῶν, ἢ τὰ μέγιστα μετ' αὐτὸν. μέγιστον ἢ μετ' αὐτὸν ἡ δόξα καὶ δόξα. καὶ ὅτι ὁ ἡσυχῆς ὁ ἡσυχῆς ἐκείνου, καὶ δέχεται αὐτῷ μόνον. ἐκείνου ἢ τίς τὸ δέν. καὶ τὸ ἡνωμένον ἀπὸ κρείττονος ἡσυχῆς, ὡς εἶναι. καὶ κρείττονος ἀπὸ τῶν ὁ ἡσυχῆς, ὅτι τ' ἄλλα μετ' αὐτῷ. οἷον καὶ ἡ ψυχὴ λόγος ἡσυχῆς καὶ ἡ ἐκείνου γὰρ τίς. That which is always perfect, Generates what is Eternal, and that which it Generates, is always Less than it self. What shall we therefore say of the most Absolutely Perfect Being of all? Does that produce nothing from it self? or rather does it not produce the Greatest of all things after it? Now the Greatest of all things after the most Absolutely Perfect Being, is Mind or Intellect; and this is Second to it. For Mind beholdeth this as its Father, and standeth in need of nothing else besides it: whereas that First Principle standeth in need of no Mind or Intellect. What is Generated from that which is Better than Mind, must needs be Mind or Intellect; because Mind is better than all other things, they being all in order of Nature After it and Junieur to it; as Psyche it self or the First Soul; for this is also the Word or Energy of Mind, as that is the Word and Energy of the First Good. Again the same is more particularly declared by him, concerning that Third Hypostasis called Psyche, that as it Essentially Dependeth upon the Second, so is it Gradually Subordinate or some way Inferiour to it. ψυχῇ ὅτι γενῶν ἡσυχῆς, ὡς ἀνὰ τέλειον. καὶ ὅτι τέλειον οὐκ ἔστι, γενῶν ἑαυτῷ, καὶ μὴ δύναμιν ἔσθαι τοσαύτην ἄγονον εἶναι. κρείττονος ἢ ἑαυτοῦ οἷον ἦν εἶναι, ὅτι ἐκείνου τὸ ἡνωμένον, ἀλλ' ἐκ αὐτοῦ οὐκ, ἑαυτὸν εἶναι αὐτῷ. Perfect Intellect Generates Soul; and it Being Perfect, must needs Generate, for so great a Power could not remain Steril. But that which is here Begotten also, cannot be greater than its Begetter; but must needs be Inferiour to it, as being the Image thereof. Elsewhere the same Philosopher, calling the First Hypostasis of this Trinity, *Uranus*, the Second, *Chronos*, and the Third, *Zeus*, (as *Plato* had done before) and handsomly Allegorizing that Fable, concludes in this manner concerning *Chronos* or the Second of these, μεταξὺ δὲ πάντες τε ἀμένων, καὶ ἡσυχῆς ἡσυχῆς, That he is in a Middlestate or degree, betwixt his Father, who is Greater, and his Son, who is Less and Inferiour. Again, the same thing is by that Philosopher thus asserted in general, ἐν τοῖς ἡνωμένοις, καὶ

Enn. 5. L. 1.
c. 6.

P. 489.

P. 554.

P. 513.

ἐκ ἑα πρὸς τὸ ἄνω, ἀλλὰ πρὸς τὸ κατω γαρῶν. *In the things Generated from Eternity, or Produced by way of natural Emanation, there is no Progress upwards, but all Downwards, and still a Gradual Descent into Greater Multiplicity.* We shall cite but only one passage more out of this Philosopher, which containeth something of Argumentation in it also; ὃ τῶν τὸ ἕξ ἐκείνους ἐκείνων, εἰ ἐν μὴ τῶν τῶν, ὅδ' ἔτι βέλτιον. *That which is Generated or Emaneth, immediatly from the First and Highest Being, is not the very same thing with it, as if it were nothing but that Repeated again and Ingeminated; and as it is not the same, so neither can it be Better than it.* From whence it follows, that it must needs be Gradually Subordinate and Inferiour to it. En. 5. L. 3. c. 15

Which Gradual Subordination and Essential Dependence, of the Second and Third Hypostases upon the First, is by these Platonicks illustrated several ways. Ficinus resembles it to the Circulations of Water, when some Heavy Body falling into it, its Superficies is depressed, and from thence every way Circularly Wrinkled. Alius (saith he) sic fermè profluit ex alio, sicut in aqua Circulus dependet à Circulo; One of these Divine Hypostases, doth in a manner so depend upon another, as one Circulation of water depends upon another. Where it is observable also, that the Wider the Circulating Wave grows, still hath it the more Subsidence and Detumescence, together with an Abatement of Celerity; till at last all becomes plain and smooth again. But by the Pagan Platonicks themselves, each Following Hypostasis, is many times said to be, ἵχνις ἢ τύπος, a Print, stamp or Impression, made by the Former; like the Signature of a Seal upon Wax. Again it is often called by them, εἰκὼν, and εἰδωλον, and μίμημα, an Image, and Representation, and Imitation; which if considered in Audibles, then will the Second Hypostasis be look'd upon, as the Eccho of an Original Voice; and the Third as the Repeated Eccho, or Eccho of that Eccho; as if both the Second and Third Hypostases were but certain Replications of the First Original Deity with Abatement; which though not Accidental or Evanid ones, but Substantial, yet have a like Dependence one upon another, and a Gradual Subordination. Or if it be considered in Visibles, then will the Second Hypostasis, be resembled to the Image of a Face in a Glass, and the Third to the Image of that Image Reflected in another Glass, which depend upon the Original Face, and have a Gradual Abatement of the vigour thereof. Or else the Second and Third, may be conceived as Two Parelly, or as a Second and Third Sun. For thus does Plotinus call the Universal Psyche or Third Hypostasis, εἰκὼν ἢ σὺνδρόν τι φῶς ἐκείνους, The Image of Mind (which is the Second) retaining much of the Splendour thereof. Which Similitudes of theirs notwithstanding, they would not have to be Squeezed or Pressed hard; because they acknowledge that there is something of Dissimilitude in them also, which then would be forced out of them. Their meaning amounts to no more than this, that as an Image in a Glass, is said ἐξ ἑα εἶναι, Essentially to belong to something else, and to depend upon it; so each following Hypostasis, doth Essentially Depend upon the Former or First, and hath a Subordination to it. But we meet with no expression in any of these Pagan Platonicks, so Unhandsom and Offensive, as that of Philo's, in his

Second Book of Allegories, σκία ἢ θεὸς ὁ λόγος αὐτῷ ἔστιν, ὃ καὶ διὰ τὸ
 ὀργάνῳ περὶ σκεπασμένης ὁμοιωμένης, *The World is the Shadow of God,*
which he made use of, as an Instrument, in the making of the World.
 Notwithstanding which, the same Writer doth call him elsewhere,
 more honourably, a *Second God* and *The Son of the First God*. As
 in the same place he doth also declare, that this *Shadow* and *Image*
of God, is it self the *Archetype* of other things, αὐτὴ ἢ ἡ σκία, καὶ ὡς
 νεὶ ἀπεικονίζουσα, ἑτέρων ἔστιν ἀρχέτυπον, ὡς αὖτὸς ὁ θεὸς ἀπεικονίζουσα τὸ εἶδος,
 ἢν σκίαν νυνὶ κέκλινα, ἕως ἢ εἰκὼν ἄλλο γίνεσθαι ἀπεικονίζουσα. *This Shadow*
and as it were Image (of the First God) is it self the Archetype and
Pattern of other things below it. As God is the Pattern of this Image
(which we call his Shadow ;) so is this Image it self another Pattern
or Paradigm also. But this Dependence and Subordination of the Di-
 vine *Hypostases*, is most frequently illustrated in Platonick Writings,
 by the ἐκλαμψις or ἀπαύρασμα, the Effulgency or Out-shining of
 Light and Splendour from the Sun, and other Luminous Bodies ; the
Nous or *Second Hypostasis*, being resembled to that *Radious Effulgency*,
 which immediately encompassing them, is beheld together with them,
 and as the Astronomers tell us, augments their apparent Diameter,
 and makes it bigger than the True, when they are beheld through
 Telescopes, cutting off those luxuriant and Circumambient Rayes.
 And the Third *Hypostasis* is resembled to the Remoter and more Di-
 stant Splendour, which circling still Gradually decreaseth. Thus
 Plotinus, πᾶς ἐν καὶ τὸ δὲ νοῦσαι αὐτὸ ἐκείνο μέτρον, αὐτὸ λαμβάνει ἐκ αὐτοῦ
 μέτρον, ἐκ αὐτοῦ ἢ μένοντος, οἷον ἡλίου τὸ αὐτὸ λαμπρὸν, ὡς αὖτὸς αὐτὸν
 ἐκ αὐτοῦ ἀεὶ γεννώμενον μέτροντος. *How should we consider this Second Hy-*
postasis otherwise than as the Circumsused Splendour, which encompass-
eth the Body of the Sun ; and from that always remaining, is perpetually
Generated a new.

P. 487.

But this *Essential Dependence*, and *Gradual Subordination* of *Hyp-*
ostases, in the Platonick Trinity, will yet more fully appear, from
 those Particular Distinctive Characters, which are given to each of
 them. For the First of these, is often said to be ἐν πρὸ πάντων, *One*
before all things ; a Simple Unity, which Virtually containeth all things.
 And as Plotinus writes, ἕως εἶχε πάντα ὡς μὴ διακεκριμένα, καὶ ἢ ἐν δὲ
 πρὸ διακρίνου τοῦ λόγου. *This so containeth all things, as not being yet*
secrete and distinct ; whereas in the Second they are discerned and distin-
guished by Reason ; that is, they are Actually distinguished in their I-
deas ; whereas the First is the Simple and Fecund Power of all things.
 Wherefore the Second was called by Parmenides, ἐν πάντα, *One actu-*
ally all things ; that is, in their Distinct Ideas. And the Third ac-
 cording to the same Philosopher, as Plotinus tells us, was ἐν καὶ πάντα,
One and all things ; as having still more Multiplicity and Alterity in it.
One Effectively all things. That which doth Actively Display, and
 Produce into Being, what was Virtually or Potentially contained in
 the First ; and Ideally or Exemplarily in the Second. Accordingly,
 the First of these is sometimes said to be πάντα ἐνικῶς, *All things Uni-*
tively, The Second πάντα νοετικῶς, All things Intellectually, and the Third
 πάντα ψυχικῶς, *All things Animally ; that is, Self-movably, Actively and*
Productively. Again the First of these is commonly styled τὰ γεννῶν,
 The

P. 513.

The Good, or Goodness it self, above Mind and Understanding, and also ὑπερῶς, above Essence, Ineffable and Incomprehensible. And sometimes also φᾶς ἀπλῆν, a Simple Light; The Second, Νῆς, Λόγος, Σοφία, Unity and Goodness only by Participation, or Ἀγαθουδύς, Boniform, but Essentially and Formally; Mind or Understanding, Reason and Wisdom, All-Comprehending or Infinite Knowledge. The Third, Ψυχὴ, Self-movable Soul; Goodness and Wisdom by Participation, but Essentially and Formally, Infinite Self-Activity, or Effectiveness; Infinite, Active, Perceptive and Animadversive Power. Sometimes it is styled also Ἀφροδίτη and Ἔρως, Venus and Love; but differently from that of the First Good, which is Love too; but a Love of Redundancy, or Overflowing Fulness and Fecundity; ὃν γὰρ τέλειον, τὰ μὴ Plot. 494. δὲν ζητεῖν, μὴ δὲ ἔχειν, μὴ δὲ ἀεὶδαται, οἷον ὑπερέχον, καὶ τὸ ὑπερλήρες ὡς πεποιμένη πᾶν, That which being Absolutely Perfect, and seeking or wanting nothing; as it were Overflowed; and by its Exuberant Redundancy, Produced All things. Whereas this Latter is a Love of Infinite Activity. Of the First, it is said by Plotinus, that it is ἀνεργῆτος, above all manner of Action, for which Cause the Making of the World, is not properly ascribed to him, though he be the Original Fountain of all: According to that of Numenius, Καὶ γὰρ ὅτε δημιουργῶν ἔστι χρεῶν ἢ πρῶτον, καὶ τὸ δημιουργῶντος θεῶς (τὸ γὰρ) χρεὶ εἶναι, καὶ μίσεσθαι πᾶσι πρῶτον θεῶν. Neither is it fit to attribute, the Architecture of the World to the First God, but rather to account him the Father of that God, who is the Artificer. Who again speaks further to the same purpose thus; Τὸν μὲν πρῶτον θεὸν ἀργὸν εἶναι ἐργῶν συμπαύσαν καὶ βασιλέα. It is to be acknowledged, that the First God is void of all manner of work or Action, he being the King of all things. Of the Second, to whom the Energy of Intellection is attributed, it is said notwithstanding, that his ἔστις is his ἐργεία, his Essence his Operation; and that he is ἀκίνητος ἔστις, though a Multiform, yet an Immovable Nature. He therefore is properly called the Demiurgus, as the Contriving Architect or Artificer, in whom the Archetypal World is contained; and the First Paradigm or Pattern of the whole Universe. But the Third is a kind of Movable Deity, τὸ δὲ ἐν κινεῖσθαι (as Plotinus speaks) καὶ ὡς φᾶς, καὶ ἵχνος ἐξηγητημῶν ὡς. That which moveth about Mind or Intellect, the Light or Effulgency thereof, and its Print or Signature, which always dependeth upon it, and acteth according to it. This is that which reduces both the Fecundity of the First Simple Good, and also the Immovable Wisdom and Architectonick Contrivance of the Second into Act and Energy. This is the Immediate, and as it were Mannary Officer of the whole World, and τὸ ἡγεμονεῖν τὸ πᾶν, that which actually Governs, Rules and Presideth over all. Amelius in that Passage of his before cited out of Proclus, calling these Three Divine Hypostases Three Minds, and Three Kings; styles the First of them, τὸν οἶα, Him that is: The Second τὸν ἐχούα, Him that Hath; and the Third τὸν ὁρᾶν, Him that Beholds. In which Expressions, though Peculiar to himself, he denotes an Essential Dependence, and Gradual Subordination, in them.

Now that which is most liable to exception, in this Platonick Scale or Gradation of the Deity, seems to be the Difference betwixt the
First

First and the Second. For whereas the *Essential Character* of the *Second*, is made to be, *Understanding, Reason and Wisdom*; it seems to follow from hence, that either the *First* and the *Second*, are really nothing else but two different Names or Inadequate Conceptions of One and the same thing, or else if they be distinct *Hypotheses* or *Persons*, that the *First* of them, must needs be *ἀνὴρ* and *ἄλογος*, devoid of *Mind, Reason and Wisdom*; which would be very absurd. To which all the reply we can make is as follows. First, that this is indeed, one *Peculiar Arcanum* of the *Platonick* and *Pythagorick Theology* (which yet seems to have been first derived from *Orpheus* and the *Egyptians*, or rather from the *Hebrews* themselves) that whereas the *Pagan Theologers* generally concluded, *ὡς πάντων περγενέσασθαι*, That *Mind and Understanding* properly so called, was the *Oldest* of all things; the *Highest Principle* and *First Original* of the *World*; those others placed something above it, and consequently made it to be not the *First* but the *Second*. Which they did chiefly upon these *Three* following *Grounds*. First, Because *Understanding, Reason, Knowledge and Wisdom*, cannot be conceived by us mortals otherwise, than so as to contain something of *Multiplicity* in them; whereas it seems most reasonable to make the *First Principle* of all, not to be *Number* or *Multitude*, but a perfect *Monad* or *Unity*. Thus *Plotinus*, ἀόριστον μὲν νοῦς ὡς οὐδ' ὅψις, ἐξεξομλῆναι ὑπὸ τῆς νοῦτος· διὸ καὶ ἐρηται ἐκ τῆς ἀόριστος δυάδος καὶ τῆς ἐνός τὰ εἶδη καὶ οἱ ἀριθμοὶ· τῷτο γὰρ ὁ νῦς· διὸ ἔχ' ἀπλῆς, ἀλλὰ πολλαῖ, &c. *Intellection as well as Vision, is in its own nature an Indefinite thing, and is determined by the Intelligible: therefore it is said, that Ideas as Numbers, are begotten from Infinite Duality, and Unity; And such is Intellect; which consequently is not Simple, but Many, it contemplating Many Ideas; and being compounded of Two, That which is Understood, and that which Understands.* And again elsewhere, τὸ πρὸς τῇ νόσῳ νοῦτος, ἔτε νῦς ἔτε νόσος νοῦτος, ἀπλόσσερον δὲ· ὃ γὰρ ἐκ πολλῶν πολλῶν, ἀλλὰ τὸ πολὺ τῷτο ἐξ ὁ πολλῶν, &c. *The Principle of every thing, is more Simple than the thing it self. Wherefore the Sensible World was made from Intellect or the Intelligible; and before this, must there needs be something more Simple still. For Many did not proceed from Many, but this Multiform thing Intellect, proceeded from that which is not Multiform, but Simple; as Number from Unity.* To this purpose does he argue also in these words, εἰ τὸ νοῦν τὴν πλῆθος, δὲ εἰ ἐκ τῆς πλῆθους τὸ νοῦν μὴ εἶναι· ἦν ὃ τῷτο τὸ πρῶτον ἐν τοῖς ὑστέροις ἄρα αὐτὸ τὸ νοῦν, καὶ νῦς ἔσται· *If that which understands be Many, or contain Multitude in it, then that which contains no Multitude, does not properly understand; and this is the First thing; but Intellection and Knowledge properly so called are to be placed among things which follow after it and are Second.* And he often concludes, ἐκ τῆς δ' ὁπότερα φύσις εἶναι τὸ γνώσασθαι· *That Knowledge (properly so called by reason of its Multiplicity) belongs to the Second Rank of Being, and not the First.* Another Ground or Reason is, Because in order of Nature, there must be *νοῦτον* before *νόος*, something *Intelligible*, before *Intellect*; and from hence does *Plotinus* conclude, τὸ νοῦν ὁ πρῶτον, ἔτε τὰς εἶναι, ἔτε τὰς τίμων εἶναι· ἀλλὰ δ' ὁπότερον, καὶ γενόμενον, ἐπεὶ δὴ ὑπέρη τὸ ἀρχαῖον· καὶ γενόμενον ἐκείνησε πρὸς αὐτὸ, &c. *That to Understand is not the First; neither in Essence nor in Dignity; but the Second; a thing in order of Nature, after the First Good,*

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and springing up from thence, as that which is moved with desire towards it. Their Third and last Ground or Reason is; Because *Intellection* and *Knowledge*, are not the *Highest Good*; that therefore there is some Substantial thing in order of Nature *Superiour* to *Intellect*. Which Consideration *Plato* much insisteth upon, in his sixth Book *De Republica*. Now upon these several Accounts do the *Platonists* confidently conclude, ὅτι θεὸς κρείττων λόγος ἢ νῦν ἢ αἰσθησέας, *Plus p. 512.*
 ἡγαθὸν ταῦτα ἐν αὐτῷ ὡς ταῦτα. That the Supreme Deity is more Excellent and Better than the λόγος (Reason or the Word) Intellect and Sense, he affording these things; but not being these himself. And τὸ ἡρώμενον ἐξ αὐτοῦ λόγος πολὺς ἢ πᾶς. τὸ δ' ἦν διλοῦντι ὁ λόγος. πᾶς *P. 514.*
 ὅτι ἐξ ἐκ λόγος λόγος. ἢ πᾶς τὸ ἀγαθὸν ἐξ ἀγαθοῦ. That which was Generated from the First Principle, was Logos (Word or Reason) *Manifold*; But the First Principle it self was not Word: If you demand therefore, How Word or Reason, should proceed from that which is not Word or Reason? we answer, as that which is *Boniform*, from Goodness it self. With which *Platonick* & *Pythagorick* Doctrine exactly agreeth *Philo* the Jew also, ὁ πρὸ τοῦ θεοῦ λόγος, κρείσσον ἔστιν ἢ πᾶσα λογικὴ φύσις, τὰ δ' ὑπὲρ τῆς παντῶν ἐν τῇ βελτίστῃ καὶ πνι ἐξαιρετῶ καθεστῶτι ἰδέα, ἔδειν θεὸς ἢ γεννητὸν ἐξομοιωθῆναι. That God which is before the Word or Reason; is better and more excellent than all the Rational Nature; neither is it fit that any thing which is Generated should be perfectly like, to that which is Originally from it self, and above all. And indeed, we should not have so much insisted upon this, had it not been by reason of a Devout Veneration that we have for all the Scripture-mysteries; which Scripture seems to give no small Countenance to this Doctrine, when it makes in like manner, an *Eternal Word* and *Wisdom*, to be the *Second Hypostasis* of the *Divine Triad*; and the *First-begotten Son* or *Off-spring* of God the Father. And *Athanasius*, as was before observed, very much complieth here also with the *Platonick* Notion; when he denies that there was any λόγος or σοφία, any Reason or Wisdom, before that Word and Son of God, which is the *Second Hypostasis* of the Holy Trinity. What then? Shall we say that the *First Hypostasis* or Person, in the *Platonick* Trinity, (if not the *Christian* also) is ἄνυσ and ἄλογος, *Senseless* and *Irrational*, and altogether devoid of *Mind* and *Understanding*? Or would not this be to introduce a certain kind of *Mysterious Atheism*; and under pretence of Magnifying and Advancing the Supreme Deity, Monstrously to Degrade the same? For why might not *Senseless Matter*, as well be supposed, to be the *First Original* of all things, as a *Senseless Incorporeal Being*? *Plotinus* therefore, who rigidly and superstitiously adheres to *Plato's* Text here, which makes the *First* and *Highest Principle* of all, to be such a Being as by reason of its *Absolute* and *Transcendent Perfection*, is not only above *Understanding*, *Knowledge*, and *Reason*, but also above *Essence* it self, (which therefore he can find no other names for, but only *Unity* and *Goodness Substantial*) and consequently, *Knowledge* and *Wisdom*, to be but a *Second* or *Post Nate Thing*, though *Eternal*; but notwithstanding does seem to labour under this *Metaphysical Profundity*; he sometimes endeavours, to solve the difficulty thereof after this manner, by distinguishing of a *Double Light*; the *One Simple* and *Uniform*, the other *Multiform* or *Manifold*;

fold; and attributing the Former of these, to the Supreme Deity only, (whose Simple Original Light he resembles to the Luminous Body of the Sun it self;) The latter of them to the Second Hypostasis, as being the *ἐκλαμψις* or *ἀπαύραγμα*, the Circumambient Fulgor, or Outshining Splendour of that Sun. Thus *Enn.* 3. L. 6. c. 4. τὸ παρέχον τῷ τὸ φῶς, φῶς ὅτιν ἀπλῶν, That from which this Multiform Light of *Nēs* or Intellect (the Second Hypostasis) is derived, is φῶς ἀπλῶν, Another most Simple Light. As he elsewhere accordingly writeth of the First Principle, or Supreme Deity, that it is, ἐν νόσῳ ἑτέρῳ ἢ καὶ τῷ ὧ νόσῳ, in Knowledge or Understanding, but of different kind from that Understanding of the Second Hypostasis, called Intellect. Sometimes again, this Philosopher subtilly distinguisheth, betwixt νόσις αὐτῇ, Intelligence it self, and τὸ νοῦν or τὸ ἔχον τῷ νόσῳ, That which doth Understand, or which hath Intelligence in it; making the First Principle to be the Former of these Two, and the Second Hypostasis of their Trinity to be the Latter: *ἔσθ' ἡ νόσις νοεῖ, ἀλλὰ τὸ ἔχον τῷ νόσῳ. δύο ἐν πολλῷ αἰ, ἐν τῷ νοῦντι γινώσκαι. τῷ δὲ ἑαυτῇ δύο.* Intelligence it self doth not understand, but that which hath Intelligence. For in that which doth understand, there is a kind of Duplicity. But the First Principle of all, hath no Duplicity in it. Now that Duplicity, which he phancies to be, in that which Hath Intelligence, is either the Duplicity of Him that hath this Intelligence and of the Intelligence it self, as being not the same; or else of Him and the τὸ νοῦν, the Intelligible, or Object of his Intellection: Intellect supposing an Intelligible in order of nature before it. And from this Subtilty would he infer, that there is a certain kind of Imperfection and Indigence, in that which Doth Understand, or Hath Intelligence, ἐνδεὲς τὸ νοῦν, ὡς αἶψα τὸ ὄν, That which Understandeth is Indigent as that which Seeth. But perhaps this Difficulty might be more easily solved, and that according to the Tenour of the Platonick Hypothesis too; by supposing the Abatement of their Second Hypostasis, to consist only in this, that it is not Essentially *τ' ἀγαθὸν* Goodness it self, but only *ἀγαθοειδὲς*, Boniform, or Good by Participation; it being Essentially no higher, than *Nēs*, λόγος and σοφία, Mind, Reason, and Wisdom; for which cause it is called by those Names, as the proper Characteristick thereof. Not as if the First were devoid of Wisdom, under Pretence of being Above it; but because this Second is not Essentially any Thing Higher. As in like manner, the Third Hypostasis, is not Essentially Wisdom it self, standing or quiescent, and without Motion or Action; but Wisdom as in Motion, or Wisdom Moving and Acting.

The Chief Ground of this Platonick Doctrine, of an Essential Dependence, and therefore Gradual Subordination, in their Trinity of Divine Hypostases; is from that Fundamental Principle of their Theology; That there is but One Original of all things, and *μία πηγή τ' θεότητος*, only One Fountain of the Godhead; from whence all other things whatsoever, whether Temporal or Eternal, Created or Uncreated, were altogether derived. And therefore this Second Hypostasis of their Trinity, since it must accordingly Derive its whole Being from the First, as the *ἀπαύραγμα* from the φῶς, The Splendour from the Original Light, must of necessity have also an Essential Dependence,

upon the same ; and consequently , a *Gradual Subordination* to it.

For though they commonly affirm their *Second Hypostasis*, to have been *Begotten* from their *First*, and their *Third* from their *Second* ; yet do they by no means understand thereby, any such *Generation*, as that of men ; where the Father, Son and Nephew, when *Adult* ; at least, have no *Essential Dependence* one upon another, nor *Gradual Subordination* in their Nature, but are all perfectly *Co-equal*, and alike *Absolute*. Because this is but an *Imperfect Generation*, where that which is *Begotten*, doth not receive its whole Being Originally from that which did *Beget*, but from *God* and *Nature* ; the Begetter being but either a Channel or an Instrument, and having been himself before Begotten or Produced by some other. Whereas the *First Divine Hypostasis* is altogether *Unbegotten* from any other, he being the *Sole Principle* and Original of all things, and therefore must the Second needs derive its whole Essence from him, and be Generated after another manner, namely in a way of *Natural Emanation*, as Light is from the Sun ; and consequently though Co-eternal, have an *Essential Dependence* on him, and *Gradual Subordination* to him.

Moreover, the Platonists would recommend this their *Gradation in the Deity*, or *Trinity of Hypostases Subordinate*, from hence ; because by this means, there will not be so vast a *Chasm* and *Hiatus*, betwixt God and the Highest Creatures ; or so Great a *Leap* and *Jump* in the *Creation*, as otherwise there must needs be. Nor will the whole Deity be skrewed up to such a *Disproportionate Height* and *Elevation* ; as would render it altogether *Uncapable*, of having any *Entercourse* or *Commerce* with the lower world ; it being according to this *Hypothesis* of theirs, brought down by certain Steps and Degrees, nearer and nearer to us. For if the *Whole Deity*, were nothing but *One Simple Monad*, devoid of all manner of *Multiplicity* ; as God is frequently represented to be, then could it not well be conceived by us Mortals, how it should contain the *Distinct Ideas* of all things within it self, and that *Multiform Platform* and *Paradigm* of the Created Universe, commonly called the *Archetypal World*. Again, were the Deity only an *Immovable Mind* ; as *Aristotle's* God, is *αἰνίτος ὁ Κτλ*, an *Absolutely Immovable Substance*, whose *Essence* and *Operation* are one and the same ; and as other Theologers affirm, that *Whatsoever is in God, is God* ; it would be likewise utterly unconceivable, not only, How there should be any *Liberty of Will* at all in God (whereas the same Theologers, contradicting themselves, zealously contend notwithstanding, that all the Actions of the Deity are not *Necessary*, and but few of them such) but also, How the Deity should have any *Commerce* or *Entercourse* with the Lower world, How it should Quicken and Actuate the whole, be sensible of all the Motions in it, and act *pro re nata* accordingly ; all which the *Instincts* and *Common Notions* of Mankind urge upon them. Neither can they be denied, without raising the very Foundations of all Religion, since it would be to no more purpose, for men to make their *Devotional Addresses*, to such an *Immovable, Inflexible, and Unaffected Deity* ; than to a

Senseless Adamantine Rock. But these Difficulties (as the Platonists pretend) are all removed by that *Third Hypostasis* in their *Trinity*; which is a kind of *Movable Deity*. And thus are all the *Phænomena* of the *Deity*, or the different Common Notions, in the Minds of men concerning it, though seemingly repugnant and clashing with one another, yet (in their opinion) fairly Reconciled and Salved, by this *Trinity of Divine Hypostases Subordinate*.

Lastly, they pretend also, that according to this *Hypothesis* of theirs, there may be some Reasonable Satisfaction given to the Mind of Man, both why there are so many *Divine Hypostases*, and why there could be no more: whereas according to other ways, it would seem to have been a meer Arbitrary Business; and that there might have been either but *One Solitary Divine Hypostasis*; or but a *Duality* of them; or else they might have been beyond a *Trinity*, *Numberless*.

The Second Thing which we shall observe concerning the most Genuine *Platonical* and *Parmenidian* *Trinity*, is this; That though these Philosophers sometimes called their *Three Divine Hypostases*, not only τρεῖς φύσες, *Three Natures*, and *Three Principles*, and *Three Causes*, and *Three Opificers*; but also *Three Gods*; and a *First*, and *Second*, and *Third God*; yet did they often for all that, suppose all these *Three*, to be Really One θεῖον, *One Divinity*, or *Numen*. It hath been already proved from *Origen* and others, that the Platonists most commonly called the Animated World, the *Second God*, though some of them, as for example *Numenius*, styled it the *Third God*. Now those of them, who called the World the *Second God*, attributed indeed (not more, but) less Divinity to it, than those who would have it to be the *Third God*. Because these Latter supposed, that *Soul of the World* to be, the *Third Hypostasis* of their *Trinity*; but the other taking all these *Three Divine Hypostases* together, for *One Supreme and First God*, called the World the *Second God*; they supposing the Soul thereof, to be another Soul Inferiour to that *First Psyche*, which was properly their *Third Hypostasis*. Wherefore this was really all one, as if they should have called the Animated World the *Fourth God*: only by that other way of reckoning, when they called it a *Second God*, they intimated, that though those *Three Divine Hypostases*, were frequently called *Three Gods*, yet were they notwithstanding Really, all but One θεῖον, *Divinity* or *Numen*; or as *Plotinus* speaks, τὸ ἐν τῇ παντὶ θεῖον, *the Divinity which is in the whole World*. Thus when God is so often spoken of in *Plato* Singularly, the word is not always to be understood of the *First Hypostasis* only, or the *Tagathon*, but many times plainly of the πρῶτον, and δεύτερον, and τρίτον, the *First*, and *Second* and *Third* all together; or that whole *Divinity* which consisteth or is made up, of these *Three Hypostases*. And this will further appear from hence, because when the whole World is said in *Plato* to be the *Image of the Eternal Gods*, as also by *Plotinus*, of the *First*, *Second* and *Third*, by whom it is always produced anew, as the *Image in a Glass* is; this is not to be understood as if the World being *Tripartite*, each *Third* part thereof, was severally produced or Created by one of those *Three*;

nor

nor yet can it be conceived, how there could be *Three* Really distinct *Creations* of One and the same thing. Wherefore the World having but *one Creation*, and being *Created* by those *Three Divine Hypostases*; it follows, that they are all *Three* Really but *One Creator* and *One God*. Thus when both in *Plato* and *Plotinus*, the Lives and Souls of all Animals, (as Stars, Demons and Men) are attributed to the *Third Hypostasis*, the *First* and great *Psyche*, as their Fountain and Cause after a Special Manner; accordingly as in our *Creed*, the Holy Ghost is styled, *the Lord and Giver of Life*; this is not so to be understood, as if therefore the *First* and *Second Hypostases* were to be excluded from having any *Causality* therein. For the *First* is styled by *Plato* also, αἰτίον πάντων τῶν καλῶν, *The Cause of all Good things*, and therefore doubtless chiefly of *Souls*; and the *Second* is called by him and others too, αἰτίον and δημιουργός, *The Cause and Artificer of the whole World*. We conclude therefore, that *Souls* being *Created* by the *Joynt Concurrence* and *Influence* of these *Three Hypostases Subordinate*, they are all Really but *One* and the same *God*. And thus it is expressly affirmed by *Porphyrus* in *St. Cyril*, ἄχει τελῶν ὑποστάσεων τὴν θεὸν προελθεῖν εἶσαν· εἶναι ὃ τ μὴ ἀναπάτω θεὸν τὸ ἀρχαῖον, μετ' αὐτὸν ὃ καὶ δαίμονον, τ δημιουργόν· τελίτω ὃ καὶ τὴν τῷ κόσμῳ ψυχῶν· ἄχει γὰρ ψυχῆς τὴν δεύτην προελθεῖν· *That the Essence of the Divinity proceeds or propagates it self (by way of descent downwards) unto Three Hypostases or Subsistences. The Highest God, is the Tagathon or Supreme Good; the Second next after him is the Demiurgus so called, the Architect or Artificer of the World; and the Soul of the World that is the Third: for the Divinity extendeth so far as to this Soul. Here we plainly see, that though Porphyrus calls the Three Divine Hypostases, Three Gods; yet does he at the very same time declare, that ἡ θεὸς ὁσια and δεότης, the Essence of the Godhead and the Divinity, extends it self to all these Three Hypostases, including the Third and last also, (which they call the Mundane Soul) within the compass of it. And therefore that even according to the Porphyrian Theology it self, (which could not be suspected to affect any compliance with Christianity) the Three Hypostases in the Platonick Trinity, are ὁμοῦσοι, Co-Essential, both as being each of them God, and as being all One God. St Cyril himself also acknowledging as much; where he writeth thus of the Platonists, τρεῖς ἀρχαῖαι ὑποστάσεις ὑπολειπόμενοι καὶ αὐτοὶ, καὶ μέχει τελῶν ὑποστάσεων τὴν εἶσαν τῷ θεῷ προσκείμεναι ἡγουμένους· That supposing Three Hypostases which have the Nature of Principles (in the Universe) they extend the Essence of God, to all these three Hypostases.*

Indeed many conceive, that the Platonists making the *Three Hypostases* of *Their Trinity* to be thus *Gradually Subordinate* one to another, could not for that very Reason, acknowledge them to be *One Divinity*: but the Platonists themselves do upon this very account and no other, declare, all these *Three* to be *One Divinity*, because they have an *Essential Dependence* and *Gradual Subordination* in them; the *Second* being but the *Image of the First*, and the *Third* the *Image* both of the *First* and *Second*. Whereas were these *Three* supposed to be *Perfectly Co-Equal*, and to have no *Essential Dependence* one upon another, they could not by these Platonists be concluded to be

any other than *Three Co ordinate Gods*, having only a *Generical* or *Specificall Identity*; and so no more *One*, than *Three men* are *One man*: a thing which the *Platonick Theology* is utterly abhorrent from, as that which is inconsistent with the *Perfect Monarchy* of the Universe, and highly *Derogatory* from the honour of the *Supreme God, & First Cause*. For example, should *Three Suns* appear in the Heaven all at once, with *Co-equal Splendor*, and not only so, but also be concluded, that though at *First* derived (or *Lighted and Kindled*) from one, yet they were now all alike *Absolute and Independent*; these *Three* could not so well be thought to be *one Sun*; as *Three* that should appear *Gradually* differing in their *Splendour*, Two of them being but the *Parbelii* of the other, and *Essentially dependent* on it: forasmuch as the *Second* would be but the *Reflected Image* of the *First*, and the *Third* but the *Second Refracted*. At least those *Three Coequal Suns*, could not so well be thought, to be *One Thing*; as the *Sun*, and its *First* and *Secondary Splendour* (which can neither be beheld without the *Sun*, nor the *Sun* without them) might be accounted *One* and the *Same Thing*.

The *Platonists* therefore, *First* of all suppose such a close and near *Conjunction* betwixt the *Three Hypostases* of their *Trinity*, as is no where else to be found in the whole World. To this purpose *Plotinus*, *Επεφάνη αὐτῷ, ὁ καλεῖται, ἀλλ' ὅτι μετ' αὐτὴν καὶ μετὰ τὴν εἶδεν· ὡς εἶδεν ψυχὴν καὶ νῦν· ποθεῖ δὲ πᾶν τὸ γεννησάν καὶ τὸ αὐτὸ ἀγαπᾷ, καὶ μάλιστα ὅταν ᾧσι μένοι, τὸ γεννησάν καὶ τὸ γεγεννημένον· ὅταν δὲ καὶ τὸ αἰετον ἢ τὸ γεννησάν, ἐξ ἀνάγκης συνέσιν αὐτὰς, ὡς τῇ ἐπεφάνη μόνον καλεῖται.* *Intellect is said to behold the First Good; not as if it were Separated from it, but only because it is After it, but so as that there is nothing between them: as neither is there betwixt Intellect and Soul. Every thing which is Begotten, Desires and Loves that which Begat it; especially when these Two (that which Begat and that which is Begotten) are alone, and nothing besides them. Moreover when that which Begat, is absolutely the Best thing, that which is Immediately Begotten from it, must needs Cohere intimately with it, and so as to be separated from it only by Alterity.* Which is all one as if he should have said, that these *Three Divine Hypostases*, are so *Intimately conjoynd* together, and *united* with one another, as that they are *Tantum non*, *Only Not*, the *Very self same*. Again the *Platonists* further declare that these *Three Hypostases* of their *Trinity*, are *ἀδιαίρετοι*, *Absolutely Indivisible* and *Inseparable*, as the *ἀπαύραγμα* is *ἀδιαίρετον* from the *φῶς*, the *Splendour Indivisibly conjoynd wib the Light or Sun*. Which *Similitude* also *Athanasius* often makes use of to the same purpose. Thirdly, these *Platonists* seem likewise to attribute to their *Three Divine Hypostases*, just such an *ἑμμενῶς ὁμοῦ καὶ ἑκαστοῦ, Circuminfession*, or *Mutual In-Being*, as *Christians* do. For as their *Second* and *Third Hypostases*, must needs be in the *First*, they being therein virtually contained; so must the *First* likewise, be in the *Second* and *Third*; they being as it were but *Two* other Editions thereof; or it self *Gradually Displayed and Expanded*. But to speak *Particularly*, the *First* must needs be in the *Second*, the *Tagathon* in the *Nous*; and so both of them *Really One* and the *same God*; because the common *Notions* of all *Mankind* attribute *Understand-*
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ing and Wisdom to the Deity; but according to the Principles of Plato, Plotinus, and others, the Deity does not properly Understand any where but in the *Second Hypostasis*, which is the *Mind and Wisdom* of it. And the *Emperichoresis* of the Second or Third Hypostases, was thus intimated by Plato also, *Σοφία μὴν ἔνδον ἔστω ψυχῆς, ἐν ᾗ ποτε γεννᾶται.* οὐκ ἔστιν ἐν μὲν τῇ τῷ Διὸς ἐρεῖς φύσιν, βασιλικῶν μὲν ψυχῶν, βασιλικῶν δὲ ἔστιν ἐγγίγνεσθαι. Where having spoken of that Divine Wisdom and Mind which orders all things in the World, he adds; *But Wisdom and Mind can never be without Soul*, (that is, cannot act without it.) *Wherefore in the Nature of Jupiter, is at once contained, both a Kingly Mind and a Kingly Soul.* Here he makes Jupiter to be both the *Second and Third Hypostases of his Trinity*, *Nous* and *Psyche*; and consequently those Two, to be but *One God*. Which *Nous* is also said to be *γενέσθης*, i. e. of the same kind, and *Co-Essential* with the First Cause of all things. To conclude, as that First *Platonick Hypostasis*, which is it self said to be above *Mind and Wisdom*, is properly *Wise and Understanding* in the *Second*; so do both the *First* and the *Second*, *Move and Act* in the *Third*. Lastly, all these *Three Hypostases*, *Tagathon*, *Nous* and *Psyche*, are said by the *Platonists*, to be *One θεῶν* or *Divinity*; Just in the same manner, as the *Centre*, *Immovable Distance*, and *Movable Circumference*, of a Sphere or Globe; are all *Essentially* one Sphere. Thus *Plotinus* expressly, writing of the Third Hypostasis or *Psyche*, *σεμνὸν γὰρ τι ἔστι ἡ ψυχὴ ἢ τοιαύτη, οἷον κύκλος προσε-* P. 403.
μνήτων κέντρον, διδύς μετὰ κέντρον ἀξιοθεῖς, διάστημα ἀδιάστον. ἔτω γὰρ ἔχει ἔκαστα, εἰ τ' ἀρχαὶν τις ἔστω τὸ κέντρον τάξει, τ' ἔστιν ἡ κύκλος ἀκίνητος, ψυχῶν δὲ ἡ κύκλος κινούμενος ἂν τάξει. For this *Psyche* or Third Hypostasis, is a *Venerable and Adorable thing* also; it being the *Circle fitted to the Centre*, an *Indistant Distance*, (forasmuch as it is no Corporeal thing.) For these Things are just so as if one should make the *Tagathon* or *First Good*, to be the *Centre of the Universe*; in the next place *Mind* or *Intellect* to be the *Immovable Circle or Distance*; and Lastly *Soul* to be that which turns round, or the whole *Movable Circumference*; Acted by *Love or Desire*. These *Three Platonick Hypostases* therefore, seem to be Really nothing else, but *Infinite Goodness*, *Infinite Wisdom*, and *Infinite Active Love and Power*, not as meer *Qualities* or *Accidents*, but as *Substantial things*; that have some kind of *Subordination* one to another; all concurring together to make up *One θεῶν*, or *Divinity*, just as the *Centre*, *Immovable Distance*, and *Movable Circumference*, concurrently make up *One Sphere*.

We have now given a full account of the *True and Genuine Platonick and Parmenidian or Pythagorick Trinity*; from which it may clearly appear, how far it either *Agreeth* or *Disagreeth* with the *Christian*. First therefore, though some of the *Latter Platonists* have partly *Misunderstood*, and partly *Adulterated* that ancient *Cabala* of the *Trinity*, as was before declared, confounding therein the *Differences* between *God* and the *Creature*, and thereby laying a foundation for *Infinite Polytheism*; yet did *Plato* himself and some of his *Genuine* followers (though living before *Christianity*) approach so near to the *Doctrine* thereof, as in some manner to correspond therewith, in those *Three Fundamentals* before mentioned; First,

in not making a meer Trinity of Names and Words, or of Logical Notions and Inadequate Conceptions, of One and the Same thing; but a Trinity of Hypostases or Subsistences, or Persons. Secondly, in making none of their Three Hypostases, to be Creatures, but all *Eternal*, *Necessarily Existent*, and *Universal*; *Infinite*, *Omnipotent*; and *Creators* of the whole World; which is all one in the sence of the ancients, as if they should have affirmed them to be *Homoousian*. Lastly, in supposing these Three Divine Hypostases, however sometimes Paganically called Three Gods, to be Essentially, *One Divinity*. From whence it may be concluded, that as *Arianism* is commonly supposed to approach nearer to the Truth of Christianity than *Photinianism*, so is *Platonism* undoubtedly more agreeable thereunto than *Arianism*; it being a certain Middle thing betwixt *That* and *Sabellianism*, which in general was that Mark that the Nicene Council also aimed at.

Notwithstanding which, there is a manifest *Disagreement* also, betwixt the Platonick Trinity as declared, and the Now-received Doctrine in the Christian Church; consisting in a different Explication of the Two latter Points mentioned. First, because the Platonists dream'd of no such thing at all, as *One and the Same Numerical Essence* or Substance, of the Three Divine Hypostases. And Secondly, because though they acknowledged none of those Hypostases to be Creatures, but all God; yet did they assert an *Essential Dependence* of the *Second* and *Third* upon the *First*, together with a certain *Gradual Subordination*; and therefore no *Absolute Co-equality*. And this is the true reason, why so many late Writers, have affirmed *Platonism* to *Symbolize* with *Arianism*, and the *Latter* to have been indeed nothing else but the *Spawn* of the *Former*; meerly because the Platonists did not acknowledge *One and the Same Numerical Essence* or Substance of all their Three Hypostases; and asserted a *Gradual Subordination* of them; but chiefly for this *Latter Ground*. Upon which account some of the ancients also, have done the like, as Particularly *S Cyril* (*Contra Jul. Lib. I.*) he writing thus concerning *Plato*, τετέλεσται μὲν ἐν ἑκ ὑγιᾶς εἰσπάπαν, ἀλλὰ τοῖς τὰ ἄεὶς πεφρονηδον, ἐν ἴσῳ διαίρει, καὶ ὑφίστην, ὑποκαδεμίας τε ἀλλήλαις τὰς ὑποστάσεις εἰσφέρει. *Plato did not thoroughly perceive the whole Truth of the Trinity, but in like manner with those who follow Arius, divided the Deity, or made a Gradation in it, and Introduced Subordinate Hypostases.* As elsewhere the same Pious Father, also taxes the Platonists, for not declaring the Three Hypostases of their Trinity, to be, in his sence, *Homo-ousian*; that is, *Absolutely Co-equal*. But though we have already proved, that *Platonism* can by no means be confounded with *Arianism*; because it directly confronted the same in its main Essentials, which were *Erat quando non Erat*, or the *Second Hypostasis* being made ἐξ ἑκ ὄντων, together with its being *Mutable* and *Lapsible*; since according to *Platonism*, the *Nous* is Essentially both *Eternal* and *Immutable*: yet that the most Refined *Platonism*, differed from the Now-received Doctrine of the Christian Church; in respect of its *Gradual Subordination*, is a thing so Unquestionably Evident, as that it can by no means be Dissembled, Palliated, or Excused.

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Over and besides which, it cannot be denied but the best of *Plato's* Followers, were sometimes also further extravagant in their Doctrine of the Trinity, and spake at random concerning it, and Inconsistently with their own Principles; especially where they make such a *Vast* and *Disproportionate Distance* betwixt the *Second* and *Third Hypostases* thereof; they not Descending *Gradually* and *Orderly*, but as it were *Tumbling down*, from the Former of them to the Latter. Thus *Plotinus* himself, when having spoken magnificently of that *Soul of the World*, which is his *Third Hypostasis*, he subjoyns immediately, *ὁμοειδὲς ὃ καὶ ἡμετέρα, καὶ ὅταν ἀνδρὶ προσελθόντων σκοπῆς, λαβὼν κεκαθαρμομένῳ, ἀρήσῃς τὸ αὐτὸ τίμιον ὃ ἦν ψυχῇ.* *That this Soul of ours, is also Uniform (or of the same Species) with that Mundane Soul; For if any one (saith he) will consider it as in it self, Pure and Naked, or stript from all things adventitious to it, he shall find it to be in like manner venerable.* Agreeably whereunto doth this same Philosopher elsewhere call that *Mundane Soul*, *πρεσβυτέραν καὶ ἀδελφῶν*, that is, *but the Elder Sister of our Humane Souls.* Which as it rankly favours of Philosophick Pride and Arrogancy, thus to think so magnificently of themselves, and to equalize in a manner their own Souls, with that *Mundane Soul*; so was it a *Monstrous Degradation*, of that *Third Hypostasis* of their Trinity, and little other than an *Absolute Creaturizing* of the same. For if our *Humane Soul* be *ὁμοειδὲς*, of the same Kind or Species, with the *Third Hypostasis* of the Trinity, then is it not only *ὁμότιμος*, of like Honour and Dignity, but also in the Language of the Christian Church, *ὁμοούσιος*, Co-Essential with our *Humane Souls*, (as our Saviour Christ according to the Arians in *Athanasius*, is said to be, *ὁμοούσιος ἡμῶν καὶ ἀνθρώπων*, Co-Essential with us men.) From whence it will follow, That either, That must be a Creature, or else our *Humane Souls* Divine. Wherefore unless these Platonists would confine the Deity wholly to their *First Hypostasis*; which would be monstrously absurd for them, to suppose that *First Eternal Mind and Wisdom*, by which the World was Made, to be a Creature; they must of necessity make a *Vast Leap or Jump*, betwixt the *Second* and *Third* of their Hypostases; the Former of them, being that *Perfect Wisdom* which was the Architect or Demiurgus of the World, whilst the Latter is only, the *Elder Sister of all Humane Souls.* Moreover these Platonists by their thus bringing down the *Third Hypostasis* of their Trinity so low, and Immerging it so deeply into the Corporeal World, as if it were the *Informing Soul* thereof, and making it to be but the *Elder Sister* of our *Created Souls*, did doubtless therein designedly lay a foundation for their *Polytheism* and *Creature-Worship* (now *Vulgarly* called *Idolatry*) that is, for their *Cosmo-Latry*, *Astro-Latry*, and *Demonio-Latry.* For thus much is plainly intimated in this following Passage of *Plotinus*, *διὰ ταύτην ὁ κόσμος ὁδε θεός· ἐστὶ καὶ ἡ ψυχὴ θεός, ὅτι ἐμψυχός, καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ἄσπρα,* *This whole Corporeal World is made a God by the Soul thereof. And the Sun is also a God, because Animated; as likewise are all the Stars therefore Gods.* Where he afterwards adds, *τῷ δὲ θεοῖς αἰτίαν τῷ θεοῖς εἶναι, ἀνάγκη πρεσβυτέραν δεῖν αὐτῶν εἶναι.* *That which is to these Gods or Goddeses, the Cause of their being Gods, must needs it self, be the Elder God or Goddes.* So that this

Enn. 5. L. 1. c. 2.

Tom. 1. p. 557.

p. 483.

this *Third Hypostasis* of the *Platonick Trinity*, called the *Mundane Soul*, is but a kind of *Sister-Goddes*, with the *Souls* of the *Sun*, *Moon* and *Stars*, though elder indeed than they ; they being all made *Goddes* by her. Where there is a confused Jumble of things Contradictious together ; That *Soul* of the *World* being at once supposed to be a *Sister* to other *Souls*, and yet notwithstanding to *Deifie* them ; whereas this *Sisterly Relation* and *Consanguinity* betwixt them, would of the *Two*, rather *Degrade* and *Creaturize* that *Mundane Soul*, which is their *Third God* or *Divine Hypostasis*, than *Advance* and *Deifie* those *Particular Created Souls*. Here therefore we see the *Inconvenience* of these *Platonick Βασιμὸι*, *Stories*, *Stairs*, and *Gradations* in the *Deity*, that it is a thing liable to be much abused to *Creature-worship* and *Idolatry*, when the *Distances* are made so *Wide*, and the *Lowest* of the *Deity* is supposed to differ but *Gradually* only, from the *Highest* of *Created Beings*. And because *Porphyrius* trode in *Plotinus* his Footsteps here as elsewhere, this was in all probability the true reason why the *Arians* (as *Socrates* recordeth) were by *Constantine* called *Porphyrianists*, not because their *Trinities* were exactly the same, but because *Arius* and *Porphyrius* did both of them alike (though upon different Grounds) make their *Trinity* a *Foundation* for *Creature-Worship* and *Idolatry*. But nevertheless, all This (as many other things) was but heedlessly and inadvertently written by *Plotinus* ; he as it were drowsily nodding all the while, as it was also but supinely taken up by *Porphyrius* after him ; it being Plainly *Inconsistent* with the *Genuine Tenour* of both their *Hypotheses*, thus to *Level* the *Third Hypostasis* of the *Trinity*, with *Particular Created Souls*, and thereby to make so *Disproportionate* a *Distance*, and so *Vast* a *Chasm* betwixt It and the *Second*. For *Plotinus* himself, when in a more sober mood, declares, that *Third Hypostasis*, not to be the *Immediate Informing Soul* of the *Corporeal World* ; but a *Higher Separate Soul*, or *Superiour Venus*, which also was the *Demiurgus*, the *Maker* both of other *Souls* and of the whole *World*. As *Plato* had before expressly affirmed him to be the *Inspirer* of all *Life*, and *Creator* of *Souls*, or the *Lord* and *Giver* of *Life*. And likewise declared, that amongst all those things, which are ἀνθρώπινος ψυχῆς συγγενῆ, *Congenerous and Cognate* with our *Humane Souls*, there is οὐδὲν τοιοῦτόν, *nothing any where to be found at all like unto it*. So that *Plato*, though he were also a *Star-worshipper* and *Idolater*, upon other grounds ; yet in all probability would he not at all have approved of *Plotinus* his ὁμοειδὲς ὡς ἡμετέρας, *our Souls being of the same Species with that Third Hypostasis of the Divine Triad* ; but rather have said, in the Language of the *Psalmist*, *It is he that hath made us, and not we our selves, we are his People and the Sheep of his Pasture*.

Notwithstanding all which, a *Christian Platonist* or *Platonick Christian*, would in all probability, Apologize for *Plato* himself, and the ancient and most *Genuine Platonists* and *Pythagoreans* after this manner. First, That since they had no *Scriptures*, *Councils*, nor *Creeds*, to direct their steps in the *Darkness* of this *Mystery*, and to confine their Language to a *Regular Uniformity* ; but *Theologized* all *Freely* and *Boldly*, and without any *Scrupulosity*, every one according

cording to his own private apprehensions, it is no wonder at all if they did not only speak many times unadvisedly, and inconsistently with their own Principles, but also plainly wander out of the *Right Path*. And that it ought much rather to be wondred at, that living so long before Christianity, as some of them did, they should in so *Abstruse a Point*, and *Dark a Mystery*, make so near an approach to the *Christian Truth* afterwards revealed, than that they should any where fumble or fall short of the Accuracy thereof. They not only extending the True and Real Deity to *Three Hypostases*, but also calling the Second of them, λόγον, *Reason or Word* too, (as well as νῦν, *Mind or Intellect*) and likewise the *Son of the First Hypostasis*, the *Father*; and affirming him to be the δημιουργός and αἰτιον, *the Artificer and Cause of the whole World*; and Lastly describing him as the *Scripture doth*, to be the *Image*, the *Figure or Character*, and the *Splendour or Brightness* of the *First*. This, I say, our *Christian Platonist*, supposes to be much more wonderful, that this so Great and *Abstruse a Mystery*, of *Three Eternal Hypostases* in the *Deity*, should thus by Pagan Philosophers, so long before Christianity, have been asserted, as the Principle and Original of the whole World; it being more indeed than was acknowledged by the Nicene Fathers themselves; they then not so much as determining, that the *Holy Ghost* was an *Hypostasis*, much less that he was *God*.

But Particularly as to their *Gradual Subordination* of the *Second Hypostasis* to the *First*, and of the *Third* to the *First* and *Second*; our *Platonick Christian*, doubtless would therefore plead them the more excusable, because the Generality of *Christian Doctors*, for the First Three Hundred years after the Apostles times, plainly asserted the same; as *Justin Martyr*, *Athenagoras*, *Tatianus*, *Irenaeus*, the Author of the *Recognitions*, *Tertullian*, *Clemens Alexandrinus*, *Origen*, *Gregorius Thaumaturgus*, *Dionysius of Alexandria*, *Lactantius*, and many others. All whose Testimonies, because it would be too tedious to set down here, we shall content our selves only with one of the last mentioned; *Et Pater & Filius Deus est: Sed Ille quasi exuberans Fons, Hic tanquam defluens ex eo Rivus: Ille tanquam Sol, Hic tanquam Radius à Sole porrectus: Both the Father and the Son is God: But he as it were an Exuberant Fountain, this as a Stream derived from him: He like to the Sun, This like to a Ray extended from the Sun.* And though it be true, that *Athanasius* writing against the Arians, does appeal to the Tradition of the Ancient Church, and amongst others cites *Origen's* Testimony too; yet was this only for the *Eternity* and *Divinity* of the *Son of God*, but not at all for such an *Absolute Co-equality* of him with the *Father*, as would exclude all *Dependence*, *Subordination* and *Inferiority*; those Ancients so Unanimously agreeing therein, that they are by *Petavius* therefore taxed for *Platonism*, and having by that means corrupted the Purity of the Christian Faith, in this Article of the Trinity. Which how it can be reconciled with those other Opinions, of Ecclesiastick Tradition being a Rule of Faith, and the Impossibility of the Visible Churches Erring in any *Fundamental Point*, cannot easily be understood. However this *General Tradition* or *Consent* of the Christian Church, for Three Hundred years together after the Apo-

files Times, though it cannot Justifie the Platonists, in any thing discrepant from the Scripture, yet may it in some measure doubtless plead their excuse, who had no Scripture Revelation at all, to guide them herein ; and so at least make their Error more Tolerable or Pardonable.

Moreover the *Platonick Christian* would further Apologize for these Pagan Platonists after this manner. That their Intention in thus *Subordinating* the *Hypostases* of their *Trinity*, was plainly no other, than to exclude thereby a *Plurality of Co-ordinate and Independent Gods*, which they supposed an absolute Co-equality of them would infer. And that they made only so much *Subordination* of them, as was both necessary to this purpose, and unavoidable ; the Juncture of them being in their Opinion so close, that there was, *μὴδὲν μετὰξὺ*, *Nothing Intermediary*, or that could possibly be *Thrust in between them*. But now again on the otherhand, whereas the only ground of the *Co-Equality* of the Persons in the Holy Trinity, is because it cannot well be conceived, how they should otherwise all be *God* ; since the *Essence of the Godhead*, being Absolute Perfection, can admit of no degrees ; these Platonists do on the contrary contend, that notwithstanding that Dependence and Subordination which they commonly suppose in these *Hypostases*, there is none of them for all that, to be accounted *Creatures*, but that the *General Essence of the Godhead*, or the *Uncreated Nature*, truly and properly belongeth to them all : according to that of *Porphyrus* before cited, *ἅχει τετῶν ὑποστάσεων τῶν θεῶν προελθεῖν εἶσαν*, *The Essence of the Godhead, proceedeth to Three Hypostases*. Now these Platonists conceive, that the *Essence of the Godhead*, as common to all the *Three Hypostases* of their *Trinity*, consisteth (besides *Perfect Intellectuality*) in these Following things. First, In *Being Eternal*, which as we have already showed, was *Plato's Distinctive Character*, betwixt *God* and the *Creature*. That whatsoever was *Eternal*, is therefore *Uncreated* ; and whatsoever was not *Eternal*, is a *Creature*. He by *Eternity* meaning, the having not only no *Beginning*, but also a *Permanent Duration*. Again, In having not a *Contingent* but *Necessary Existence*, and therefore being Absolutely *Undestroyable* ; which perhaps is included also in the Former. Lastly, In being not *Particular* but *Universal*, *ἐν ᾧ πάντα*, *One and all things*, or that which *Comprehends the whole* ; which is all one as to say, in being *Infinite* and *Omnipotent*, and the *Creator of the whole World*. Now say these Platonists, if any thing more were to be added to the *General Essence* of the *Godhead* besides this, then must it be *Self-existence*, or to be *Underived* from any other, and the *First Original, Principle, and Cause* of all ; but if this be made so *Essential* to the *Godhead*, or *Uncreated Nature*, as that whatsoever is not thus *Originally* of it Self, is therefore *ipso facto* to be detruded and thrust down into the rank of *Creatures* ; then must both the *Second* and *Third Hypostases*, as well in the *Christian* as the *Platonick Trinity*, upon this Supposition, needs be *Creatures* and not *God* ; the *Second* deriving its whole Being and *Godship* from the *First*, and the *Third*, both from the *First* and *Second*, and so neither *First* nor *Second* being the *Cause of all things*. But it is unquestionable to these Platonists, that whatsoever is *Eternal* ; *Necessarily*
Existent,

Existent; Infinite, and Omnipotent, and the Creator of All things; ought therefore to be Religiously Worshipped and Adored as God, by all Created Beings. Wherefore this Essence of the Godhead, that belongeth alike to all the Three Hypostases, being, as all other Essences, Perfectly Indivisible, it might well be affirmed, according to Platonick Grounds, that all the Three Divine Hypostases (though having some Subordination in them) yet in this sense are Co-Equal, they being all truly and alike God or Uncreated. And the Platonists thus distinguishing, betwixt $\epsilon\varsigma\chi\iota\alpha$ and $\upsilon\pi\epsilon\rho\sigma\tau\alpha\varsigma\iota\varsigma$, the Essence of the Godhead, and the Distinct Hypostases or Personalities thereof, and making the First of them to be Common, General and Universal; are not without the consent and approbation of the Orthodox Fathers herein; they determining likewise, that in the Deity, Essence or Substance differs from Hypostasis, as $\tau\omicron\upsilon\kappa\omega\iota\nu\omicron\nu$ from $\tau\omicron\upsilon\kappa\alpha\theta'\epsilon\chi\alpha\sigma\tau\omicron\nu$, that which is Common and General, differs from that which is Singular and Individual. Thus, besides many others, St. Cyril, $\eta\nu\epsilon\chi\epsilon\iota\delta\iota\alpha\phi\omicron\rho\epsilon\iota\nu\tau\omicron\upsilon\chi\iota\omicron\varsigma$, $\eta\epsilon\delta\omicron\varsigma$, $\upsilon\pi\epsilon\rho\tau\omicron\alpha\upsilon\tau\omicron\upsilon\tau\omega\eta\epsilon\varsigma\sigma\iota\alpha\pi\epsilon\rho\epsilon\varsigma\tau\omega\upsilon\pi\epsilon\rho\sigma\tau\alpha\varsigma\iota\varsigma\eta\chi\epsilon\iota$. The Essence or Substance of the Deity, differs from the Hypostasis, after the same manner as a Genus or Species differs from an Individuum. So that as well according to these Fathers as the Platonists, that Essence or Substance of the Godhead, which all the Three Persons agree in, is not Singular, but Generical or Universal; they both supposing, each of the Persons also, to have their own Numerical Essence. Wherefore according to this Distinction, betwixt the Essence or Substance of the Godhead, and the Particular Hypostases, (approved by the Orthodox Fathers) neither Plato, nor any Intelligent Platonist, would scruple to subscribe, that Form of the Nicene Council, that the Son or Word, is $\epsilon\kappa\iota\omicron\varsigma\chi\iota\omicron\varsigma$, Co-Essential or Con-Substantial, and Co-Equal with the Father. And we think it will be proved afterwards, that this was the very Meaning of the Nicene Council it self, that the Son was therefore Co-Essential or Con-Substantial with the Father; meerly because he was God and not a Creature.

Besides which the Genuine Platonists would doubtless acknowledge also, all the Three Hypostases of their Trinity to be Homoousian, Co-Essential or Con-Substantial yet in a further sense than this, namely as being all of them One $\theta\epsilon\omicron\iota\nu$ or Divinity. For thus, besides that passage of Porphyrius before cited, may these words also of St. Cyril be understood concerning them, $\mu\acute{\epsilon}\chi\epsilon\iota\tau\epsilon\lambda\omega\nu\upsilon\pi\epsilon\rho\sigma\tau\alpha\varsigma\iota\varsigma\tau\omega\epsilon\varsigma\sigma\iota\alpha\nu\tau\tilde{\epsilon}\delta\epsilon\varsigma\pi\epsilon\rho\kappa\omega\mu\epsilon\nu\iota\chi\upsilon\epsilon\lambda\zeta\omicron\upsilon\tau\alpha\iota$. That according to them the Essence of God, extendeth to Three Hypostases, or comprehendeth Three Hypostases in it; that is, not only so as that each of these Three is God; but also that they are not, so many Separate and Divided Gods, but all of them together One God or Divinity. For though the Platonists as Pagans, being not so scrupulous in their Language as we Christians are; do often call them Three Gods, and a First, Second, and Third God; yet notwithstanding as Philosophers, did they declare them to be, One $\theta\epsilon\omicron\iota\nu$ or Divinity; and that as it seems upon these several accounts following. First, Because they are Indivisibly conjoynd together, as the Splendour is Indivisible from the Sun. And then, Because they are Mutually Inexistent in each other, the First being in the Second, and both First and Second

De Sent. Dio-
nys. p. 556.

in the *Third*. And Lastly, Because the Entireness of the whole *Divinity*, is made up of all these *Three* together, which have all *μία ἐνέργεια* *One and the same Energy or Action* ad extra. And therefore as the Centre, Radius Distance, and Movable Circumference, may be all said to be *Co-Essential* to a *Sphere*; and the *Root, Stock, and Bows* or *Branches*, *Co-Essential* to an entire *Tree*; so, but in much a more perfect sence, are the *Platonick Tagathon, Nous* and *Psyche*, *Co-Essential* to that, *ἐν τῷ παντὶ θεῷ*, that *Divinity in the whole Universe*. Neither was *Athanasius* a stranger to this Notion of the word *ὁμοούσιος* also, he affirming *τὰ κλήματα ὁμοούσια καὶ ἀδιαίρετα εἶναι τὸ ἀμπέλαιον*, That the *Branches* are *Co-Essential* with, and *Indivisible* from the *Vine*; and illustrating the *Trinity* by that Similitude. Neither must it be thought, that the *Whole Trinity* is *One*, after the very same manner, that each *Single Person* thereof is in it self *One*, for then should there be a *Trinity* also in each *Person*. Nor that it is so called *Undivided*, as if *Three* were not *Three* in it; (which were to make the *Mystery Contemptible*) but because all the *Three Hypostases* or *Persons*, are *Indivisibly* and *Inseparably* united to each other, as the *Sun* and the *Splendour*; and really but *One God*. Wherefore though there be some *Subordination* of *Hypostases* or *Persons* in *Plato's Trinity*, (as it is commonly represented) yet is this only *ad intra*, within the *Deity* it self, in their Relation to one another, and as compared amongst themselves; but *ad extra*, *Outwardly*, and to *Us*, are they all *One* and the same *God*, concurring in all the same *Actions*; and in that respect without any *Inequality*, because in *Identity* there can be no *Inequality*.

Furthermore the *Platonick Christian*, would in favour of these *Platonists*, urge also, that according to the Principles of *Christianity* it self, there must of necessity, be some Dependence and Subordination of the *Persons of the Trinity*, in their Relation to one another; a *Priority* and *Posteriority*, not only *τάξεως*, but also *ἀξιώματι*, of *Dignity* as well as *Order* amongst them. First, because that which is *Originally* of it self, and *Undersived* from any other, must needs have some *Superiority* and *Preheminence*, over that which derives its whole *Being* and *Godship* from it; as the *Second* doth from the *First* alone, and the *Third* from the *First* with the *Second*. Again though all those *Three Hypostases* or *Persons* be alike *Omnipotent ad Extra*, or *Outwards*, yet *ad Intra*, *Inwards*, or within the *Deity* it self, are they not so: the *Son* being not able to beget the *Father*, nor the *Holy Ghost* to Produce either *Father* or *Son*; and therefore neither of these two Latter, is absolutely the *Cause of all things*, but only the *First*. And upon this account was that *First* of these *Three Hypostases* (who is the Original Fountain of all) by *Macrobius* styled, *Omnipotentissimus Deus*, The *Most Omnipotent God*: he therein implying the *Second* and *Third Hypostases*, *Nous* and *Psyche*, to be *Omnipotent* too, but not in a perfect Equality with him, as within the *Deity* they are compared together; however *ad Extra*, or *Outwardly*, and to *Us*, they being all *One*, are *Equally Omnipotent*. And *Plotinus* writeth also to the same purpose, *ἐὶ τέλει ὄντι τὸ πρῶτον, καὶ δύναμις ἡ πρώτη, οὐδὲ πάντων τῶν ὄντων δυνατώτατον εἶναι*, &c. If the *First* be absolutely Perfect, and the *First Power*, then must it needs be the *Most Powerful of all Beings*; other Powers only

P. 517.

only imitating and partaking thereof. And accordingly hereunto would the Platonick Christian further pretend, that there are sundry places in the Scripture which do not a little favour, some Subordination and Priority both of Order and Dignity, in the Persons of the Holy Trinity; of which none is more obvious, than that of our Saviour Christ, *My Father is greater than I*: which to understand of his Humanity only, seemeth to be less reasonable; because this was no news at all, that the Eternal God, the Creator of the whole World, should be Greater than a Mortal Man, born of a woman. And thus do divers of the Orthodox Fathers; as Athanasius himself, St. Basil, St. Gregory Nazianzen and St. Chrysostome, with several others of the Latins, interpret the same to have been spoken, not of the Humanity, but the Divinity of our Saviour Christ. Infomuch that Petavius himself, expounding the Athanasian Creed, writeth in this manner, *Pater Major Filio, ritè & catholicè pronuntiatus est à plerisque Veterum; & Origine Prior sine reprehensione dici solet*; The Father is in a right Catholick manner, affirmed by most of the ancients, to be Greater than the Son: and he is commonly said also, without reprehension, to be Before him in respect of Original. Whereupon he concludeth the true meaning of that Creed to be this, that no Person of the Trinity, is Greater or Less than other in respect of the Essence of the Godhead common to them all, *Quia Vera Deitas in nullo esse aut Minor aut Major potest*, because the true Godhead can be no where Greater or Less; but that notwithstanding, there may be some Inequality in them, as they are *Hic Deus*, and *Hæc Persona*, This God and That Person. It is true indeed that many of those ancient Fathers do restrain and limit this Inequality, only to the Relation of the Persons one to another, as the Father's Begetting, and the Son's being Begotten by the Father, and the Holy Ghost Proceeding from both; they seeming to affirm, that there is otherwise a perfect Equality amongst them. Nevertheless several of them do extend this Difference further also, as for example, St. Hilary a zealous Opposer of the Arians; he in his Book of Synods writing thus; *Siquis Unum dicens Deum, Christum autem Deum, ante secula Filium Dei, Obsecutum Patri in Creatione omnium, non constitetur, Anathema sit*. And again, *Non exæquamus vel conformamus Filium Patri, sed Subjectum intelligimus*. And Athanasius himself, who is commonly accounted the very Rule of Orthodoxy in this Point, when he doth so often resemble the Father to the ἡλιος, or to the φῶς, the Sun, or the Original Light; and the Son to the ἀπαύλασμα, the splendour or Brightness of it; (as likewise doth the Nicene Council and the Scripture it self) he seems hereby to imply some Dependence of the Second upon the First, and Subordination to it. Especially when he declareth, that the Three Persons of the Trinity, are not to be look'd upon as Three Principles, nor to be resembled to Three Suns, but to the Sun, and its Splendour, and its Derivative Light, *ὅθεν καὶ τρεῖς ἀρχαὶ εἰσαγομῆναι, ἐπεὶ μὴδὲ τριῶν ἡλίων ὑπαρχέμεθα τῷ εἰκόνα, ἀλλὰ ἡλίον καὶ ἀπαύλασμα, καὶ ἐν τῷ ἐξ ἡλίου ἐν τῷ ἀπαύλασματι φῶς*. ὅπου μίαν ἀρχὴν οὐδαμῶ. For it appears from the similitude used by us, that we do not introduce Three Principles (as the Marcionists and Manicheans did) we not comparing the Trinity to Three Suns, but only to the Sun and its Splendour: So that we acknowledge only one Principle. As also where he

D. Trimp. 363

Cont. Ar. Or.
4. p. 467.

P. 365.

he approves, of this of *Dionysius of Alexandria*, ὁ δὲ γὰρ θεὸς αἰώνιον ἔστι φῶς, ἔτε ἀξάμηνον, ἔτε ληξόν ποτε. ἔκθεν αἰώνιον πρόσκηται καὶ συνέσιν αὐτῷ τὸ ἀπαύραγμα, ἀναρχον καὶ ἀέγνωες προφανόμενον αὐτῷ. *God is an Eternal Light, which never began, and shall never cease to be; wherefore there is an Eternal Splendour also coexistent with him, which had no beginning neither, but was Always Generated by him, shining out before him.* For if the Son of God, be as the Splendour of the Sun ἀέγνωες, *Always Generated*, then must he needs have an *Essential Dependence* upon the Father and *Subordination* to him. And this same thing further appears from those other resemblances, which the same *Dionysius* maketh, of the Father and the Son; approved in like manner also by *Athanasius*; viz. to the *Fountain and the River*; to the *Root and the Branch*; to the *Water and the Vapour*; for so it ought to be read ὕδατος, and not πνεύματος, as appeareth from his Book of the *Nicene Synod*, where he affirmeth the Son to have been begotten of the *Essence or Substance* of the Father, ὡς τῆ φωτὸς ἀπαύραγμα, ὡς ὕδατος ἀτμὶς, *as the Splendour of the Light, and as the Vapour of the Water*; adding, ἔτε γὰρ τὸ ἀπαύραγμα, ἔτε ἡ ἀτμὶς, αὐτὸ τὸ ὕδωρ ἔστιν, ἡ αὐτὸς ὁ ἥλιος. ἔτε ἄλλοτερον, ἀλλὰ ἀπὸρροια καὶ τῆ πατρὸς ἐκκλῆς. *For neither the Splendour nor the Vapour, is the very Sun, and the very Water; nor yet is it Aliene from it, or a stranger to its nature; but they are both Effluxes from the Essence or Substance of them; as the Son is an Efflux from the Substance of the Father, yet so as that he is no way diminished or lessened thereby.* Now all these similitudes of the *Fountain and the River*, the *Root and the Branch*, the *Water and the Vapour*, (as well as that of the *Sun and the Splendour*) seem plainly to imply some *Dependence* and *Subordination*. And *Dionysius* doubtless intended them to that purpose, he asserting as *Photius* informeth us, an *Inferiority* of *Power and Glory* in the *Second*, as likewise did *Origen* before him: both whose Testimonies notwithstanding, *Athanasius* maketh use of, without any censure or reprehension of them. Wherefore when *Athanasius* and the other *Orthodox Fathers*, writing against *Arius*, do so frequently assert the *Equality* of all the *Three Persons*, this is to be understood in way of opposition to *Arius* only, who made the Son to be Unequal to the Father as ἐτερόσημον, *of a different Essence from him, One being God and the other a Creature*; they affirming on the contrary, that he was Equal to the Father, as ὁμοούσιος, *of the same Essence with him*; that is, as God and not a Creature. Notwithstanding which *Equality*, there might be some *Subordination* in them, as *Hic Deus* and *Hæc Persona* (to use *Petavius* his Language) *This God and that Person*.

P. 275.

And thus does there seem not to be so great a *Difference*, betwixt the more *Genuine Platonists*, and the ancient *Orthodox Fathers*, in their Doctrine concerning the Trinity, as is by many conceived. However our *Platonick Christian* would further add; that there is no necessity at all from the Principles of Platonism it self, why the Platonists should make any other or more *Subordination* in their Trinity, than the most severely *Orthodox Fathers* themselves. For according to the *Common Hypothesis* of the Platonists, when the Character of the *First Hypostasis* is supposed by them, to be *Infinite Goodness*; of the *Second*, *Infinite Wisdom*; and of the *Third*, *Infinite Active Love and Power*, (these

(these not as *Accidents* and *Qualities*, but as all *Substantial*) it is more easie to conceive, that all these are really but *One* and the same *God*, than how there should be any considerable *Inferiority* in them. But besides this, there is another *Platonick Hypothesis* (which *St. Austin* hinteth from *Porphyrius*, though he professeth he did not well understand it) wherein the *Third Hypostasis* is made to be, a certain *Middle* betwixt the *First* and *Second*. And this does *Proclus* also sometimes follow, calling the *Third* in like manner, μέστω δύναμιν, *a Middle Power*, and ἔστω ἀμφοῖν, *the Relation of both the First and Second to one another*. Which agreeth exactly with that apprehension of some *Christians*, that the *Third Hypostasis* is as it were the *Nexus* betwixt the *First* and the *Second*, and that *Love* whereby the *Father* and *Son* Love each other. Now according to this *Latter Platonick Hypothesis*, there would seem to be not so much a *Gradation* or *Descent*, as a kind of *Circulation* in the *Trinity*. Upon all which Considerations, the *Platonick Christian* will conclude, That though some *Junior Platonists* have adulterated the Notion of the *Trinity*, yet either there is no such great difference betwixt the *Genuine Platonick Trinity*, rightly understood, and the *Christian*; or else that as the same might be modell'd and rectified, there need not to be.

D. Civ. D. L.
10. c. 23. Cum
dicit Medium,
non Postponit,
sed Interponit.

But though the *Genuine Platonists*, do thus suppose the *Three Hypostases* of their *Trinity*, to be all of them, not only *God*, but also *One God*, or μία θεότης, *One Entire Divinity*; upon which *Latter* accompt the *Whole* may be said also by them, to have *One Singular* or *Numerical Essence*; yet notwithstanding must it be acknowledged, that they no where suppose, each of these *Three Hypostases*, to be *Numerically* the very same, or to have no *Distinct Singular Essences* of their own: this being in their apprehensions, directly contradictory to their very *Hypothesis* it self, and all one as if they should affirm them, indeed not to be *Three Hypostases*, but only *One*. Nevertheless, the *Christian Platonist* would here also apologize for them after this manner; That the ancient *Orthodox Fathers* of the *Christian Church*, were Generally of no other perswasion than this, that that *Essence* or *Substance of the Godhead*, which all the *Three Persons* or *Hypostases* agree in, as each of them is *God*, was not *One Singular and Individual*, but only *One Common and Universal Essence or Substance*: that word *Substance*, being used by them as *Synonymous* with *Essence*, and applied to *Universals* likewise, as it is by the *Peripateticks*, when they call *A Man*, or *Animal* in General, *Substantiam Secundam*, *A Second Substance*. Now this is Evident from hence, because these *Orthodox Fathers*, did commonly distinguish in this Controversie of the *Trinity*, betwixt οὐσία, and ὑπόστασις, *the Essence or Substance of the Godhead*, and the *Hypostases* or *Persons themselves*, after this manner; namely, that the *Hypostasis* or *Person* was *Singular and Individual*; but the *Essence* or *Substance* *Common and Universal*. Thus does *Theodoret* pronounce of these *Fathers* in general, κατὰ τὴν τῶν πατέρων διδασκαλίαν, ἣν ἔχει διαφορὰν τὸ κοινὸν ὑπὲρ τὸ ἴδιον, ἢ τὸ γένος ὑπὲρ τὸ εἶδος ἢ τὸ ἄτομον, ταύτῃ ἔχει ἡ οὐσία πρὸς τὴν ὑπόστασιν. According to the Doctrine of the Fathers; as that which is Common differs from that which is Proper, and the Genus from the Species or Individuum, so doth

Dial. 1. ad Th.
Har.

doth Essence or Substance, differ from Hypostases, that is to say, that Essence or Substance of the Godhead, which is Common to all the Three Hypostases, or whereby each of them is God, was concluded by the Fathers, not to be One Singular or Individual, but One General or Universal Essence and Substance. Theodoret notwithstanding there acknowledging, that no such Distinction was observed by other Greek Writers, betwixt those two words *ἔσσις* and *ὑπόστασις*, Essence or Substance and Hypostasis; as that the Former of them should be restrained to Universals only, Generical or Specifical Essences or Substances; but that this was peculiar to the Christian Fathers, in their doctrine concerning the Trinity. They in the mean time not denying, but that each Hypostasis, *Πρόσωπον*, or Person, in the Trinity, might be said in another sense, and in way of Opposition to Sabellius, to have its own Singular, Individual or Existent Essence also; and that there are thus,

Greg. Nyssen.
Adv. Eunom.
L. 12.

τρεῖς ἔσσιαι, Three Singular Existent Essences in the Deity, as well as *τρεῖς ὑποστάσεις*, Three Hypostases; an Hypostasis being nothing else to them, but an Existent Essence: however for distinctions sake, they here thought fit thus to limit and appropriate the signification of these Two words; that a Singular and Existent Essence, should not be called Essence, but Hypostasis; and by *ἔσις* Essence or Substance, should be meant, that General or Universal Nature of the Godhead only, which is Common to all those Three Singular Hypostases or Persons, or in which they all agree. We might here heap up many more Testi-

Ep. 369.

monies for a further Confirmation of this; as that of St. Basil; *ὃν ἔχει λόγον τὸ κοινὸν πρὸς τὸ ἴδιον, τὸ αὐτὸν ἔχει ἢ ἔσις πρὸς τὴν ὑπόστασιν*, What Common is to Proper, the same is Essence or Substance (in the Trinity) to the Hypostases. But we shall content our selves only,

De Trin. L. 4.
c. 7.

with this full acknowledgment of D. Petavius, *In hoc Uno Græcorum præsertim omnium judicia concordant, ἔσις, id est, Essentiam sive Substantiam, aut Naturam (quàm φύσις vocant) Generale esse aliquid & Commune, ac minimè definitum, ὑπόστασις verò Proprium, Singulare, & Circumscriptum, quod ex illo Communi, & Peculiaribus quibusdam Notis ac Proprietatibus veluti componitur. In this One Thing, do the Judgments and Opinions of all the Greeks especially agree, that *ὑσία* Essence or Substance, and Nature, which they call *Physis* (in the Trinity) is something General, Common and Undetermined; but Hypostasis is that which is Proper, Singular and Circumscribed; and which is as it were compounded and made up of that Common Essence or Substance, and certain Peculiar Notes and Properties, or Individuating Circumstances.*

But besides this, it is further certain, that not a few of those Ancient Fathers, who were therefore reputed Orthodox, because they zealously opposed Arianism, did entertain this opinion also, That the Three Hypostases or Persons of the Trinity, had not only one General and Universal Essence of the Godhead, belonging to them all, they being all God; but were also Three Individuals, under One and the same Ultimate Species, or Specifick Essence and Substance of the Godhead; Just as Three Individual men, (Thomas, Peter and John) under that Ultimate Species of Man; or that Specifick Essence of Humanity, which have only a Numerical Difference from one another.

Where-

Wherefore an *Hypostasis* or *Person* (in the Trinity) was accordingly thus defined, by some of these Fathers, (*viz.* *Anastasius* and *Cyril*) to be, *Essentia cum suis quibusdam Proprietatibus, ab iis quæ sunt ejusdem Speciei, Numero differens*; an *Essence or Substance, with its Certain Properties (or Individuating Circumstances) differing only Numerically from those of the same Species with it.* This Doctrine was plainly asserted and Indultriously pursued (besides several others both of the Greeks and Latins) especially by *Gregory Nyssen*, *Cyril of Alexandria*, *Maximus the Martyr*, and *Damascen*; whose words because *Petavius* hath set them down at large, we shall not here insert. Now these were they who principally insisted, upon the *Absolute Co-Equality* and *Independent Co-Ordination*, of the *Three Hypostases* or *Persons* in the Trinity, as compared with one another. Because, as *Three Men*, though one of them were a Father, Another a Son, and the Third a Nephew; yet have no *Essential Dependence* one upon another, but are *Naturally Co-Equal* and *Unsubordinate*, there being only a *Numerical Difference* betwixt them: so did they in like manner conclude, that the *Three Hypostases* or *Persons of the Deity* (the Father, Son and Holy Ghost) being likewise but *Three Individuals*, under the same *Ultimate Species* or *Specifick Essence* of the Godhead, and differing only *Numerically* from one another, were *Absolutely Co-Equal*, *Unsubordinate* and *Independent*; and this was that which was Commonly called by them, their *ὁμοουσιότης*, their *Co-Essentiality* or *Con-Substantiality*. Wherefore it is observable, that *St. Cyril* one of these Theologers, finds no other fault at all with the *Platonick Trinity*, but only this, that such an *Homoousiotes*, such a *Co-Essentiality* or *Consubstantiality* as this, was not acknowledged therein, *ἐλελοίπει δ' ἂν πρὸς τὸ αὐτοῖς εἶναι, εἰ τὸ ὁμοουσιότητος λόγον ἐφαρμόζην ἡδεῖον ὑποστάσεων* *Cons. Ful. L. 8.p.270.* *ταῖς τρεῖσιν, ἵνα καὶ μία νοοῖτο ἡ θεότης φύσις, τὸ τε ἕκαστος ἐν ἑαυτῷ πρὸς ἐπετέτητα φυσικῶν, καὶ τὸ γὰρ δι' αὐτῶν ἀλλήλων ἐν μέλειον ὁραδαὶ ὑποστάσεις.* There would have been nothing at all wanting to the *Platonick Trinity*, for an *Absolute* agreement of it with the *Christian*, had they but accommodated the right Notion of *Co-Essentiality* or *Con-Substantiality* to their *Three Hypostases*; so that their might have been but one *Specifick Nature* or *Essence* of the Godhead, not further distinguishable by any *Natural Diversity*, but *Numerically* only, and so no one *Hypostasis* any way *Inferiour* or *Subordinate* to another. That is, had these *Platonists* complied with that *Hypothesis* of *St. Cyril* and others, that the *Three Persons* of the Trinity, were but *Three Independent* and *Co-Ordinate Individuals*, under the same *Ultimate Species* or *Specifick Essence* of the Godhead, as *Peter*, *Paul* and *John*, under that *Species* or *Common Nature* of *Humanity*, and so taken in this *Co-Essentiality* or *Con-Substantiality* of theirs, then had they been completely *Orthodox*. Though we have already shewed, that this *Platonick Trinity*, was in another sence *Homoousian*, and perhaps it will appear afterwards, that it was so also in the very sence of the *Nicene Fathers* and of *Athanasius*. Again these Theologers supposed, the *Three Persons* of their Trinity, to have really no other than a *Specifick Unity* or *Identity*; and because it seems plainly to follow from hence, that therefore they must needs be as much *Three Gods* as *Three Men* are *Three Men*; these learned Fathers endeavoured with their

Logick to prove, That *Three Men*, are but Abusively and Improperly so called *Three*; they being really & truly but *One*, because there is but *One & the same Specifick Essence or Substance of Humane Nature* in them all; and seriously perswaded men to lay aside that kind of Language. By which same Logick of theirs, they might as well prove also, that all the men in the world are but *One Man*, and that all *Epicurus* his Gods were but one God neither. But not to urge here, that according to this *Hypothesis*, there cannot possibly be any reason given, why there should be so many as *Three* such Individuals in the *Species of God*, which differ only Numerically from one another, they being but the very same thing thrice repeated; and yet that there should be no more than *Three* such neither, and not *Three Hundred*, or *Three Thousand*, or as many as there are individuals in the *Species of Man*; we say, not to urge this, it seems plain that this *Trinity*, is no other than a kind of *Tritheism*, and that of *Gods Independent and Co-Ordinate* too. And therefore some would think, that the Ancient and Genuine *Platonick Trinity*, taken with all its faults, is to be preferred before this *Trinity* of *St. Cyril* and *St. Gregory Nyssen*, and several other reputed Orthodox Fathers; and more agreeable to the Principles both of *Christianity* and of *Reason*. However it is evident from hence, that these *Reputed Orthodox Fathers*, who were not a few, were far from thinking the *Three Hypostases* of the *Trinity*, to have the same *Singular Existent Essence*; they supposing them to have no otherwise, one and the same *Essence of the Godhead* in them, nor to be *One God*, than *Three Individual Men*, have one *Common Specifick Essence of Manhood* in them, and are all *One Man*. But as this *Trinity* came afterwards to be decried, for *Tritheistick*; so in the room thereof, started there up, that other *Trinity of Persons* Numerically the Same, or having all *One* and the same *Singular Existent Essence*; a Doctrine which seemeth not to have been owned by any publick Authority in the Christian Church, save that of the *Lateran Council* only.

And that no such thing was ever entertained by the Nicene Fathers and those First opposers of Arianism, might be rendered probable in the First place from the free Confession and Acknowledgment of *D. Petavius*, (a Person, well acquainted with Ecclesiastick Antiquity;) and for this reason especially, because many are much led, by such new Names and Authorities; *In eo præcipuam vim collocasse Patres, ut Aequalem Patri Naturâ, Excellentiâque Filium esse defenderent, citra expressam SINGULARITATIS mentionem, licet ex eo conjicere. Etenim Nicæni isti Præsules, quibus nemo melius Ariana Sectæ arcana cognovit, nemo quare opprimenda maximè foret, acrius judicare potuit, nihil in Professionis sue formulâ spectarunt aliud, nisi ut Aequalitatem illam Essentiæ, Dignitatis, Aternitatis astruerent. Testatur hoc quorundam vox ipsa, quæ arx quedam fuit Catholici Dogmatis. Hec enim Aequalitatem potius Essentiæ, quam SINGULARITATEM significat, ut Capite Quinto docui. Deinde cetera ejusdem modi sunt in illo Decreto, ut, &c.* The chief force which the Ancient Fathers opposed against the Arian Hereticks, was in asserting only the Equality of the Son with the Father as to Nature or Essence, without any express mention of

De Trim. L. 4.
c. 13.

of the *SINGULARITY* of the same. For those Nicene Bishops themselves, who did understand best of any, the secrets of the Arian Faction, and which way it should especially be oppugned, aimed at nothing else in their Confession of Faith, but only to establish that Equality of Essence, Dignity and Eternity between them. This does the word *Homoufios* it self declare, it signifying rather Equality, than *SINGULARITY* of Essence, as we have before showed. And the like do those other Passages in the same Decree; as, That there was no time when the Son was not, and That he was not made of nothing, Nor of a different Hypostasis or Essence. Thus does Petavius clearly confess, that this Same Singularity of Numerical Essence was not asserted by the Nicene Council nor the most Ancient Fathers, but only an Equality or Sameness of Generical Essence; or else that the Father and Son, agreed only in One Common Essence or Substance of the Godhead, that is, the Eternal and Uncreated Nature.

But the truth of this, will more fully appear, from these following Particulars. First because these *Orthodox Anti-Arian Fathers*, did all of zealously condemn *Sabellianism*; the Doctrine whereof is no other than this, that there was but one Hypostasis or Singular Individual Essence, of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost; and consequently that they were indeed but Three several Names, or Notions, or Modes, of one and the self same thing. From whence such Absurdities as these would follow; That the Father's Begetting the Son, was nothing but one Name, Notion, or Mode of the Deities Begetting another; or else the same Deity under one Notion, Begetting it self under another Notion. And when again the Son or Word, and not the Father, is said to have been Incarnated, and to have suffered death for us upon the Cross; that it was nothing but a meer Logical Notion or Mode of the Deity, that was Incarnate and Suffered, or else the whole Deity under one particular Notion or Mode only. But should it be averred notwithstanding, that this Trinity which we now speak of, was not a Trinity of meer Names and Notions, as that of the Sabellians, but of distinct Hypostases or Persons; then must it needs follow (since every Singular Essence is an Hypostasis, according to the sense of the Ancient Fathers) that there was not a Trinity only, but a Quaternity of Hypostases, in the Deity. Which is a thing that none of those Fathers ever dream'd of.

Again the word *Homoufios*, as was before intimated by Petavius, was never used by Greek writers otherwise, than to signify the Agreement of things, Numerically differing from one another, in some Common Nature, or Universal Essence; or their having a Generical Unity or Identity, of which sundry Instances might be given. Nor indeed is it likely, that the Greek Tongue should have any name for that, which neither is a thing in Nature, nor falls under Humane Conception, viz. Several Things having one and the same singular Essence. And accordingly St. Basil interprets the force of this word thus, ἀναρῶν τὴν ταυτότητα τῶν ὁμοούσιων ὅτι αὐτὰ ἢ ἓν ἢ ἐν ἑπὶ ἐν ἑπὶ ἐν ἑπὶ ὁμοούσιον, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ ἐν ἑπὶ ἐν ἑπὶ. That it plainly takes away the Sameness of Hypostasis, that is, of Singular Numerical Essence (this being that

En. 4: L. 7.
c. 10.

Epiſt. de Sent.
Dion. p. 556.

Tom. I. p. 556.

Thus also in his
I. Epist. to Serap.
ἀνθρώποι γ' ὅν
μοιοι καὶ τῷ πα-
τρὶ καὶ ἡμεῖς ὁ-
μοιοὶ ἐν τῷ αἵ-
ματι. We Men
being alike and
having the Same-
ness of Nature, are
Con-Substantial
with one another.
And P. 170. ὁ-
μοῖον δὲ μαῖνον· ἐν
τῷ λόγῳ, τῷ δι-
κῶν ὁμοῖον τῷ
ἐκδομένῳ, καὶ τῷ
ἐκδομένῳ τῷ πα-
τρὶ, ὅτι τῷ πα-
τρὶ καὶ τῷ υἱῷ
καὶ τῷ πνεύματι ὁ-
μοῖον τῷ ὁ-
μοῖον πατρὶ. It
were maddest to
say, that a House
is Coessential or
Con-substantial
with the Builder,
or a Ship with its
but it is proper to
say, that every Son
is Coessential or
Consubstantial
with his Father.

which the ancient Fathers meant by the word Hypostasis:) For the same thing, is not Homouousios, Co-Essential or Con-Substantial with itself, but always One thing with Another. Wherefore as τὸ ὁμοῖον and συγγενεῖα, are used by Plotinus as Synonymous, in these words concerning the Soul, Δεῶν μετὰ διὰ συγγενεῖαν καὶ τὸ ὁμοῖον; That it is full of Divine things, by reason of its being Cognate or Congenerous, and Homouousios with them: so doth Athanasius in like manner use them, when he affirmeth, τὰ κλήματα εἶναι ὁμοῖα καὶ συγγενῇ τῇ ἀμπέλῳ, That the Branches are Homouousios [Co-essential or Con-substantial] and Congenerous with the Vine, or with the Root thereof. Besides which, the same Father uses, ὁμογενὴς and ὁμοειδὴς, and ὁμοφυῆς, indifferently for ὁμοῖον, in sundry places. None of which words can be thought to signify an Identity of Singular Essence, but only of Generical or Specifical. And thus was the word Homouousios, plainly used by the Council of Chalcedon, they affirming that our Saviour Christ was, ὁμοῖος τῷ πατρὶ καὶ τῷ θεότητι, καὶ ὁμοῖον ἡμῖν καὶ τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ, Co-Essential or Con-Substantial with the Father, as to his Divinity; but Co-Essential or Con-Substantial with us Men, as to his Humanity. Where it cannot reasonably be suspected, that one and the same word should be taken in two different senses in the same Sentence, so as in the first place to signify a Numerical Identity, but in the second, a Generical or Specifical only. But Lastly, which is yet more, Athanasius himself speaketh in like manner of our Saviour Christ's being Homouousios with us men; εἰ μὲν ὅν ὁμοῖός ἐστιν ἡμῖν υἱός, καὶ τῷ αὐτῷ ἡμῖν ἔχει ἡμεῖς, ἔστω καὶ τὸ τοῦ υἱὸς ἀμοτέριον κατ' εἶδος τῷ πατρὶ, ὡς καὶ ἡ ἀμπέλος τῷ γεωργῷ. If the Son be Coessential or Consubstantial (or of the same Essence or Substance) with us Men, he having the very same Nature with us, then let him be in this respect a stranger to the Essence or Substance of the Father, even as the Vine is to the Essence of the Husbandman. And again a little after, in the same Epistle, ἢ λέγων μὴ εἶναι τὸν λόγον ἰδίον, ἢ τῷ πατρὶ εἶδος, ἐφ' ὧν τὸν ὁμοῖον ἡμῶν εἶναι τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ. Or did Dionysius, think you, when he affirmed the Word not to be Proper to the Essence of the Father, suppose him therefore to be Coessential or Consubstantial with us Men? From all which it is unquestionably evident, that Athanasius did not by the word Homouousios understand, That which hath the Same Singular and Numerical Essence with another, but the same Common Generical or Specifical only; and consequently, that he conceived the Son to be Coessential or Consubstantial with the Father after that manner.

Furthermore the true meaning of the Nicene Fathers, may more fully and thoroughly be perceived, by considering what that Doctrine of Arius was, which they Opposed and Condemned. Now Arius maintained, the Son or Word, to be ὡς κτῆμα a Creature, Made in Time, and Mutable or Defectible, and for that reason as Athanasius tells us, ἐτερόεικτον and ἀμοτέριον, of a different Essence or Substance from the Father (That which is Created, being supposed to differ Essentially or Substantially, from that which is Uncreated.) Wherefore the Nicene Fathers, in way of Opposition to this Doctrine of Arius determined, that the Son or Word, was not thus ἐτερόεικτος, nor

nor ἀμοτέριστος, but ὁμοούσιος τῷ πατρὶ, *Coeffential or Consubstantial with the Father*; that is, not a Creature, but God; or agreeing with the Father in that *Common Nature or Essence of the Godhead*. So that this is that ὁμία, *Essence or Substance* of the ancient Fathers, which is said to be the Same in all the *Three Hypostases* of the Trinity as they are called God; not a *Singular Existent Essence*, but the *Common, General, or Universal Essence of the Godhead*, or of the *Uncreated Nature*, called by S. Hilary, *Natura Una, non Unitate Personæ, sed Generis*; *One Nature, not by Unity of Person, but of Kind*. Which *Unity of the Common or General Essence of the Godhead*, is the same thing also with that *Equality*, which some of the Ancient Fathers so much insist upon against Arius, namely *An Equality of Nature*, as the Son and Father are both of them alike God, that *Essence of the Godhead* (which is *Common to all the Three Persons*) being as all other *Essences*, supposed to be *Indivisible*. From which *Equality* it self also does it appear, that they acknowledged no *Identity of Singular Essence*, it being absurd to say, that One and the self same thing, is *Equal to it self*. And with this *Equality of Essence*, did some of these Orthodox Fathers themselves imply, that a certain *Inequality of the Hypostases or Persons* also, in their mutual Relation to one another, might be consistent. As for example, St. Austin writing thus against the Arians, *Patris, ergo & Filii, & Spiritus Sancti, etiamsi disparem cogitant Potestatem, Naturam saltem consteantur Aequalem*; *Though they conceive the Power of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, to be Unequal, yet let them for all that, confess their Nature at least to be Equal*. And St. Basil likewise, *Though the Son be in Order Second to the Father, because produced by him, and in Dignity also, (forasmuch as the Father is the Cause and Principle of his being) yet is he not for all that, Second in Nature, because there is One Divinity in them both*. And that this was indeed the meaning, both of the Nicene Fathers, and of Athanasius, in their *Homöousiotes*, their *Coeffentiality or Consubstantiality*, and *Coequality of the Son with the Father*; namely, their having both the same *Common Essence of the Godhead*; or that the Son was *No Creature*, as Arius contended, but truly *God or Uncreated* likewise, will appear undeniably, from many passages in Athanasius, of which we shall here mention only some few. In his Epistle concerning the Nicene Council, he tells us, how the Eusebian Faction subscribed the Form of that Council, though afterward they recanted it, πάντων τε ὑπογράψαντων ὑπεγράψαν καὶ οἱ εὐσεβίων τότοις τοῖς ῥήμασιν οἷς αὐτιῶναι νῦν ἔσται· λέγω ἢ τὰ ἐκ τῆς οὐσίας, καὶ τὰ ὁμοούσια, καὶ ὅτι μήτε κτίσμα ἢ ποίημα, μήτε τῆς κτίσεως ὅτι οὗτος θεὸς ὅς· ἀλλὰ ὁ ὁμοούσιος καὶ τὸ πατρὸς οὐσίας ὁ λόγος· *All the rest subscribing, the Eusebianists themselves subscribed also to these very words, which they now find fault with; I mean Of the Essence or Substance, and Coessential or Consubstantial, and that the Son is no Creature or Façture or any of the Things Made, but the Genuine Off-spring of the Essence or Substance of the Father*. Afterwards he declareth, how the Nicene Council at first, intended to have made use only of Scripture Words and Phrases, against the Arians, τὸ συνέδριον βεβηλωμένης τὰς μὲν τῆς Ἀρειανῶν τῆς ἀσεβείας λέξεως ἀνελεῖν· τὰς δὲ τῆς γενομένης ὁμολογηθείας φωνὰς γραῖλαι, ὅτι τε ὁὗτος θεὸς ὅς· ἐκ οὐκ ὄντων, ἀλλ' ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ, καὶ λόγος ὅτι καὶ σοφία, ἀλλ' ὁ κτίσμα ὅδε ποίημα· ἰδίον δὲ

De Symodis.

Cont. Serm.
Arian. c. 18.

3. Cont. Eunom.

P. 351.

P. 167.

ὅς

ὅτι τὸ πατέρις ὁ ὢν υἱός· *As that Christ was the Son of God, and not from nothing, but from God. the Word and Wisdom of God, and consequently no Creature or thing Made.* But when they perceived that the Eusebian Faction would evade all those Expressions by Equivocation, ἡναγχαζομένων λοιπὸν ἀδελφῶν ἐπεὶ τὸ ὅτι τὸ θεός· καὶ γεγενῆσθαι ὅτι τὸ θεός εἶναι τὸ υἱόν, ὑπὲρ τῆς μὴ τὸ ὅτι τὸ θεός κοινὸν καὶ ἴσον, τὸ τε υἱὸς καὶ τὸ γυνήτιον νομίζεσθαι· *They conceived themselves necessitated, more plainly to declare what they meant by being From God, or Out of him; and therefore added, that the Son was Out of the Substance of God, thereby to distinguish him from all Created Beings.* Again a little after in the same Epistle he adds, ἡ συνόδος τῷτο νοῶσα, καλῶς ὁμοῦσιον ἐργασθεῖν, ἵνα τῷτε τῷ αἰρετικῶν κακοήθειαν ἀνασφραγίσαι· καὶ δεξωσθαι ἄλλον εἶναι τῷ γυνήτιον τὸ λόγον· καὶ τὸ γεγενῆσθαι ὁμοῦσιον ἐπήγαγον· τὸς δὲ λέγοντας ἐξ ἐκ ὧν τὸ υἱόν τὸ θεός, ἢ κτίσιν· ἢ τρεπτόν· ἢ ποίημα· ἢ ἐξ ἑτέρας ὁσίας, τῶς ἀναθεματίζει ἡ ἀγία καὶ καθολικὴ Ἐκκλησία· *The Synod perceiving this, rightly declared, that the Son was Homoeousions with the Father; both to cut off the Subterfuges of Hereticks, and to show him to be different from the Creatures.* For after they had decreed this, they added immediately, They who say that the Son of God, was from things that are not, or Made, or Mutable, or a Creature, or of another Substance or Essence; all such does the Holy and Catholick Church Anathematize. Whereby they made it Evident, that these Words, Of the Father, and Coessential or Consubstantial with the Father, were opposed to the Impiety of those expressions of the Arians, that the Son was a Creature, or thing Made, and Mutable, and that he was not before he was Made, which he that affirmeth contradicteth the Synod, but whosoever differs from Arius, must needs consent to these Forms of the Synod. In this same Epistle, to cite but one passage more out of it, χρυσός, σίλβαν καὶ χυρσός, &c. ἀλλ' ἐπεροφῇ καὶ ἐπερὶ αἰνῶν· εἰ μὲν ἐν καὶ υἱὸς ὅπως ὅστις, ἔστω ὡς αἱμα ὡς καὶ ἡμεῖς, καὶ μὴ ὁμοῦσιον, εἰ δὲ υἱὸς ὅτι λόγος, σοφία, εἰδὼν τὸ πατέρις, ἀπαύλαμα, εἰκότως ὁμοῦσιον ἀν εἶν· *Brass and Gold, Silver and Tin are alike in their shining and colour, nevertheless in their Essence and Nature, are they very different from one another. If therefore the Son be such, then let him be a Creature as we are, and not Coessential (or Consubstantial) but if he be a Son, the Word, Wisdom, Image of the Father, and his Splendour, then of right should he be accounted Coessential and Consubstantial.* Thus in his Epistle concerning Dionysius, we have εἶνα τῷ γυνήτιον εἶναι τὸ υἱόν, and μὴ ὁμοῦσιον τὰ πατέρι, *The Son's being one of the Creatures, and his not being Coessential or Consubstantial with the Father put for Synonymous expressions, which signifie one and the samething.*

P. 172.

P. 561.

Wherefore it seemeth to be unquestionably evident, that when the Ancient Orthodox Fathers of the Christian Church, maintained against Arius, the Son to be Homoeousion, Coessential or Consubstantial with the Father, though that word be thus interpreted, Of the same Essence or Substance, yet they Universally understood thereby, not a Sameness of Singular and Numerical, but of Common or Universal Essence only; that is, the Generical or Specific Essence of the Godhead; that the Son was no Creature, but truly and properly God. But if it were needful, there might be yet more Testimonies cited out of

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Athanasius to this purpose. As from his Epistle *De Synodis Arimini* ^{Ep. 929.} *seleucia*, where he writeth thus, concerning the Difference betwixt those Two words *ὁμοίον*, of *Like Substance*, and *ὁμοούσιον*, Of the *same Substance*. οἶδατε γὰρ καὶ ὑμεῖς ὅτι τὸ ὁμοίον ἐκ ἐπὶ τῶν ὁσίων, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ ἡμετέων καὶ ποιότητων λέγεται ὁμοίον· ἐπὶ γὰρ τῶν ὁσίων ἔχ' ὁμοιότητος, ἀλλὰ ταυτέστις ἀν' ἑαυτῇ· ἀνθρώπου γὰρ ἀνθρώπου ὁμοίον λέγεται καὶ τὸ τῶν ὁσίων--- τῇ γὰρ ἑστὶν ὁμοφυεῖς εἶσι· καὶ πάλιν ἀνθρώπου κοινὴ ἐκ' ἀνόμοιους λέγεται ἀλλ' ἐπε- ρεφύης· οὐκ ἔστιν τὸ ὁμοφυεῖς καὶ ὁμοούσιον, τὸ δ' ἑτεροφυεῖς καὶ ἑτερόσιον· For even your selves know that *Similitude* is not *Predicated* of *Essences* or *Substances*, but of *Figures* and *Qualities* only. But of *Essences* or *Substances*, *Identity* or *Sameness* is affirmed and not *Similitude*. For a man is not said to be *Like* to a man, in respect of the *Essence* or *Substance* of *Humanity*, but only as to *Figure* or *Form*: they being said as to their *Essence* to be *Congenerous*, of the same *Nature* or *Kind* with one another. Nor is a man properly said, to be *Unlike* to a Dog, but of a *Different Nature* or *Kind* from him. Wherefore that which is *Congenerous*, of the same *Nature*, *Kind*, or *Species*, is also *Homouofion*, *Coeffential* or *Consubstantial* (of the same *Essence* or *Substance*) and that which is of a different *Nature*, *Kind*, or *Species*, is *Heteroufion*, (of a different *Essence* or *Substance*.) Again Athanasius in that Fragment of his Against the Hypocritie of Meletius, &c. concerning *Consubstantiality* writeth in this manner; ὁ τοίνυν ἀναγνῶν τὸ εἶναι τὸν υἱὸν ὁμοούσιον τῷ πατρὶ, λέγων ὅτι ὁμοίον, ἀναγνῶν τὸ εἶναι οὐδὲν· ὡς αὐτὸς ὁ καὶ ὁ ἐξηγήσατο τὸ ὁμοούσιον, ὡς ὁμοίον τῇ ὁσίᾳ ἐπεὶ τῶν ὁσίων λέγει, οὐδὲν ὁμοιωμένην· καὶ τοίνυν εἰδὲ τὸ ἐκ τῆς ὁσίας εἶναι προσηύδα λέγει μὴ φρονῶν ὁμοούσιον, ὡς ἀνθρώπος ἐκ τῆς ἀνθρώπου ὁσίας· εἰ δὲ μὴ ὡς ἀνθρώπου ἐξ ἀνθρώπου καὶ ἑστὶν, ἐκ οὗτος ὁ υἱός, ἀλλ' ὡς ἐν ὁμοιωμένῃ καὶ δεῖσθαι αὐτὸς ἀνθρώπου· ἢ ὡς ἀνθρώπος οὐδὲν, ὅτι οὗτος ὁ τοιοῦτος ὁμοούσιον μὴ λέγων, ὁμοούσιον ὅτι φρονῶν· οὐ γὰρ καὶ τῶν συνθέσθαι τὸ ὁμοούσιον ἀκρωταί, οὐδὲν ὅτι, ὡς ἐν μᾶς καὶ τῆς αὐτῆς ὁσίας· ἀλλὰ ὡς τῶν συνθέσθαι, καὶ ἵνα διαβάλλῃ ταύτῃ, ἐλλοιπλύνῃ εἰρηκέναι τὸ ὁμοούσιον ἥματι τῷ ἐν ἑλ- λησιν ἔδος ἐπ' εἰδὲν ἐτέρῳ κέρχον ἢ ἐπὶ τὴν αὐτὴν φύσιν ὡς ἐστὶν, &c. He that denies the Son to be Homouofion, Consubstantial with the Father, affirming him only to be like to him, denies him to be God. In like manner, he who reteining the word Homouofion or Consubstantial, interprets it notwithstanding only of *Similitude* or *Likeness* in *Substance*, affirmeth the Son to be of *Another Different Substance* from the Father, and therefore not God; but like to God only. Neither doth such a one rightly understand those words, Of the Substance of the Father, he not thinking the Son to be so Consubstantial, or of the *Essence* and *Substance* of the Father, as one man is Consubstantial, or Of the *Essence* or *Substance* of another who begat him. For he who affirmeth that the Son is not so Of God, as a man is Of a man, according to *Essence* or *Substance*; but that he is Like him only, as a Statue is like a Man or as a Man may be Like to God, it is manifest that such a one, though he use the word Homouofios, yet he doth not really mean it. For he will not understand it according to the customary signification thereof, for that which hath One and the Same *Essence* or *Substance*; this word being used by Greeks and Pagans in no other sence, than to signifie that which hath the Same *Nature*; as we ought to believe concerning the Father Son and Holy Ghost. Where we see plainly, that though the word Homouofios, be interpreted, That which hath One and the Same

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Essence or Substance, yet is this understood of the Same Common Nature, and as one man is of the same Essence or Substance with another. We might here also add to this, the concurrent testimonies of the other Orthodox Fathers, but to avoid tediousness we shall omit them, and only insert some passages out of St. Austin to the same purpose. For he in his First Book *Contra Maxim.* Chap. the 15. writeth thus, *Duo veri Homines, eisi nullus eorum Filius sit Alterius, Unius tamen & Ejusdem sunt Substantia.* Homo autem alterius Hominis Verus filius nullo modo potest nisi Ejusdem cum Patre esse Substantia, etiamsi non sit per omnia Similis Patri. Quocirca Verus Dei Filius, & Unius cum Patre Substantia est, quia Verus Filius est; & per omnia est Patri similis, quia est Dei Filius. Two True men, though neither of them be Son to the other, yet are they both of One and the Same Substance. But a man who is the true Son of another man, can by no means be of a Different Substance from his Father, although he be not in all respects like unto him. Wherefore the true Son of God, is both of one Substance with the Father, because he is a true Son, and he is also in all respects like to him, because he is the Son of God. Where Christ or the Son of God, is said to be no otherwise, of One Substance with God the Father, than here amongst men, the Son is of the same Substance with his Father, or any one man with another. Again the same S. Austin in his Respons. ad Sermonem Arianorum, expresseth himself thus: *Ariani nos vocitant Homousianos, quia contra eorum errorem, Græco vocabulo ὁμοῦς μόνον defendimus, Patrem, Filium, & Spiritum Sanctum; id est, Unius Ejusdemque Substantia, vel ut expressius dicamus Essentia (quæ ὁμοῦς Græcè appellatur) quod planius dicitur Unius Ejusdemque Naturæ. Et tamen si quis istorum qui nos Homousianos vocant, Filium suum non cujus ipse esset, sed Diversæ diceret esse Naturæ, Exheredari ab ipso mallet Filius, quam hoc putari. Quanta igitur impietate isti cecantur, qui cum confiteantur Unicum Dei Filium, nolunt Ejusdem Naturæ cujus Pater est confiteri; sed diversæ atque imparis, & multis modis rebusque dissimilis, tanquam non de Deo Natus, sed ab illo de Nihilo sit Creatus; Gratiâ Filius, non Naturâ. The Arians call us Homousians, because in opposition to their Error we defend the Father, Son and Holy Ghost, to be in the Language of the Greeks Homousious, that is of One and the Same Substance; or to speak more clearly Essence, this being in Greek called *Utiab*, which is yet more plainly thus expressed, of One and the Same Nature. And yet there is none of their own Sons, who thus call us Homousians, who would not as willingly be disinherited, as be accounted of a Different Nature from his Father. How great impiety therefore are they blinded with, who though they acknowledge that there is One only Son of God; yet will not confess him, to be of the same Nature with his Father, but different and unequal and many ways unlike him, as if he were not Born of God, but Created out of Nothing by him, himself being a Creature; and so a Son, not by Nature but Grace only. Lastly (to name no more places) in his First Book *De Trinitate*, he hath these words. *Si Filius Creatura non est, ejusdem cum Patre Substantia est. Omnis enim Substantia quæ Deus non est Creatura est: & quæ Creatura non est, Deus est. Et si non est Filius ejusdem Substantia cujus est Pater, ergo facta Substantia est.* If the Son be not a Creature, then is he of the same*

To the same purpose is that in his Second Book ch. 6. *Diversa quidem Substantia est Deus Pater, & Homo Mater: non tamen diversa Substantia est Deus Pater & Deus Filius: sicut non est diversa Substantia, Homo Mater, & Homo Filius.*

same Substance with the Father ; for whatever Substance is not God, is Creature, and whatever is not Creature is God. And therefore if the Son be not of the Same Substance with the Father, he must needs be a Made and Created Substance, and not truly God.

Lastly, that the ancient Orthodox Fathers, who used the word *Homoousios* against *Arius*, intended not therein to assert the Son to have One and the same *Singular or Individual Essence* with the Father, appeareth plainly from their disclaiming and disowning those two words ταῦτόσσιον and μονοῦσιον. Concerning the Former of which, *Epiphanius* thus ; καὶ ὃ λέγομεν ταῦτόσσιον, ἵνα μὴ ἡ λέξις ᾖ τοῖσι λε- Her. 76. N. 7.
γόμεν, Σαβελλίω ἀπαχασθῇ. ταῦτὸν δὲ λέγομεν τῇ θεότητι, καὶ τῇ ἐξείᾳ, καὶ τῇ δυνάμει. We affirm not the Son to be Tautoousion (One and the same Substance with the Father) lest this should be taken in way of compliance with Sabellius ; nevertheless do we assert him to be, the Same, in Godhead, and in Essence, and in Power. Where it is plain, that when *Epiphanius* affirmed the Son to be the same with the Father in Godhead and Essence, he understood this only, of a *Generical or Specifical*, and not of a *Singular or Individual Sameness* ; namely, that the Son is no Creature, but God also as the Father is ; and this he intimates to be the true and genuine sense of the word *Homoousios* : he therefore rejecting that other word *Tautoousios*, because it would be liable to misinterpretation, and to be taken in the *Sabellian* sense, for that which hath One and the Same *Singular and Individual Essence*, which the word *Homoousios* could not be obnoxious to. And as concerning that other word *Monoousios*, *Athanasius* himself, in his P. 241.
Exposition of Faith, thus expressly condemns it, ὅτε γὰρ ὑποπατέροι φερόμενοι, ὡς οἱ Σαβελλίωι μονοῦσιον καὶ ὅχι ὁμοῦσιον, We do not think the Son to be really One and the Same with the Father, as the Sabellians do, and to be Monoousios and not Homoousios ; they thereby destroying the very being of the Son. Where *Ufia*, Essence or Substance, in that *Fictitious* word *Monoousios*, is taken for *Singular or Existent Essence*, the whole Deity being thus said by *Sabellius*, to have only One *Singular Essence* or *Hypostasis* in it : whereas in the word *Homoousios*, is understood a *Common or Universal, Generical or Specifical Essence* ; the Son being thus said to agree with the Father, in the *Common Essence* of the Godhead, as not being a Creature. Wherefore *Athanasius* here disclaimeth a *Monoousian Trinity*, as *Epiphanius* did before, a *Tautoousian* ; both of them a *Trinity* of meer Names, and Notions, or Inadequate Conceptions of One and the Same *Singular Essence* or *Hypostasis* ; they alike distinguishing them, from the *Homoousian Trinity*, as a *Trinity* of *Real Hypostases* or *Persons*, that have severally their *Own Singular Essence*, but agree in one *Common and Universal Essence* of the Godhead, they being none of them *Creatures* but all *Uncreated or Creators*. From whence it is plain, that the ancient Orthodox Fathers, asserted no such thing, as One and the Same *Singular or Numerical Essence*, of the several *Persons* of the *Trinity* ; this according to them, being not a *Real Trinity*, but a *Trinity* of meer Names, Notions, and Inadequate Conceptions only ; which is thus disclaimed and declared against by *Athanasius*, τοῦτος δὲ ὅτιν ἐκ ἑαυτοῦ μόνος, καὶ φανταστικῆς λέξεως, ἀλλὰ ἀληθεῶς καὶ ὑπερῆς τοῦτος, The Trinity,
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Trinity, is not a Trinity of meer Names and Words only, but of Hypostases, truly and really Existing. But the Homoousian Trinity, of the Orthodox, went exactly in the Middle, betwixt that Monoousian Trinity of Sabellius, which was a Trinity of different Notions or Conceptions only of One and the Self-Same Thing, and that other Heteroousian Trinity of Arius, which was a Trinity of Separate and Heterogeneous Substances (one of which only was God, and the other Creatures) this being a Trinity, of Hypostases or Persons, Numerically differing from one another, but all of them agreeing, in one Common or General Essence of the Godhead or the Uncreated Nature, which is Eternal, and Infinite. Which was also thus particularly declared by Athanasius, ὅτι ἑλάνθον τι φρονεῖ ἡ καθολικὴ Ἐκκλησία, ἵνα μὴ εἰς τὰς νῦν κατὰ Καράφαν Ἰουδαίους, καὶ εἰς Σαβέλλιον ἐλπίσῃ. ὅτι πλέον ἔπινον, ἵνα μὴ εἰς τὴν ἑλλωτικὴν πολυθεσίαν κατὰκύλισθῃ. The Catholick Church doth neither believe less than this Homoousian Trinity, lest it should comply with Judaism, or sink into Sabellianism; nor yet more than this, lest on the other hand, it should tumble down into Arianism, which is the same with Pagan Polytheism and Idolatry; it introducing in like manner, the worshipping of Creatures, together with the Creator.

*Ad Serap.
Epp. 101.*

And now upon all these Considerations, our Platonick Christian would conclude, that the *Orthodox Trinity* of the ancient Christian Church, did herein agree with the *Genuinely Platonick Trinity*, that it was not *Monoousian*; One Sole Singular Essence, under Three Notions, Conceptions, or Modes only; but *Three Hypostases* or *Persons*. As likewise the right *Platonick Trinity*, does agree with the *Trinity* of the ancient *Orthodox Christians* in this, that it is not *Heteroousian* but *Homoousian*, *Coeffential* or *Consubstantial*; none of their *Three Hypostases* being *Creatures* or *Particular Beings*, made in Time; but all of them *Uncreated*, *Eternal*, and *Infinite*.

Notwithstanding all which, it must be granted, that though this *Homoousiotes*, or *Coeffentiality* of the *Three Persons* in the *Trinity*, does imply them to be all *God*, yet does it not follow from thence of necessity, that they are therefore *One God*. What then? shall we conclude that *Athanasius* himself also entertained that opinion before mentioned and exploded; Of the *Three Persons* in the *Trinity*, being but *Three Individuals* under the same *Species*, (as *Peter*, *Paul* and *Timothy*,) and having no other *Natural Unity* or *Identity*, than *Specifical* only? Indeed some have confidently fastned this upon *Athanasius*, because in those *Dialogues of the Trinity*, published amongst his works, and there entitled to him, the same is grossly owned, and in defence thereof, this Absurd Paradox maintained; that *Peter*, *Paul* and *Timothy*, though they be *Three Hypostases*, yet are not to be accounted *Three men*, but only then, when they dissent from one another, or disagree in Will or Opinion. But it is certain, from several Passages in those *Dialogues* themselves, that they could not be written by *Athanasius*; and there hath been also another Father found for them, to wit, *Maximus* the Martyr. Notwithstanding which, thus much must not be denied by us, that *Athanasius* in those others his reputedly Genuine Writings, does some-
time

time approach so near hereunto, that he lays no small stress upon this Homoonfiter, this Coessentiality, and Common Nature of the Godhead, to all the Three Persons, in order to their being *One God*. For thus, in that Book entitled, *Concerning the Common Essence of the Three Persons*, and the Chapter inscribed, "ὅτι ἐν εἰς τρεῖς θεοὶ, *That there are not Three Gods* ; doth *Athanasius* lay his Foundation here. When to that question proposed, *How it can be said, that the Father is God, the Son God, and the Holy Ghost God, and yet that there are not Three Gods* ; the First Reply which he makes is this, ὅτι κοινὰ τὰ τῆ φύσεως, κοινὸν καὶ ὄνομα τῆ ἀξίας. οἷον ὁ θεὸς τὰ εἰς πλῆθος διηρημένα ἀπὸ μιᾶς φύσεως ἐν ὀνόματι καλεῖ. καὶ ὅτε ὀργίζεται τοῖς ἀνθρώποις, καὶ πάντα ἀνθρώπων τῇ ὀργῇ ὑποκείμενον, ἕνα ἀνθρώπων καλεῖ. καὶ ὅτι διαλλάσσεται τὰ ὄνομα, ὡς ἐν ἀνθρώπῳ διαλλάσσεται. *Where there is a Communion of Nature, there is also one Common Name of Dignity bestowed. And thus doth God himself, call things divided into Multitudes from one Common Nature, by One Singular Name. For both when he is angry with men, doth he call all those who are the objects of his anger, by the name of One Man : and when he is reconciled to the world, is he reconciled thereto as to One Man.* The first Instances which he gives hereof, are in *Gen.* the 6. the 3. and 7. Verses ; *My Spirit shall not always strive with Man, and I will destroy Man whom I have Created* ; Upon which *Athanasius* makes this Reflexion ; καίτοι ἐν ἡν εἰς, ἀλλὰ μυριάδες ἀπέρροι. ἀλλὰ τὰ ὀνόματι τῆ φύσεως, καὶ πάντα ἀνθρώπων ἕνα ἐκάλεσεν ἀνθρώπων διὰ τὸ κοινὸν τῆ εἰας, *Though there was not then only one man, but Infinite Myriads of men, nevertheless by the name of One Nature, doth the Scripture call all those men, One Man, by reason of their Community of Essence or Substance.* Again he commenteth in like manner upon that other *Scripture*-passage, *Exodus* the 15. 1. *The Horse and his Rider hath he thrown into the Sea*, "ὅτε ἐξῆλθε φαραὼ καὶ τῷ θαλάσσαν, πῆλιν μετὰ μυρίων ἀρμάτων ἐν τῇ θαλάσῃ, καὶ ἦσαν πολλοὶ ἀνθρώποι οἱ βυθισθέντες μετ' αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἵπποι πολλοί. ὁ δὲ μαωὺς εἶδὼς, ὅτι πάντων τῶν βυθισθέντων μία ἦν ἡ φύσις, καὶ αὐτὸς τῶν ἵππων καὶ αὐτὸς τῶν ἀνδρῶν λέγει, ἵππον καὶ ἀναβάτην ἐρρίπεν εἰς θαλάσσαν. τὰ πλῆθος τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἐκάλεσεν ἕνα ἀνθρώπων, καὶ τὰ πλῆθος τῶν ἵππων ἐκάλεσεν ἵππον ἕνα, διὰ τὴν κοινωνίαν τῆ φύσεως. *When Pharaoh went out to the Red Sea, and fell with Infinite Chariots in the same ; and there were many men that were drowned together with him, and many Horses ; yet Moses knowing that there was but one Common Nature of all those that were drowned, speakeith thus both of the Men and Horses ; The Lord hath thrown both the Horse and the Rider into the Sea ; he calling such a Multitude of Men, but One Singular Man, and such a Multitude of Horses but One Horse.* Whereupon *Athanasius* thus concludeth, εἰ δὲ ἐν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις, ὅπως συνέχεται τὰ τῆ φύσεως. ὅπως διάφορα τὰ τῆ μορφῆς καὶ δυνάμεως καὶ βουλῆς. ὅτι γὰρ ἔστιν ἑστὶ γνώμη ἴση, ἑστὶ μορφή, ἑστὶ ἰσχύς. καὶ διάφορα γλῶσσαι, διὰ καὶ ἀνθρώποι μέρες λέγονται. ἀλλὰ διὰ τὸ κοινὸν τῆ φύσεως πάντα ἡ οὐκ ἐκ μέρους εἰς ἀνθρώπων ἐκλήθη. ὅπως ἡ ἀμέλειος ἡ ἀξία, μία βασιλεία, μία δύναμις, καὶ βουλὴ, καὶ ἐνέργεια, ἰδιάζουσα τῷ τεράδι ἀπὸ τῆ κτίσεως, ἕνα λέγω θεόν. *If therefore amongst men, where the things of Nature are confounded, and where there are differences of Form, Power and Will (all men not having the same disposition of Mind, nor Form, nor Strength) as also different Languages, (from whence men are called by the Poets Meropes) nevertheless by reason of the Community of Nature, the whole world is called*

P. 467.

One Man; might not that Trinity of Persons, where there is an Undivided Dignity, One Kingdom, One Power, One Will, and One Energy be much rather called One God? But though it be true, that Athanasius in this place (if at least this were a Genuine *Fætus* of Athanasius) may Justly be thought to attribute too much to this κοινὸν τῆ φύσεως καὶ οὐσίας, This Common Nature, Essence, or Substance, of all the Three Persons, as to the making of them to be truly and properly One God; and that those Scripture-passages are but weakly urged to this purpose; yet is it plain, that he did not acquiesce in this only, but addeth other things to it also, as their having not only One Will, but also One Energy or Action, of which more afterwards. Moreover Athanasius, elsewhere plainly implieth, that this Common Essence or Nature of the Godhead, is not sufficient alone, to make all the Three Hypostases, One God. As in his Fourth Oration against the Arians, where he tells us, that his Trinity of Divine Hypostases cannot therefore be accounted Three Gods nor Three Principles, because they are not resembled by him, to Three Original Suns, but only to the Sun, and its Splendour, and the Light from both. Now Three Suns, according to the Language of Athanasius, have κοινὸν τῆ φύσεως καὶ οὐσίας, a Common Nature, Essence, and Substance, and therefore are Coessential or Consubstantial; and since they cannot be accounted one Sun, it is manifest, that according to Athanasius, this Specifick Identity or Unity, is not sufficient to make the Three Divine Hypostases One God. Again the same Athanasius, in his Exposition of Faith, writeth thus, ὅτι τρεῖς ὑποστάσεις. μεμερισμένους καὶ ἑαυτοὺς, ὡς αὖ σωματοφυῶς ἐπ' ἀνθρώπων ἔστι λογισσάμενοι, ἵνα μὴ πολυθεῖαν ὡς τοὶ ἔθνη φερόμενοι, Neither do we acknowledge Three Hypostases, Divided or Separate by themselves (as is to be seen corporeally in men) that we may not comply with the Pagan Polytheism. From whence it is Evident, that neither Three Separate Men, though Coessential to Athanasius, were accounted by him to be One Man, nor yet the Community of the Specifick Nature and Essence of the Godhead, can alone by it self, exclude Polytheism from the Trinity. Wherefore the true reason, why Athanasius laid so great a stress upon this Homounstotes, or Coessentiality of the Trinity, in order to the Unity of the Godhead in them, was not because this alone was sufficient to make them One God, but because, they could not be so without it. This Athanasius often urges against the Arians, as in his Fourth Oration, where he tells them, πολλὰς αὖ εἰσαγοίμεν [ἑσὲς] διὰ τὸ ἑτερογένειαν αὐτῶν, That they must needs introduce a Plurality of Gods, because of the Heterogeneity of their Trinity. And again afterwards determining, that there is ἐν θεῷ τῇ θεότητι, one Species of the Godhead, in Father, Son and Spirit, he adds; ἔστι καὶ ἓνα διὰ τῆς τελεότητος ὁμολογούμενον εἶναι τὸ θεόν. καὶ πολὺ μάλλον διακρίσεον λέγομεν τὸ πολυθεῖας τῇ αἰρετικῶν θεότητι, ὅτι τὴν μίαν ἐν τελεῇ θεότητα φερόμενον. εἰ γὰρ μὴ ἔστω ἕως ἑξῆς, ἀλλ' ἔκ ἐκ ὄντων ποίημα καὶ κτίσμα ἔστιν ὁ λόγος—— ἀνάγκη λέγειν αὐτὰς δύο θεοὺς, ἓνα μὲν κτίσιν, τὸ ἐπεὶ κτίσιν. And thus do we acknowledge one only God in the Trinity; and maintain it more Religiously than those Hereticks do, who introduce a Multiform Deity, consisting of divers Species; we supposing only One Universal Godhead in the whole. For if it be not thus, but the Son be a Creature, made out of nothing, however called God by these Arians, then

then must He and his Father, of necessity be Two Gods; one of them a Creator, the other a Creature. In like manner in his Book, Of the ^{P. 175.} Nicene Council, he affirmeth, concerning the Arians, *τρεῖς θεοὶ τρεῖς ποῦ τινὰ κηρύττουν εἰς τρεῖς ὑποστάσεις ἕνας, ἀλλήλων παντάπασι κεχωρισμένους, διακρίντες τὴν ἁγίαν μονάδα, That they make in a manner Three Gods, dividing the Holy Monad into Three Heterogeneous Substances, Separate from one another.* Whereas the right Orthodox Trinity, on the contrary, is elsewhere thus described by him, *τρεῖς τοίνυν ἁγία καὶ τελεία ὄντα, ὡς πατήρ, καὶ υἱός, καὶ πνεῦμα ἁγίον πνεύματι θεολογημένον, ὁδὸν ἀλλότριον ἢ ἕξασθεν ἐπιμυγνόμενον ἔχοντα, ὁδὸν δὲ διμυγεῖς καὶ ἁπλοῦς συνεσμένον, ἀλλ' ὅλη τὴν ὕλην καὶ διμυγεῖν ὄντα.* The Holy and perfect Trinity Theologized, in the Father, Son, and Spirit, hath nothing Aliene, Foreign or Extraneous intermingled with it; nor is it compounded of Heterogeneous things, the Creator and Creature joyned together. And whereas the Arians interpreted that of our Saviour Christ, *I and my Father are One*, only in respect of Consent or Agreement of Will, Athanasius shewing the insufficiency hereof, concludeth thus, *ἀνάγκη λοιπὸν καὶ τὴν ὁσίαν νοεῖν καὶ τὴν ὑπὸ καὶ πατρὸς ἐνομένην, Wherefore besides this Consent of Will, there must of necessity be another Unity of Essence or Substance also, acknowledged in the Father and the Son.* Where by Unity of Essence or Substance, that Athanasius did not mean, a Unity of Singular and Individual, but of General or Universal Essence only, appears plainly from these following words, *τὰ μὲν γὰρ γινώσκοντες ὡς συμφωνίαν ἔχοντες τὴν πεποιημένην, ἀλλ' οὐ κινήσει καὶ μέλει ταύτῃ ἔχει, ὡς οὐ μὴ φυλάξας ἐκβεβλήνται τῷ θεῷ, ὁ δὲ υἱὸς οὐκ ὁ ὁσίων ἐν ἁπλοῦς, ὁσίων καὶ ἐν ὅτι αὐτὸς καὶ ὁ ἁπλοῦς πατήρ.* For those things which are Made or Created, though they may have an Agreement of Will with their Creator, yet have they this by Participation only, and in a way of Motion; as he who retaining not the same, was cast out of Heaven. But the Son being begotten from the Essence or Substance of the Father, is Essentially or Substantially One with him. So that the Opposition here, is betwixt Unity of Consent with God in Created Beings, which are Mutable; and Unity of Essence in that which is Uncreated, and Immutably of the same Will with the Father. There are also many other places in Athanasius, which though some may understand of the Unity of Singular Essence, yet were they not so by him intended, but either of Generick or Specifick Essence only, or else in such other sense as shall be afterwards declared. As for Example, in his Fourth Oration, *τὴν μίαν καὶ τελεῖαν θεότητα φερόμεν, We acknowledge only One Godhead in the Trinity;* where the following words plainly imply this to be understood in part at least, of One Common or General Essence of the Godhead, *εἰ γὰρ μὴ ὅπως ἔχει, ἀλλ' ἐξ οὐ οὐτὶν οὐκ ἔστιν ὁ λόγος, &c.* Because if it be not so, but the Word be a Creature, made out of Nothing, he is either not truly God, or if he be called by that name, then must they be two Gods, one a Creator, the other a Creature. Again when in the same Book it is said, *ἐν εἰσὶν ὁ υἱός, καὶ ὁ πατήρ τῇ ιδιότητι καὶ οὐκ ἐστὶν ὁ φύσις, καὶ τῇ ταυτέτητι καὶ μᾶς θεός.* That the Son and the Father are One thing in the Propriety of Nature, and in the Sameness of one Godhead; it is evident from the Context, that this is not to be understood of a Sameness of Singular Essence, but partly of a Common and Generick One, and partly of such another

ther Sameness or Unity, as will be hereafter expressed. Lastly, when the Three *Hypostases*, are somewhere said by him, to be *μία ὁσία*, *One Essence or Substance*, this is not to be understood neither in that place, as if they had all Three the same *Singular Essence*, but in some of those other Sences before mentioned.

But though *Athanasius* no where declare, the Three *Hypostases* of the Trinity, to have only *One and the same Singular Essence*, but on the contrary, denies them to be *Monoousian*; and though he lay a great stress upon their *εἰδικὴ ἐνότης*, their *Specifick or Generick Unity*, and *Coeffentiality*, in order to their being *One God*; for as much as without this, they could not be *God* at all; yet doth he not rely wholly upon this, as alone sufficient to that purpose, but addeth certain other considerations thereunto, to make it out; in manner as followeth. First, that this *Trinity*, is not a *Trinity of Principles*, but that there is only *One Principle or Fountain of the Godhead* in it, from which the other are derived. Thus does he write in his Fifth Oration, *μία ἀρχὴ, καὶ τὸ τὸ εἰς θεός*, *There is but One Principle, and accordingly but One God*. Again in his Book against the Sabellianists, *ἐκ εἰς δύο θεοί, ὅτι μὴδὲ δύο πατέρες, μὴδὲ ἐτερόσις τῆ γενήσεως ὁ γινώσκων*, *ὁ μὲν γὰρ ἀρχὴς εἰσάγων δύο, δύο κενύηται θεός, αὐτὴ μαρτυρεῖ ἡ δυότης*. *There are not Two Gods, both because there are not Two Fathers, and because that which is Begotten is not of a different Essence from that which Begat. For he that introduceth Two Principles, Preacheth Two Gods; which was the Impiety of Marcion.* Accordingly the same *Athanasius* declareth, *τὴν εἰσὶν τῶ πατρὸς ἀρχὴν καὶ εἰσὶν καὶ πηγὴν εἶναι τῶ υἱοῦ*, *That the Essence or Substance of the Father, is the Principle and Root and Fountain of the Son.* And in like manner doth he approve of this Doctrine of *Dionysius*, *ὅτι πηγὴ τῆ ἀγαθῶν ἀπαύτων ἐστὶν ὁ θεός, πόντος ἢ ὑπ' αὐτῷ περὶ ὅλου ὁ υἱός*. *That God (the Father) is the First Fountain of all Good things, but the Son a River poured out from him.* To the same purpose is it also, when he compareth the Father and the Son, to the *Water* and the *Vapour* arising from it; to the *Light* and the *Splendour*; to the *Prototype* and the *Image*. And he concludeth the Unity of the Godhead from hence, in this manner; *τὴν εἰσὶν τελέειν εἰς ἓνα ὅσων εἰς κορυφὴν τινα, τὸ θεὸν τῆ ὅλων τὸ πᾶν ὁρᾶται, λέγει, συγκεφαλαιῶσαι καὶ συναγεῖναι πᾶσα ἀνάγκη*. *The Divine Trinity must needs be collected and gathered up together, under that omnipotent God of the whole World, as under One Head.* But the chief force of this Consideration, is only to exclude the *Doctrine of the Marcionists*, who made *More Independent and Self-existent Principles and Gods*. Notwithstanding which, it might still be objected, that the *Christian Trinity*, is a *Trinity of Distinct Subordinate Gods*, in opposition whereunto, this argument seems only to prepare the way to what follows; namely of the close *Conjunction* of these Three *Hypostases* into *One God*; forasmuch, as were they Three *Independent Principles*, there could not be any *Coalescence* of them into *One*.

In the next place therefore, *Athanasius* further addeth, that these Three *Divine Hypostases*, are not *μεμερισμένοι* and *κεχωρισμένοι*, *Separate and Disjoyned Beings*, but *ἀδιαίρετοι*, *Indivisibly United to one*

P. 656.

De Syn. A.
& Sel. p. 920.

De Syn Nic.
p. 275.

one another. Thus in his Fifth Oration; πατέρις ἢ υἱὸν ἐν ὅντας τῇ θεότητι, ἢ τῷ ἐξ αὐτοῦ, ἀμέριστον, ἢ ἀδιαίρετον ἢ ἀχώριστον εἶναι τὸν λόγον ἀπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς. The Father and the Son are both one thing in the Godhead, and in that the Word, being begotten from Him, is Indivisibly and Inseparably conjoynd with him. Where when he affirmeth, the Father and the Son, to be One in the Godhead, it is plain that he doth not mean them to have One and the same Singular Essence, but only Generical and Universal; because in the following words, he supposes them to be Two, but Indivisibly and Inseparably United together. Again in his Book *De Sent. Dionys.* ἐστὶν ἀδιαίρετος τὸν πατέρα ὁ υἱός, ὡς ἐστὶ τὸ ἀπαύρασμα πρὸς τὸ φῶς, The Son is Indivisible from the Father, as the splendour is from the Light. And afterwards in the same Book he insisteth further upon this Point, according to the sense of *Dionysius*, after this manner, ὁ ὃ ἰδιον ἢ ἀδιαίρετον τὸν πατέρα ὁ υἱὸς εἶναι διδόναι, ὡς ἐστὶν ὁ λόγος πρὸς τὸ νῦν ἢ ποταμὸς πρὸς τὴν πηγὴν. εἰ μὲν ἐν διαίρειν καὶ ἀποξενῶν τὸν λόγον καὶ τὸ νῦν τις δύναται, ἢ τὸ ποταμὸν καὶ τὴν πηγὴν μερίζοι καὶ τήχιστας διελθῇ, ἢ τὸ ἀπαύρασμα ἅμα διελθῇ ἀπὸ τοῦ φωτός, &c. *Dionysius* teacheth, that the Son is Cognate with the Father, and Indivisible from him, as Reason is from the Mind, and the River from the Fountain. Who is there therefore, that would go about to alienate Reason from the Mind? and to separate the River from the Fountain, making up a wall between them? or to cut off the Splendour from the Light? Thus also in his Epistle to *Serapion*, that the Holy Ghost is not a Creature, P. 294
 ἢ διελέτασθαι πρῶτον αὐτοὶ τὸ ἀπαύρασμα τὸ φῶς, ἢ τὴν σοφίαν τὸ σφῶς, ἢ μὴ ἐπὶτάσθαι, πῶς ὅτι ταῦτα. Let these men first divide the Splendour from the Light, or Wisdom from him that is Wise, or else let them wonder no more how these things can be. Elsewhere *Athanasius* calls the whole Trinity, τελέαδα ἀδιαίρετον καὶ ἠνωμένω πρὸς ἑαυτῶν, A Trinity Undivided and United to it self. Which *Athanasian Indivisibility* of the Trinity, is not so to be understood as if Three were not Three in it, but first of all that neither of these could be without the other, as the Original Light or Sun could not be without the Splendour, nor the Splendour without the Original Light, and neither one nor t'other of them without a Diffused Derivative Light. Wherefore God the Father being an Eternal Sun, must needs have also an Eternal Splendour, and an Eternal Light. And Secondly, that these are so Nearly and Intimately Conjoynd together, that there is a kind of συνέχεια Continuity betwixt them; which yet is not to be understood in the way of Corporeal Things, but so as is agreeable to the Nature of things Incorporeal.

Thirdly, *Athanasius* ascendeth yet higher, affirming the *Hypotheses* of the Trinity, not only to be Indivisibly Conjoynd with one another, but also to have a Mutual Inexistence in each other, which Latter Greek Fathers have called ἐμπεριχώρησιν, their Circuminfession. To this purpose does he cite the Words of *Dionysius*, ἀπόρροια P. 665.
 λόγος νῦν λόγος, καὶ ἀπὸ καρδίας διὰ στόματος ἐφοχεται, ἕτερος ὡς ὁμοῦ
 τὸ ἐν καρδίᾳ λόγος. καὶ ὅπως ὅτιν ἑκάτερος ἐν ἑκατέρῳ, ἕτερος ὡς πατέρας,
 ἢ ἐν εἶναι ὅντας δύο. ὅτι καὶ ὁ πατήρ καὶ ὁ λόγος ἐν, καὶ ἐν ἀλλήλοις ἐλέχθησαν εἶναι. For Reason is the Efflux of the Mind, which in men is derived from the Heart into the Tongue; where it is become another Reason

son or Word, differing from that in the Heart: and yet do these both, mutually Exist in each other, they belonging to one another; and so though being Two, are One Thing. Thus are the Father and the Son, One thing, they being said to Exist in each other. And Athanasius further illustrates this also by certain Similitudes; as that again of the Original Light and the Splendour, he affirming *φᾶς εἶναι ἐν τῷ ἀπαυ-
ρασματι, καὶ ἀπαύρασμα ἐν τῷ ἡλίῳ*, That the Original Light is in the Splendour, and again the Splendour in the Sun; and also that of the Prototype and the Image, or the King and his Picture; which he thus in-
Orat. A. p. 457. sisteth upon, *ἐν τῇ εἰκόνι τῆ βασιλείας τὸ εἶδος καὶ ἡ μορφή ἐστι, καὶ ἐν τῇ
βασιλεῖ τὸ ἐν τῇ εἰκόνι εἶδος ἐστίν*. In the Picture is contained the Form and Figure of the King, and in the King the Form and Figure of the Picture. And therefore if any one, when he had seen the Picture, should afterward desire to see the King; the Picture would by a *Prosopopœia* bespeak him after this manner; *ἐγὼ καὶ ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐν ἐσμῶν, ἐγὼ γὰρ ἐν
ὁκείνῳ εἰμὶ, καὶ ἐμοί· καὶ ὁ ὁρᾷς ἐν ἐμοί; τῷτο ἐν ὁκείνῳ βλέπεις,
καὶ ὁ εἰσρχαὸς ἐν ὁκείνῳ, τῷτο βλέπεις ἐν ἐμοί· ὁ γὰρ προσκυνᾷν τὴν εἰκόνα,
ἐν αὐτῇ προσκυνεῖ τὴ βασιλεία, I and the King am One, for I am in him
and he is in me; and what you take notice of in me, the same may you
observe in him also, and what you see in him, you may see likewise in
me; he therefore that worshippeth the Image, therein worshippeth the
King, the Image being nothing but the Form of the King. Elsewhere
in the Fourth Oration he thus insisteth upon this Particular;
P. 456. *ἐστὶ γὰρ ὁ υἱὸς ἐν τῷ πατρὶ, ὥστε νοεῖν ἕξεν, ἐπειδὴ σύμπαν τὸ εἶναι τῆ υἱῆ,
τῷτο τὸ πατρὸς οὐσίας ἰδιὸν ἐστίν, ὡς ὁ φῶς ἀπαύρασμα, καὶ ὁ πηγῆς πό-
ταμος, ὡς τὸ ὁρᾶν τὸ υἱὸν ὁρᾷν τὸ τῆ πατρὸς ἰδιὸν*. *Ἐστὶ γὰρ καὶ ὁ πατὴρ ἐν τῷ
υἱῷ, ἐπειδὴ τὸ ὅτι τῆ πατρὸς ἰδιὸν, τῷτο ὁ υἱὸς τυγχάνει ἂν, ὡς ἐν τῷ ἀπαυ-
ρασματι ὁ ἡλίου, καὶ ἐν τῷ λόγῳ ὁ νῆς, καὶ ἐν τῷ ποταμῷ ἡ πηγή*. The Son
is in the Father, as may be conceived from hence; because the whole
Being of the Son is proper to the Essence of the Father, he being
derived from it as the Splendour from the Light, and the River from
the Fountain: so that he who sees the Son, sees that which is the Fa-
thers own and proper. Again the Father is in the Sun, because that
which is the Fathers own and proper, that is the Son: accordingly as the
Sun is also in the Splendour, the Mind in Reason and the Fountain in
the River. What Cavils the Arrians had against this Doctrine, Atha-
nasia also enforms us; *ἡγεαῖτο διασπερὶν τὸ ὑπὸ τῆ κυρίως λεγόμενον, Ἐγὼ
ἐν τῷ πατρὶ καὶ ὁ πατὴρ ἐν ἐμοί· λέγουσιν, πῶς δύναται εἶναι ἐν ὁκείνῳ,
καὶ ἐμὸν ἐν τῷτο χωρεῖν; ἢ πᾶς ὅπως δύναται ὁ πατὴρ μεζῶν ἂν, ἐν τῷ υἱῷ
ἐλάττω ὄντι χωρεῖν; καίτοι τί θαυμαστόν ἐστι ὁ υἱὸς ἐν τῷ πατρὶ, ὅπως καὶ
ὡς ἡμῶν γέγοναται, ἐν αὐτῷ γὰρ ζῶμεν καὶ κινεῖμεθα καὶ ἐσμὲν*. Here
the Arrians begin to quarrel with that of our Lord, I am in the Father,
and the Father in me; objecting, How is it possible, that both the For-
mer should be in the Latter and the Latter in the Former? Or how can
the Father being Greater, be received in the Son, who is Lesser? And yet
what wonder is it, if the Son should be in the Father; since it is written
of us men also, That in him we Live and Move and have our Being In
way of reply whereunto, Athanasius first observes, that the Ground
of this Arian Cavillation, was, the Grossness of their Apprehensions,
and that they did τὰ ἀσώματα σωματικῶς ἐλαμβάνειν, Conceive of In-
corporeal things after a Corporeal manner. And then does he add,
καὶ γὰρ*

ὅτι ὡς ἐκεῖνοι νομίζουσιν, ἀντεμισθαζόμενοι εἰς ἀλλήλους εἶναι, ὡς παρ' ἐν ἀγλείοις
κενοῖς ἐξ ἀλλήλων πληρομήτοις, ὥστε τὸ μὲν υἱὸν πληρῶν τὸ κοῖλον τῷ πατρὶ, καὶ
τὸ πατὴρ πληρῶν τὸ κοῖλον τῷ υἱῷ, καὶ ἐκότερον αὐτῶν μὴ εἶναι πλήρη καὶ τέλειον.
For the Father and Son are not, as they suppose, Transvasated and
poured out, one into another, as into an Empty Vessel: as if the Son
filled up the Concavity of the Father, and again the Father that of the
Son; and neither of them were full or perfect in themselves. For all
this is proper to Bodies; wherefore though the Father be in some sence,
Greater than the Son, yet notwithstanding may he be in him after an In-
corporeal manner. And he replieth to their Last Cavil thus, That the
Son is not so in the Father, as we our selves are said to Live and Move
and Be in God; ὡς παρ' ὡς ἐκ πηγῆς τῷ πατρὶ ζῶν, ἐν ᾧ τὰ πάντα
ζωογονεῖται καὶ συνέστηκεν, καὶ ὅτι ἡ ζωὴ ἐν ζωῇ ἑστίν, &c. For he himself from the
Fountain of the Father, is that Life in whom all things are quickned and
consist: neither does he who is the Life live in another Life, which were
to suppose him not to be the Life it self. Nor (saith he) must it be con-
ceived, that the Father is no otherwise in the Son, than he is in holy men
Corroborating of them; for the Son himself is the Power and Wisdom of
God, and all Created Beings are sanctified by a Participation of him in
the Spirit. Wherefore this Perichoresis or Mutual In-being of the Fa-
ther and the Son, is to be understood after a Peculiar manner, so as
that they are Really thereby One; and what the Son and Holy
Ghost doth the Father doth in them, accordig to that of Athanasius,
ὅτι τῷ υἱῷ θεότης τῷ πατρὶ θεότης ἔστι καὶ ὅτι ἐν τῷ υἱῷ τὸ πᾶν
πεποισμένον ποιεῖται, The Godhead of the Son is the Godhead of the Father,
and so the Father exercises a Providence over all things in the Son.

Lastly, the same Athanasius in sundry places still further supposes
those Three Divine Hypostases, to make up one Entire Divinity after
the same manner, as the Fountain and the Stream make up one Entire
River; or the Root and the Stock and the Branches, one Entire Tree.
And in this sence also, is the whole Trinity said by him, to be μία
θεότης, and μία φύσις, and μία ὁσία, and εἰς θεός, One Divinity, and
One Nature, and One Essence, and One God. And accordingly the
word Homouousios seems here to be taken by Athanasius, in a further
sence, besides that before mentioned; not only for things Agreeing
in one Common and General Essence, as Three Individual men are
Coesstantial with one another; but also for such as concurrently to-
gether, make up One Entire Thing; and are therefore Joyntly Essen-
tial thereunto. For when he affirmeth, τὸ φυτὸν εἶναι εἰς οὐκ ὁμοφύεις,
and τὰ κλήματα ὁμοφύειν τῷ ἀμπέλῳ, That the Tree is Congenerous or Ho-
mogenial with the Root, and the Branches Coessential with the Vine; his
meaning is, that the Root, Stock, and Branches, are not only of One
Kind, but also all together make up, the Entire Essence of One Plant or
Tree. In like manner, those Three Hypostases, the Father, Son and
Holy Ghost, are not only Congenerous and Coessential, as having all
the Essence of the Godhead alike in them, but also as Concurrently
Making up one Entire Divinity. Accordingly whereunto, Athanasius
further concludes, that these Three Divine Hypostases have not a Con-
sent of Will only, but Essentially one and the Self Same Will, and that
they do also joyntly produce ad extra, μίαν ἐνέργειαν, One and the
Self-

Ep. ad Serap. Self-same Energy, Operation or Action; nothing being Peculiar to the
p. 202. Son as such, but only the Oeconomy of the Incarnation: *Ὁμοεία ἐ-*

αὐτῇ καὶ ἀδιαλείπτος ὅτι τῇ φύσει ἢ Τριάδι· καὶ μία ταύτης ἡ ἐνέργεια· ὁ γὰρ
Πατὴρ διὰ τῆς λόγου, ἐν τῇ πνεύματι τῇ ἁγίᾳ τὰ πάντα ποιεῖ· καὶ ὅπως ἢ ἐ-
νότως ἢ ἁγίας Τριάδι ὁ σαζέται· καὶ ὅπως εἰς Θεὸς ἐν τῇ Ἐκκλησίᾳ κηρύσσεται
ὁ ὅτι πάντων, καὶ διὰ πάντων, καὶ ἐν πάντιν· ὅτι πάντων μὲν ὡς πατὴρ, ὡς
ἀρχὴ καὶ πηγὴ· διὰ πάντων δὲ διὰ τῆς λόγου· ἐν πάντιν δὲ, ἐν τῇ πνεύματι τῇ
ἁγίᾳ· The Trinity is like it self, and by Nature Indivisible, and there is
One Energy or Action of it; for the Father By the Word, In the Holy Ghost,
doth all things. And thus is the Unity of the Holy Trinity conserved,
and One God preached in the Church: Namely, such as is Above all, and
By or Through all, and In all. Above all, as the Father, the Principle,
and Fountain; Through all, by the Word; and In all, by the Holy Spirit.
 And elsewhere he writeth often to the same purpose. Thus have we given a true and full account, how according to *Athanasius*, the *Three Divine Hypostases*, though not *Monousious* but *Homousious* only, are Really but *One God* or *Divinity*. In all which doctrine of his, there is nothing but what a True and Genuine Platonist would readily subscribe to. From whence it may be concluded, that the right *Platonick Trinity*, differs not so much from the Doctrine of the Ancient Church, as some late Writers have supposed.

Hitherto hath the *Platonick Christian* endeavoured partly to Rectifie and Reform the *True and Genuine Platonick Trinity*, and partly to Reconcile it, with the Doctrine of the *Ancient Church*. Nevertheless, to prevent all mistakes, we shall here declare, that wheresoever this most *Genuine Platonick Trinity*, may be found to differ, not only from the Scripture it self (which yet notwithstanding is the sole *Rule of Faith*) but also from the Form of the *Nicene and Constantinopolitane Councils*; and further from the Doctrine of *Athanasius* too, in his *Genuine* writings, (whether it be in their *Inequality*, or in any thing else) is there utterly disclaimed and rejected by us. For as for that Creed commonly called *Athanasian*, which was written a long time after, by some other hand; since at first it derived all its authority, either from the Name of *Athanasius* to whom it was Entitled, or else because it was supposed to be an Epitome and Abridgement of his Doctrine; this (as we conceive) is therefore to be interpreted according to the Tenour of that Doctrine, contained in the *Genuine Writings of Athanasius*. Of whom we can think no otherwise, than as a person highly Instrumental and Serviceable to Divine Providence for the preserving of the *Christian Church*, from lapsing by *Arianism*, into a kind of *Paganick and Idolatrous Christianity*; in *Religiously* Worshipping of those, which themselves concluded to be *Creatures*; and by means of whom especially, the Doctrine of the *Trinity*, (which before fluctuated in some loose Uncertainty) came to be more punctually Stated and Settled.

Now the Reason why we introduced the *Platonick Christian* here thus Apologizing, was First; because we conceived it not to be the Interest of Christianity, that the ancient *Platonick Trinity*, should be made more discrepant from the *Christian*, than indeed it is. And Secondly,

Secondly, because, as we have already proved, the Ancient and Genuine Platonick Trinity, was doubtless *Anti-Arian*, or else the *Arian Trinity Anti-Platonick*; the Second and Third *Hypostases* in the *Platonick Trinity*, being both *Eternal*, *Infinite* and *Immutable*. And as for those *Platonick Βαθμοί*, or *Gradations*, so much spoken of, these (by St. Cyril's leave) were of a different Kind from the *Arian*, there being not the *Inequality of Creatures* in them to the *Creator*. Wherefore *Socrates* the Ecclesiastick Historian, not without Cause wonders, how those Two Presbyters *Georgius* and *Timothens*, should adhere to the *Arian Faction*, since they were accounted such great Readers of *Plato* and *Origen*; θαυμάσαι ἔν μοι ἔπρε, πῶς ἔτσι οἱ ἄνδρες, τῇ Ἀριανῶν θεηκειᾷ παρέμειναν, ὃν ὁ μὲν Πλάτωνα αἰετὴ χεῖρας ἔχεν, ὁ δὲ ὧς ὁ Ὀρίγην ἀνέπνεεν. ὅδε γὰρ Πλάτων τὸ ἀδύπερον καὶ τὸ τέλειον αἰών, ὡς αὐτὸς ὀνομαζειν εἰωθεν, ἀρχὴν ὑπάρξεως, εἰληφέναι φησὶ καὶ Ὀρίγην συναΐδιον πανταχὺ ὁμολογεῖ τὸν ὕδιν τῶν πατέρων. *It seems to me wonderful, how those Two Persons should persist in the Arian Perswasion; one of them having always Plato in his hands; and the other continually breathing Origen. Since Plato nowhere affirmeth his First and Second Cause (as he was wont to call them) to have had any beginning of their Existence; and Origen every where confesseth, the Son to be Coeternal with the Father.*

L. 7. c. 6.

Besides which, Another Reason for this Apology of the Christian Platonist was, because as the *Platonick Pagans* after Christianity, did approve of the *Christian Doctrine* concerning the *Logos*, as that which was exactly agreeable with their own; so did the *Generality* of the *Christian Fathers*, before and after the *Nicene Council*, represent the *Genuine, Platonick Trinity*, as really the same thing with the *Christian*, or as approaching so near to it, that they differed chiefly in Circumstances, or the manner of Expression. The Former of these is Evident from that famous Passage of *Amelius* Contemporary with *Plotinus*, recorded by *Eusebius*, *St. Cyril* and *Theodore*; καὶ ὅτις ἄρα ὁ λόγος, καὶ ὃν αἰεὶ ὄντα, τὰ γινόμενα ἐγένετο, ὡς ἂν καὶ ὁ Ἡρακλῆτης ἀξιάσκει, καὶ νῦν δὲ ὃν ὁ βάρεσθαι ἀξιοῖ ἐν τῇ τῇ ἀρχῇ τάξει καὶ ἀξία καὶ θεοκτότα, πρὸς τὸ θεὸν εἶναι, καὶ θεὸν εἶναι. δι' ἃ πάντ' ἀπλῶς γινώσκονται. ἐν ᾧ τὸ γινόμενον ζῶν καὶ ζῶν καὶ ὃν περικένοι. καὶ εἰς τὰ σώματα πίπτει καὶ σάρκα ἐνδυσαμένον, φαντάζεσθαι ἀνθρώπων, μετὰ καὶ τῷ τινικαῦτα δεικνύειν τὸ φύσεως τὸ μεγαλεῖον ἀμέλει καὶ ἀνάλυθέντα πάλιν ἀποδοῦναι, καὶ θεὸν εἶναι, οἷος ὡς πρὸς τὸ εἰς τὸ σῶμα, καὶ τὸ ἀνθρώπου καταχθῆναι.

Pr. Ev. L. 11. c. 9.

And this was the Logos or Word, by whom Existing from Eternity according to Heraclitus, all things were made: and whom that Barbarian also placeth in the rank and dignity of a Principle, affirming him to have been with God, and to be God; and that all things were made by him, and that whatsoever was made, was Life and Being in him. As also that he descended into a Body, and being clothed in Flesh, appeared as a Man, though not without demonstration of the Divinity of his Nature. But that afterwards being Loosed or Separated from the same, he was Deified, and became God again, such as he was before he came down into a Mortal Body. In which words Amelius speaks favourably also of the Incarnation of that Eternal Logos. And the same is further manifest from what St. Austin writeth concerning a Platonist in his time, Initium Sancti Evangelii, cui nomen est secundum Johannem,

C. D. L. 10. f. 29.

quidam Platonius, sicut à sancto Sene Simpliciano, qui postea Mediolanensi Ecclesia præsedet Episcopus, solebamus audire, aureis Literis conscribendum, & per omnes Ecclesias in locis eminentissimis proponendum esse dicebat: We have often heard, from that holy man Simplicianus, after-ward Bishop of Millain; that a certain Platonist affirmed, the beginning of St. John's Gospel, deserved to be writ in Letters of Gold, and to be set up in all the most Eminent places throughout the Christian Churches.

P. 93.

And the latter will sufficiently appear from these following Testimonies; Justin Martyr in his Apology affirmeth of Plato, ὁ δὲ τρεῖς ᾠκεῖ τὰς θεὰς λόγους διδόντα· τὴν δὲ τρίτην τὰ λεχθέντι ἐπιφέρεισθαι τὰ ὑδατὶ πνέουσαν, &c. That he gave the Second place to the Word of God, and the Third to that Spirit, which is said to have moved upon the waters.

Strom. L. 5.
p. 598.

Clemens Alexandrinus speaking of that Passage in Plato's Second Epistle to Dionysius, concerning the First, Second and Third, writeth thus; ἢ ἄλλως ἔγωγε ἐξακῶ, ἢ τὴν ἁγίαν τετραδα μυνέσθαι, τρίτον μὲν γὰρ εἶναι τὸ ἅγιον πνεῦμα· ἢ υἱὸν δὲ δὲ τρεῖς, δὲ δὲ πάντα ἐχέοντα τὴν ἐσθλὴν τὴν πατρὸς· I understand this no otherwise, than that the Holy Trinity is signified thereby, the Third being the Holy Ghost, and the Second the Son by whom all things were made, according to the Will of the Father.

L. c. c. 615.

Origen also affirmeth the Son of God to have been plainly spoken of by Plato in his Epistle to Hermias and Coriscus, ὁ πάντ' ἐπαγγελόμενος εἶδέναι Κέλσος, καὶ πολλὰ τῶν Πλάτωνος ᾠκεῖται περὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ, οἷμαι, σάπτει· ὡς δὲ δεῖ λόγον, ἢ ᾠκεῖ Πλάτωνι λεγόμενον ἐν τῇ περὶ ἑρμείαν καὶ κορίσκον ἐπιστολῇ· Celsus who pretendeth to know all things, and who citeth so many other passages out of Plato, doth purposely (as I suppose) dissemble and conceal, that which he wrote concerning the Son of God, in his Epistle to Hermias and Coriscus; where he calls him, the God of the whole Universe, and the Prince of all things both present and future; afterwards speaking of the Father of this Prince and Cause. And again elsewhere in that Book, he writeth to the

anti. Cels. L. 6.
p. 308.

same purpose, ἀλλ' ὅτι ἐσθλὴν τὸ ᾠκεῖ Πλάτωνι ἐν ταῖς ἐπιστολαῖς λελεγόμενον, ὅτι ἐν τοῖς ἀνωτέρω ἐμνησθέντων, ὡς δὲ τὸ διακοσμησάμεν· τὸ δὲ τὸ πᾶν, ὡς οὐκ ἔστι· ὡς δὲ δεῖ· ἵνα μὴ καὶ αὐτὸς ὑπὸ τῶν Πλάτωνος, ὃν πολλὰς ἐστὲν μνησεν, ἀναγκασθῇ, ᾠκεῖσθαι, ὅτι ὁ μὲν δημιουργὸς τῶν πάντων, υἱὸς ἔστι τῶν θεῶν, ὁ δὲ πρῶτος καὶ ἐπὶ πάντων θεὸς πατὴρ ἔστι αὐτῶν· Neither would Celsus (here speaking of Chistians making Christ the Son of God) take any notice of that passage in Plato's Epistle before mentioned, concerning the Framer and Governour of the whole world, as being the Son of God; lest he should be compelled by the Authority of Plato, whom he so often magnifieth, to agree with this Doctrine of ours, that the Demiurgus of the whole World is the Son of God; but the First and Supreme Deity, his Father. Moreover St. Cyprian, or who ever were the Author of the Book inscribed De Spiritu Sancto, affirmeth, the Platonists First and Universal Psyche, to be the same with the Holy Ghost in the Christian Theology; in these words, Hujus Sempiterna Virtus & Divinitas, cum in propria natura, ab Inquisitoribus Mundi antiquis Philosophis propriè investigari non posset; Subtilissimis tamen intuitu conjecturis Compositionem Mundi, & distinctis Elementorum affectibus, presentem omnibus Animam adfuisse dixerunt; quibus, secundum genus & ordinem singulorum, vitam præberet & motum, & intransgressibiles figeret Metas, & Stabilitatem assignaret; & Univer-

sam

ſam hanc Vitam, hunc motum, hanc rerum Effentiam, Animam Mundi vocaverunt. In the next place *Eusebius Caſarienſis* gives a full and clear Teſtimony, of the Concordance and Agreement of the Platonick, at leaſt as to the main, with the Chriſtian Trinity, which he will have to have been the *Cabalá* of the ancient Hebrews, thus; *ἡ παρ' ἑβραίοις λογίων μετὰ τῷ πατρὶ καὶ υἱῷ λόγον, ἐν τρίτῃ τάξει τὸ ἅγιον πνεῦμα καὶ ἀληθινόν. καὶ τὴν γε ἁλίαν καὶ μακαρίαν τεράδα τῶν ὑποπεριμέλων τῶν τρεῶν, ὡς ἂν τῇ τρίτῃ δυνάμει πάντων ὑπερεβενικίας χρησιμὴ φύσιν. ὅταν πρώτῳ μὲν ἡ διὰ τῆς υἱῶς συστασὶν νοερῶν ὡσίων, τρίτῳ δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς πρώτης αἰτίας. Δεῖα ὅπως καὶ ὁ Πλάτων τοιαῦτά τινα ἠνέξατο διὰ τὴν πρὸς Διόνυσον ὀπίσσω, &c.* The Oracles of the Hebrews, placing the Holy Ghost, after the Father and the Son, in the Third Rank; and acknowledging a Holy and Blessed Trinity after this manner; so as that this Third Power does also transcend all Created Nature; and is the First of those Intellectual Substances, which proceed from the Son, and the Third from the First Cause; see how Plato Enigmatically declareth the same things in his Epistle to Dionysius, in these words, &c. These things the Interpreters of Plato refer to a First God, and to a Second Cause, and to a Third the Soul of the World, which they call also The Third God. And the Divine Scriptures in like manner rank the Holy Trinity of Father, Son, and Holy Ghost; in the place or degree of a Principle. But it is most observable what *Athanasius* himself affirmeth of the Platonists; that though they derived the Second Hypostasis of their Trinity from the First, and the Third from the Second, yet they supposed both their Second and Third Hypostases, to be Uncreated; and therefore does he send the Arians to School thither, who because there is but one *Ἀρχήνῃ*, One Self-Originated Being, would unskilfully conclude, that the Word or Son of God, must therefore needs be a Creature. Thus in his Book concerning the Decrees of the Nicene Council; *ἐχρήσαντο παρ' ἑλλήνων λοιπὸν τὴν λέξιν τῆς Ἀρχῆς. ἵνα περὶ αὐτῆς καὶ τὰς τῆς ὀνομασίας, ἐν τοῖς χρηστοῖς πολλὰ καὶ τοῖς κλισίαι συν-αριθμῶσι τὴν τῆς Δεῦς λόγον. δι' ἣν αὐτὰ τὰ χρηστὰ γέγονεν. εἰ μὴ ὅν ἀγνοοῦντες τὸ ὄνομα ἕτως ἀναισχυρίσθαι, ἐπὶ μαθεῖν αὐτὰς ὡς καὶ αὐτοῖς διδασκόντων αὐτὰ, ὅτι καὶ ὃν λέγουσιν ἐκ τῆς Ἀρχῆς Νῆς, καὶ τὴν ἐκ τῆς Νῆς ψυχὴν. καὶ τοὶ γενεσκόποις τὸ ἐξ ὧν εἰσιν, ἐκ ἐφοβήθησαν ὅμως. καὶ αὐτὰ εἰπεῖν Ἀρχήνῃ. εἰδότες ὅτι καὶ τὸ λεγόντες ἐκ ἐλαττώσει τὸ πρῶτον ἐξ ἧς καὶ ταῦτα πέφυκε. καὶ ἡ καὶ αὐτὰς ἕτως λέγειν, ἢ μηδὲν λέγειν ὡς ὃν ἐκ ἴσασιν.* The Arians borrowing the word *Agennetos* from the Pagans (who acknowledge only One such) make that a pretence to rank the Word or Son of God, who is the Creator of all, amongst Creatures or things Made. Whereas they ought to have learn'd the right signification of that word *Agennetos* from those very Platonists who gave it them. Who, though acknowledging their Second Hypostasis of *Nous* or Intellect, to be derived from the first called *Tagathon*, and their Third Hypostasis or *Psyche* from the Second, nevertheless doubt not to affirm them both to be *Agenneta* or Uncreated, knowing well, that hereby they detract nothing from the Majesty of the First, from whom these Two are derived. Wherefore the Arians either ought so to speak as the Platonists do, or else to say nothing at all concerning these things which they are ignorant of. In which words of *Athanasius*, there is a plain distinction made, betwixt *ἀρχήνῃ* and *ἀρχήνῃ*, that is, Unbegotten and Uncreated; and the Second Person of the Trinity,

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nity, the Son or Word of God, though acknowledged by him, not to be Ἀγέννητος Unbegotten (he being Begotten of the Father, who is the only Ἀγέννητος) yet is he here said to be Ἀχρηστος Uncreated; he declaring the Platonists, thus to have affirmed the *Second and Third Hypostases* of their Trinity, not to be *Creatures*, but *Uncreated*. Which *Signal Testimony* of *Athanasius*, concerning the *Platonick Trinity* is a great *Vindication* of the same. We might here further add, *St Austin's Confession* also, that *God the Father*, and *God the Son*, were by the Platonists acknowledged in like manner, as by the Christians; though concerning the *Holy Ghost*, he observes some difference, betwixt *Plotinus* and *Porphyrus*, in that the Former did *Postponere Animæ Naturam Paterno Intellectui*, the Latter, *Interponere*; *Plotinus* did *Postpone his Psyche* or *Soul* after the *Paternal Intellect*, but *Porphyrus* *Interponed it*, betwixt the *Father* and the *Son*, as a *Middle* between both. It was before observed, that *St. Cyril of Alexandria*, affirmeth nothing to be wanting to the *Platonick Trinity*, but only that *Homœousiotes* of his and some other *Fathers* in that Age, that they should not only all be *God* or *Uncreated*, but also *Three Coequal Individuals*, under the same *Ultimate Species*, as *Three Individual Men*; he conceiving that *Gradual Subordination* that is in the *Platonick Trinity*, to be a certain tang of *Arianism*. Nevertheless he thus concludeth, *πλὴν οὐκ ἠγνόησαν ὅλοντες τὸ ἀληθές*, That *Plato* notwithstanding was not altogether ignorant of the *Truth*, but that he had the knowledge of the *Only begotten Son of God*, as likewise of the *Holy Ghost*, called by him *Psyche*; and that he would have every way expressed himself rightly, had he not been afraid of *Anitus* and *Melitus*, and that *Poyson* which *Socrates* drunk. Now whether this were a *Fault* or no, in the *Platonists*, that they did not suppose their *Hypostases* to be *Three Individuals* under the same *Ultimate Species*, we leave to others to judge. We might here add the *Testimony* of *Chalcidius*, because he is unquestionably concluded to have been a *Christian*; though his *Language* indeed be too much *Paganical*, when he calls the *Three Divine Hypostases*, a *Chief*, a *Second*, and a *Third God*; *Istius rei dispositio talis mente concipienda est*; *Originem quidem rerum esse Summum & Ineffabilem Deum*; *post Providentiam ejus Secundum Deum*, *Latorem Legis utriusque Vitæ æternæ quam Temporariæ*; *Tertium esse porro Substantiam que Secunda Mens, Intellectusque dicitur, quasi quædam Custos Legis æternæ*. *His Subjectas esse Rationabiles Animas, Legi Obsequentes, Ministras verò Potestates, &c.* *Ergo Summus Deus jubet, Secundus ordinat, Tertius intimat. Animæ verò Legem agant.* This thing is to be conceived after this manner; That the *First Original of Things* is the *Supreme and Ineffable God*; after his *Providence* a *Second God*, the *Establisher* of the *Law of Life* both *Eternal* and *Temporary*; And the *Third* (which is also a *Substance*, and called a *Second Mind* or *Intellect*) is a certain *Keeper* of this *Eternal Law*. Under these *Three*, are *Rational Souls*, Subject to that *Law*, together with the *Ministerial Powers*, &c. So that the *Sovereign* or *Supreme God* *Commands*, the *Second Orders*, and the *Third executes*. But *Souls* are *Subject* to the *Law*. Where *Chalcidius* though seeming indeed rather more a *Platonist*, than a *Christian*; yet acknowledgeth no such Beings as *Henades* and *Noes*; but only *Three Divine Hypostases*, and under them *Rational Souls*. But we shall conclude with the *Testimony*

Testimony of *Theodore* in his Book *De Principio*, τὴν πλάτωνος διάνοιαν ἀναπύσασιντες ὁ Πλάτωνος καὶ ὁ Νουμηνίου, τρεῖς φασὶν αὐτῷ εἰρηκέναι ὑπερχρονα καὶ αἰδία, τ' ἀγαθόν, καὶ νῦν, καὶ τὸ παῖός τινι ψυχῷ. ὃν μὲν ἡμεῖς Πατέρα καλεῖμεν τ' ἀγαθόν ὀνομάζοιτες, Νῦν ὃ ὃν ἡμεῖς λόγον προσαγορεύομεν, τινι δὲ τὰ πάντα ψύχασαν καὶ ζωοποιῶσαν δύναμιν, ψυχῷ καλεῖται, ἣν πνεῦμα ἁγίον οἱ θεοὶ προσαγορεύουσι λόγοι. καὶ ταῦτα δ', ἐκ τῶν Ἑβραίων φιλοσοφίας καὶ θεολογίας στυλῆται. *Plotinus and Numenius explaining Plato's Sence, declare him to have asserted, Three Super-Temporals or Eternals, Good, Mind or Intellect, and the Soul of the Universe; he calling that Tagathon which to us is Father, that Mind or Intellect, which to us is Son or Word, and that Psyche or a Power Animating and Enlivening all things, which our Scriptures call the Holy Ghost. And these things (saith he) were by Plato purloined, from the Philosophy and Theology of the Hebrews.*

Wherefore we cannot but take notice here of a Wonderful Providence of Almighty God, that this Doctrine of a Trinity of Divine *Hypotheses*, should find such Admittance and Entertainment in the Pagan World, and be received by the wisest of all their Philosophers, before the times of Christianity; thereby to prepare a more easie way for the Reception of Christianity amongst the Learned Pagans. Which that it proved successful accordingly, is undeniably evident from the Monuments of Antiquity. And the Junior Platonists, who were most opposite and adverse to Christianity, became at length so sensible hereof, that besides their other Adulations of the Trinity before mentioned, for the countenancing of their *Polytheism* and *Idolatry*, they did in all probability for this very reason, quite innovate, change and pervert the whole *Cabala*, and no longer acknowledge a *Trinity*, but either a *Quaternity* or a *Quinary*, or more of Divine *Hypotheses*. They first of all contending, that before the *Trinity*, there was another Supreme and Highest *Hypothesis*, not to be reckoned with the others, but standing alone by himself. And we conceive, the first Innovator in this kind, to have been *Jamblichus*, who in his Egyptian Mysteries, where he seems to make the Egyptian Theology to agree with his own *Hypotheses*, writeth in this manner; πρὸ τοῦ ὅλης ὄντων, καὶ τοῦ ὅλων ἀρχῶν, ὅτι θεὸς ἐστὶν πρῶτος, καὶ τὸ πρῶτος θεὸς καὶ βασιλεὺς. ἀκίνητος ἐν μονότητι καὶ ἑαυτῷ ἐνότητος μέγας. ὅτε γὰρ νοητὸν αὐτῷ ὑπεπλέκεται, ὅτε ἀλλό τι. καὶ ἐξ αὐτοῦ καὶ ἰδεῖται τὰ αὐτοπάτερως αὐτογόνως καὶ μόνοπάτερως θεὸς τὸ ὅλης ἀγαθὸν. μέγας γὰρ τε καὶ πρῶτος καὶ πηγὴ τοῦ πάντων, καὶ πυμνὴ τοῦ νοημένου πρῶτος ἰδεῖν ὄντων. ἀπὸ δὲ τῷ ἐνὸς τῶτος, ὁ αὐτάρκης θεός, ἑαυτὸν ἐξέλαμψε, διὸ καὶ αὐτοπάτερ καὶ αὐτάρκης. ἀρχὴ γὰρ ἑτοῦ καὶ θεὸς θεῶν. μόνος ἐκ τῷ ἐνὸς, πρῶτος καὶ ἀρχὴ τῶν ὄντων. Before those things which truly are, and the Principles of all, there is One God Superiour to the First God, and King, Immovable; and always remaining in the Solitude of his own Unity: there being nothing Intelligible nor any thing else mingled with him; but he being the Paradigm of that God truly Good, which is Self-begotten and his own Parent. For this is greater, and before him, and the Fountain of all things; the foundation of all the first Intelligible Ideas. Wherefore from this one, did that Self sufficient God, who is Autopator or his own Parent, cause himself to shine forth, for this is also a Principle

Principle, and the God of Gods, a Monad from the first One, before all Essence. Where so far as we can understand, *Jamblichus* his meaning is, that there is a Simple Unity in order of Nature before that Tagathon, or Monad, which is the First of the Three Divine Hypostases. And this Doctrine was afterward taken up by *Proclus*, he declaring it in this manner, πανταχ^ς ὁ Πλάτων ἀπὸ τῆς πλῆθους ἐπὶ τὰς ἐνάδας ἀνατρέχειν εἰωθεν· μάλλον ἢ καὶ πρὸς τῆς Πλάτωνος καὶ τὴν τῆς περιγμάτων τάξιν πρὸ τῆς πλῆθους ἐν αἰεὶ ἔστι, καὶ πᾶσα θεὰ τάξις ἀπὸ μονάδος ἀρχεται· δὲ μὴ γὰρ ἐκ τελεόδος περιέναι τὸν ἀειδμενὸν τὸν θεῖον, ἀλλὰ πρὸς τῆς τελεόδος ἢ μονάδος· ἔσω μὲν ἔν καὶ οἱ διμυρμηκοὶ τρεῖς ἀλλὰ τις ὁ πρὸς τῆς τελεόδος εἰς, ἰδεμία γὰρ τῆς θεῶν τάξεως ἐκ πλῆθους ἀρχεται· ἐν ἀρχῇ ἀπὸ τελεόδος ἀρχεται δὲ τὸ διμυρμηκὸν ἀειδμεν, ἀλλ' ἀπὸ μονάδος· Plato every where ascends from multitude to Unity, from whence also the order of the Many proceeds; but before Plato and according to the Natural order of things, One is before Multitude and every Divine order begins from a Monad. Wherefore though the Divine Number proceed in a Trinity, yet before this Trinity must there be a Monad. Let there be Three Demiurgical Hypostases; nevertheless before these must there be One; because none of the Divine orders, begins from Multitude. We conclude, that the Demiurgical Number, does not begin from a Trinity, but from a Monad, standing alone by it self before that Trinity. Here *Proclus*, though endeavouring to gain some countenance for this doctrine out of *Plato*, yet as fearing lest that should fail him, does he fly to the order of Nature, and from thence would infer, that before the Trinity of Demiurgick Hypostases, there must be a Single Monad or Henad standing alone by it self, as the Head thereof. And *St. Cyril* of Alexandria, who was Junieur to *Jamblichus* but Senior to *Proclus*, seems to take notice of this Innovation in the Platonick Theology, as a thing then newly crept up, and after the time of *Porphyry*; ἀλλ' οἱ γε προσηρυμένοι καὶ πρὸς τὸ τοῦ ἀντιλέγουσι, φάσκοντες μὴ εἶναι τὰ τῶν συναριθμῶν τοῖς ἀπ' αὐτῶν· ἐξηγεῖσθαι γὰρ ἀπὸ πλούς κοινωνίας διὰ τὸ εἶναι ἀπλὴν παντὶ καὶ ἀδελφὸν πᾶσι συμβάσεως· Ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς νοῦς, (ἀρχὴ γὰρ ἔστος) τὴν τελεάδα μίαν σωθῆναι· But those before mentioned, contradict this Doctrine (of *Porphyrius* & the ancient Platonists) affirming that the Tagathon ought not to be connumerated or reckoned together, with those which proceed from it, but to be exempted from all Communion, because it is altogether Simple and incapable of any Commixture or Consociation with any other. Wherefore these begin their Trinity with Nous or Intellect, making that the First. The only difference here is, that *Jamblichus* seems to make the first Hypostasis of the Trinity after a Monad, to be Tagathon, but *St. Cyril*, Nous. However they both meant the same thing, as also did *Proclus* after them. Wherefore it is evident, that when from the time of the Nicene Council and *Athanasius*, the Christian Doctrine of the Trinity came to be punctually stated and settled, and much to be insisted upon by Christians, *Jamblichus* and other Platonists, who were great Antagonists of the same, perceiving what advantage the Christians had from the Platonick Trinity, then first of all Innovated this Doctrine, introducing a Quaternity of Divine Hypostases, instead of a Trinity, the First of them being not Coordinate with the other Three, nor Consociated or Reckoned with them: But All of them, though Subordinate, yet Universal, and such as Comprehend the whole; that

In *Timea*.

Lib. 2. p. 93.

C. *Ful. L. 8. p.*
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that is, *Infinite and Omnipotent*; and therefore none of them *Creatures*. For it is certain, that before this time, or the Age that *Iamblichus* lived in, there was no such thing at all dream'd of by any Platonist, as an *Unity* before and above the *Trinity*, and so a *Quaternity* of *Divine Hypostases*: *Plotinus* positively determining, that there could neither be *More* nor *Fewer* than *Three*; and *Proclus* himself acknowledging the *Ancient Tradition* or *Cabala*, to have run only of *Three Gods*; and *Numenius* who was *Senior* to them both, writing thus of *Socrates*, *Euseb. P. E. L. lib. 12. c. 12.* τὸς θεὸς πρῶτος σωκράτης, That he also (before *Plato*) *Asserted* 14. c. 5. *Three Gods*; that is, *Three Divine Hypostases*, and no more, as *Principles*; therein following the *Pythagoreans*.

Moreover the same *Proclus*, besides his *Henades* and *Noes* before mentioned, added certain other *Phantastick Trinities* of his own also, as this for example, of the *First Essence*, the *First Life*, and the *First Intellect*; (to omit others) whereby that *Ancient Cabala* and *Θεοπατρις Θεολογία*, *Theology of Divine Tradition*, of *Three Archical Hypostases*, and no more, was disguised, perverted, and adulterated.

But besides this Advantage from the ancient Pagan Platonists and Pythagoreans, admitting a *Trinity* into their Theology, in like manner as *Christianity* doth (whereby Christianity was the more recommended to the *Philosophick Pagans*) there is another Advantage of the Same extending even to this present time, probably not Unintended also by Divine Providence; That whereas Bold and Conceited Wits precipitantly condemning the Doctrine of the *Trinity* for *Nonsense*, absolute *Repugnancy* to Humane Faculties, and *Impossibility*, have thereupon some of them quite shaken off *Christianity* and all *Revealed Religion*, professing only *Theism*; others have frustrated the Design thereof by Paganizing it into *Creature-Worship* or *Idolatry*; this Ignorant and Conceited Confidence of both, may be returned and confuted from hence, because the most ingenious and acute of all the Pagan Philosophers, the *Platonists* and *Pythagoreans*, who had no byas at all upon them, nor any *Scripture Revelation*, that might seem to impose upon their Faculties, but followed the free *Sentiments* and Dictates of their own Minds, did notwithstanding not only entertain this *Trinity* of *Divine Hypostases Eternal and Uncreated*, but were also fond of the *Hypothesis*, and made it a main Fundamental of their Theology.

It now appears from what we have declared, that as to the Ancient and Genuine *Platonists* and *Pythagoreans*, none of their *Trinity of Gods*, or *Divine Hypostases*, were *Independent*; so neither were they *γυνώδισθαι* *Creature-Gods*, but *Uncreated*; they being all of them not only *Eternal*, and *Necessarily Existent*, and *Immutable*, but also *Universal*, that is *Infinite* and *Omnipotent*; *Causes*, *Principles*, and *Creators* of the whole World. From whence it follows that these *Platonists* could not justly be taxed for *Idolatry*, in giving *Religious Worship* to each *Hypostasis* of this their *Trinity*. And we have the rather insisted so long upon this *Platonick Trinity*, because we shall make use of this *Doctrine* afterwards, in our *Defence of Christianity*, where we are to show; That one *Grand Design* of *Christianity*, being to abolish the

Pagan Idolatry, or Creature-Worship, it self cannot justly be charged with the same, from that Religious Worship given to our Saviour Christ, and the Trinity, (the Son and Holy Ghost) they being none of them, according to the true and Orthodox Christianity, Creatures; however the Arian Hypothesis made them such. And this was indeed, the Grand Reason, why the Ancient Fathers, so zealously opposed Arianism, because That Christianity, which was intended by God Almighty, for a means to extirpate Pagan Idolatry, was thereby it self Paganized and Idolatrized; and made highly guilty of that very thing, which it so much condemned in the Pagans, that is Creature-Worship. This might be proved by sundry testimonies, of Athanasius, Basil, Gregory Nyssen, Gregory Nazianzen, Epiphanius, Chrysostom, Hilary, Ambrose, Austin, Faustinus, and Cyril of Alexandria; all of them charging the Arians, as guilty of the very same Idolatry with the Gentiles or Pagans, in giving Religious Worship even to the Word and Son of God himself (and consequently to our Saviour Christ) as he was supposed them to be but a Creature. But we shall content our selves here, only to cite one remarkable passage out of Athanasius in his Fourth Oration against the Arians, διὰ τὴν ὅτι οἱ Ἀρειομανῖται τοιαῦτα λογιζόμενοι καὶ νομίζοντες, καὶ συναρθεύουσιν ἐαυτοὺς μετὰ τοῦ Ἑλληνῶν, καὶ ὡς καὶ καὶ οἱ μὲν ἔσται τῇ κτίσει λατρεύοντες παρὰ τὴν κτίσαντα τὰ πάντα θεόν ——— εἰ δὲ οἱ μὲν Ἕλληες ἐνὶ ἀγνότητι καὶ πολλοῖς γεννητοῖς λατρεύουσιν, ἔσται ὁ ἐνὶ γεννητῇ καὶ ἀγνότητι, ὅς ἐστι διαφέρων ἀλλήλων. ὁ, τε ὡς παρὰ αὐτῶν λεγόμενον εἰς γεννῆς ἐκ πολλῶν ὅστι, καὶ οἱ πολλοὶ ὁ πάλιν τοῦ Ἑλλήνων τὴν αὐτὴν τὰ ἐνὶ τῷ φύσιν ἔχοντες, καὶ ὅτις ὡς καὶ οἱ μὲν κτισματὰ εἰναι. ἄλλοι καὶ πλέον ὅσον ἐβλάβησαν καὶ χεῖρ φρονεῖντες. ἐξέπεσαν ὡς τὸ ἀληθείας. καὶ τὴν μὲν Ἰσραὴλιν προδοῦσαν ὑπερέβησαν ἀρεῖοι καὶ χεῖρ. τοῖς δὲ Ἕλλησι συγκαλοῦνται, κτισματὰ καὶ διαφύοντες θεοῖς λατρεύοντες οἱ θεοφύοντες. Why therefore do not these Arians, holding this, reckon themselves amongst the Pagans or Gentiles, since they do in like manner worship the Creature, besides the Creator? For though the Pagans worship one Uncreated and many Created Gods, but these Arians only one Uncreated, and one Created; to wit the Son or Word of God; yet will not this make any real difference betwixt them; because the Arians One Created is one of those many Pagan Gods; and those many Gods of the Pagans or Gentiles, have the same nature with this One; they being alike Creatures. Wherefore these wretched Arians are Apostates from the truth of Christianity, they betraying Christ more than the Jews did, and wallowing or tumbling in the Filth of Pagan Idolatry: worshipping Creatures and different kinds of Gods? Where by the way we may take notice, that when Athanasius affirmeth of the Arians, what St Paul doth of the Pagans, that they did τῇ κτίσει λατρεύοντες ὡς καὶ κτίσαντα, his meaning could not well be, that they worshipped the Creature More than the Creator; forasmuch as the Arians constantly declared, that they gave less worship to Christ the Son or Word of God, he being by them accounted but a Creature, than they did to the Father the Creator: but either that they worshipped, the Creature Besides the Creator, or the Creature Instead of the Creator, or in the Room of him, who was alone of right to be Religiously Worshipped. Again, when the same Athanasius declareth, that the Greeks, Gentiles, or Pagans, did Universally worship ἐνὶ ἀγνότητι, Only One Uncreated, he seems to imply, that the Platonick Trinity of Hypostases,

Hypostases, affirmed by him to be all Uncreated, were by them look'd upon, only as *One entire Divinity*.

But the Principal Things, which we shall observe from this Passage of *Athanasius*, and those many other places of the Fathers, where they Parallel the *Arians* with the *Pagans*, making the *Former* guilty of the very same *Idolatry* with the *Latter*, even then when they worshipped our *Saviour Christ* himself, or the *Word* and *Son* of *God*, as he was by them supposed to be nothing but a *Creature*, are these following; First, That it is here plainly declared by them, that the generality of the *Pagans*, did not worship a *Multitude* of *Independent Gods*, but that only *One* of their Gods was *Uncreated* or *Self-Existent*, and all their other *Many Gods*, look'd upon by them as his *Creatures*. This as it is expressly affirmed by *Athanasius* here, that the *Greeks* or *Pagans*, did ἐν ἁγνότητι καὶ πολλοῖς γενετοῖς λατρεύον, *Worship only One Uncreated, and Many Created Gods*, so is it plainly implied, by all those other forementioned Fathers, who charge the *Arians* with the Guilt of *Pagan Idolatry*; because had the *Pagans* worshipped *Many Uncreated* and *Independent Gods*, it would not therefore follow, that the *Arians* were *Idolaters*, if the *Pagans* were. But that this was indeed the sense of the Fathers, both before and after the *Nicene Council*, concerning the *Pagan Polytheism* and *Idolatry*, that it consisted not in worshipping *Many Uncreated* and *Independent Gods*, but only *One Uncreated* and *Many Created*; hath been already otherwise manifested; and it might be further confirmed by sundry Testimonies of them; as this of *Saint Gregory Nazianzen* in his 37. Oration; τί δ' αὖ ἐχέει καὶ παρ' Ἑλλήνων φαίεν ἂν μίαν θεότητα, ὡς οἱ τὰ πλεώτατα παρ' ἑκείνοις φιλοσοφῶντες; *What then would some say, is there not One Divinity also amongst the Pagans, as they who Philosophize more fully and perfectly amongst them do declare?* And that full and remarkable *One* of *Irenæus*, where he plainly affirmeth of the *Gentiles*; Ita Creaturæ potius quam Creatori serviebant, & his qui non sunt Dii, L. 2. c. 9. ut Primum Deitatis Locum attribuerent, Uni alicui & Summo Fabricatori hujus Universitatis Deo; *That they so served the Creature, and those who are not Gods, rather than the Creator; that notwithstanding they attributed the First place of the Deity, to One certain Supreme God, the Maker of this Universe.* The second thing is, that *Athanasius* and all those other *Orthodox Fathers*, who charged the *Arians* with *Pagan Idolatry*, did thereby plainly imply, Those not to be *Uncapable* of *Idolatry*, who worship *One Sovereign Numen*, or acknowledge *One Supreme Deity*, the *Maker* of the whole *World*; since not only the *Arians* unquestionably did so, but also according to these Fathers, the very *Pagans* themselves. The *Third Thing* is, that in the Judgement of *Athanasius*, and all the *Orthodox Anti-Arian Fathers*, to give *Religious Worship* to any *Created Being* whatsoever, though *Inferiour* to that worship, which is given to the *Supreme God*, and therefore according to the *Modern Distinction*, not λατρεία, but δ'σλεία, is absolutely, *Idolatry*. Because it is certain, that the *Arians* gave much an *Inferiour* worship, to *Christ the Son* or *Word* of *God*, whom they contended to be a meer *Creature*, Made in *Time*, *Mutable* and *Defectible*, than they did to that *Eternal God*, who was the *Creator* of

him. As those Fathers imply, the Pagans themselves to have given much an Inferiour Worship, to their πολλοὶ θεοὶ, their *Many Gods*, whom themselves look'd upon, as *Creatures*, than they did ἐν ἀγνότητι, To that *One Uncreated God*.

Now if the Arians, who zealously contended for the *Unity of the Godhead*, were nevertheless, by the Fathers condemned, as guilty of *Idolatry*, for bestowing but an *Inferiour* kind of *Religious Worship*, upon *Christ the Son or Word of God* himself, as he was supposed by them to be a *Creature*; then certainly cannot they be excused from that *Guilt*, who bestow *Religious Worship*, upon these other *Creatures*, *Angels* and *Souls* of men, though *Inferiour* to what they give to the *Supreme Omnipotent God*, the *Creator* of all. Because the *Son or Word of God*, however conceived by these *Arians* to be a *Creature*, yet was look'd upon by them as the *First*, the most *Glorious*, and most *Excellent* of all *Creatures*, and that by which as an *Instrument*, all other *Creatures*, as *Angels* and *Souls*, were made: and therefore if it were *Idolatry* in them, to give an *Inferiour* kind of *Religious Worship*, to this *Son and Word of God* himself, according to their *Hypothesis*, then can it not possibly be accounted less, to bestow the same upon those other *Creatures*, Made by him, as *Angels* and *Men deceased*. Besides which, the *Word and Son of God*, howsoever supposed by these *Arians* to be a *Creature*, yet was not *Really* such; and is in *Scripture* unquestionably declared to be a *True Object of Religious Worship* (*Worship him all ye Gods*) so that the *Arians* though *Formally* *Idolaters*, according to their own false *Hypothesis*; yet were not *Materially* and *Really* so: whereas these *Religious Angel- and Saint-Worshippers*, must be as well *Materially* as *Formally* such. And here it is observable, that these *Ancient Fathers* made no such *Distinction of Religious Worship*, into *Latria*, as peculiar to the *Supreme God*, it being that whereby he is adored as *Self-Existent* and *Omnipotent*, or the *Creator of all*; and *Dulia*, such an *Inferiour Religious Worship*, as is communicable to *Creatures*; but concluded of *Religious Worship* *Universally*, and without *Distinction*, that the due *Object* of it all was the *Creator* only, and not any *Creature*. Thus *Athanasius* plainly in his *Third Oration*, εἰ γὰρ ὡς τῇ δόξῃ ὑπερέχων προσκυνεῖτο, ἔσθ' ἡ ἐκαστον τῶν ὑποβιβηκότων, ἢ ὑπερέχοντα προσκυνεῖν· ἀλλ' ἐν ὅτιν ἕως, κτίσματος γὰρ κτίσμα ἢ προσκυνεῖ, ἀλλὰ κτίσμα θεόν· If the *Son or Word of God* were to be *Worshipped*, (though a *Creature*) because transcending us in *glory and dignity*, then ought every *Inferiour Being* to *Worship* what is *Superiour* to it: Whereas the case is otherwise; For a *Creature* doth not *Religiously* worship a *Creature*, but only *God the Creator*. Now they who distinguish *Religious Worship*, into *Latria* and *Dulia*, must needs suppose the *Object* of it in general, to be that which is *Superiour* to us, and not the *Creator* only; which is here contradicted by *Athanasius*. But because it was objected against these *Orthodox Fathers* by the *Arians*, that the *Humanity* of our *Saviour Christ*, which is unquestionably a *Creature*, did share in their *Religious Worship* also; it is worth the while to see what account *Athanasius* gives of this; ὁ κτίσμα προσκυνῶμεν, μὴ γινώσκο· ἑθνικῶν γὰρ ἡ ἀρετῶν ἢ τοιαύτη πλάνη· ἀλλὰ τὸ κύριον τὸ κτίσμα σαρκαθέντα τὸ τῷ θεῷ λόγον προσκυνῶμεν· εἰ γὰρ ἡ σὰρξ αὐτῇ καθ' ἑαυτὴν μερεῖ

μερὸς ἔστι τῆς κτισμάτων, ἀλλὰ θεὸς γέγονε σῶμα, καὶ ὅτε τὸ τοῦτον σῶμα, καὶ αὐτὸ διακρίθῃς ἀπὸ τοῦ λόγου, προσκυνῶμεν, ὅτι τὸ λόγον προσκυνῶμεν. καὶ δέοντες, μακρύνομεν αὐτὸν ἀπὸ τοῦ σαρκὸς. ἀλλ' εἰδότες, τὸ, ὁ λόγος σαφὲς ἐγένετο, τῆτον καὶ ἐν σαρκὶ γινόμενον ὑπαγνώσκομεν θεόν. *We give no Religious Worship to any Creature, far be it from us: For this is the Error of the Pagans and of the Arians; But We Worship the Word of God the Lord of the Creation Incarnated. For though the Flesh of Christ, considered alone by it self, were but a part of the Creatures, nevertheless was it made the Body of God. And we neither Worship this Body by it self alone, divided from the Word; nor yet intending to worship the Word, do we remove it, at a great distance from this flesh; but knowing that of the Scripture, The Word was made Flesh, we look upon this Word even in the Flesh as God.* And again to the same purpose, P. 160.
 καὶ γνωσκέτωσαν ὅτι τὸ κύριον ἐν σαρκὶ προσκυνῶντες, ὁ κτισμῶτι προσκυνῶμεν, ἀλλὰ τὸ κτίσω, ἐκδυσάμενον τὸ κτίσιν σῶμα. *Let these Arians Know, at length, that we who Worship the Lord in Flesh, Worship no Creature, but only the Creator clothed with a Creaturely Body.* And for the same cause was it that Nestorius afterwards, dividing the Word from the Flesh, the Divinity of Christ from the Humanity, and not acknowledging such an *Hypostatick Union* betwixt them as he ought, but nevertheless Religiously Worshipping our Saviour Christ, was therefore branded by the Christian Church, with the Name of ἄνθρωπολάτρης, *A Man-Worshipper, or Idolater.* To conclude, they who excuse themselves from being Idolaters no otherwise, than because they do not give that very same Religious Worship, to Saints and Angels, which is peculiar to God Almighty, and consists in honouring him as *Self-Existent*, and the Creator of all things, but acknowledge those others to be Creatures; Suppose that to be Necessary to Idolatry, which is Absolutely Impossible, viz. to acknowledge more Omnipotents as Creators of all than One, or to account Creatures as such Creators; as they imply all those to be Uncapable of Idolatry, who acknowledge One Supreme God the Creator of the whole World; which is directly contradictory to the Doctrine of the Ancient Church.

Hitherto in way of Answer to an *Atheistick Objection*, against the Naturality of the Idea of God, as including Oneliness in it, from the Pagan Polytheism, have we largely proved, that at least the Civilized and Intelligent Pagans, generally acknowledged One Sovereign Numen, and that their Polytheism was partly but Phantastical, nothing but the Polyonymy of one Supreme God, or the Worshipping him under different Names and Notions according to his several Vertues and Manifestations. And that though besides this they had another Natural and Real Polytheism also; yet this was only of Many Inferiour or Created Gods, Subordinate to One Supreme Ἀγέννητον, or Uncreated.

Which notwithstanding, is not so to be understood, as if we did confidently affirm, that Opinion of Many Independent Deities, never to have so much as entred into the Mind of any Mortal. For since Humane Nature is so Mutable and Depravable, as that notwithstanding the Connate Idea and Prolepsis of God in the Minds of Men, some unquestionably do degenerate and lapse into Atheism; there can be no
 reason

reason why it should be thought absolutely impossible, for any ever to entertain that false Conceit of *More Independent Deities*. But as for *Independent Gods Invisible*, we cannot trace the footsteps of such a Polytheism as this, any where, nor find any more than a *Ditheism*, of a *Good and Evil Principle*: Only *Philo* and others seem to have conceived, That amongst the ancient Pagans, some were so grossly sottish, as to suppose a Plurality of *Independent Gods Visible*, and to take the Sun, and Moon, and all the Stars for Such. However, if there were any such, and these Writers were not mistaken, as it frequently happened, it is certain that they were but very few, because amongst the most *Barbarian Pagans* at this day, there is hardly any Nation to be found, without an acknowledgment of a *Sovereign Deity*, as appears from all those Discoveries which have been made of them, since the improvement of Navigation.

Wherefore what hath been hitherto declared by us, might well be thought a sufficient Answer to the forementioned *Atheistick Objection*, against the Idea of God. Notwithstanding which, when we wrote the Contents of this Chapter, we intended a further Account, of the *Natural and Real Polytheism* of the Pagans, and their *Multifarious Idolatry*, chiefly in order to the *Vindication* of the Truth of *Christianity* against *Atheists*: forasmuch as one grand Design hereof, was unquestionably, to destroy the *Pagan Polytheism* and *Idolatry*, which consisted in *Worshipping the Creature besides the Creator*.

But we are very Sensible, that we have been surprized in the Length of this Chapter, which is already swelled into a *Disproportionate Bigness*; by means whereof we cannot comprehend within the compass of this Volume, all that belongs to the *Remaining Contents*, together with such a Full and Copious *Confutation* of the *Atheistick Grounds*, as was intended. Wherefore we shall here Divide the Chapter, and reserve those *Remaining Contents* together, with a further *Confutation* of *Atheism*, for another Volume, which God affording Life, Health, and Leisure, we intend shall follow. Only subjoyning in the mean time, a *Short and Compendious Confutation*, of all the *Atheistick Arguments* proposed.

AN



A
CONFUTATION
OF
ATHEISM.

CHAP. V.

HAVING in the *Second* Chapter revealed all the *Dark Mysteries of Atheism*, and produced the utmost strength of that Cause; and in the *Third*, made an *Introduction* to the Confutation of those *Atheistick Grounds*, by representing all the several *Forms* and *Schemes of Atheism*, and shewing both their Disagreements amongst themselves, and wherein they all agree together against *Theists*; We have been hitherto prevented, of that full and Copious Confutation of them, intended by us, by reason of that large Account given, of the *Pagan Polytheism*; which yet was no Impertinent Digression neither, it removing the *Grand Objection* against the *Naturality* of the *Idea of God*, as including *Oneliness* in it, as also preparing a way for that *Defence of Christianity*, designed by us against *Atheists*. Wherefore that we may not here be quite excluded, of what was principally intended, we shall subjoyn a *Contracted and Compendious Confutation*, of all the *Premised Atheistick Principles*. The *FIRST* whereof was this, That either *men have no Idea of God at all*, or else *none but such as is Compounded and Made up of Impossible and Contradictory Notions*; from whence these *Atheists* would inferr Him, to be an *Unconceivable Nothing*. In Answer whereunto, there hath been something done already, it being declared in the Beginning of the *Fourth Chapter*, what the *Idea of God is*, viz. *A Perfect Understanding Nature, Necessarily Self-Existent, and the Cause of all other things*. And as there is Nothing either *Unconceivable*, or *Contradictory* in this *Idea*, so have we shewed, that these *Confounded Atheists*, do not only at the same time, when they verbally deny an *Idea of God*, implicitly acknowledge and confess it, for as much as otherwise, denying his *Existence*, they should deny the *Existence of Nothing*; but also that they agree with *Theists* in this very *Idea*; it being the only thing which *Atheists* Contend for, That the *First Original*

and Head of all things, is no Perfect Understanding Nature, but that all sprung from *Tobu* and *Bohu*, or Dark and Senseless Matter Fortuitously moved. Moreover we have not only thus declared the *Idea* of God, but also largely proved, and made it clearly evident, that the Generality of Mankind in all Ages, have had a *Prolepsis* or *Anticipation* in their Minds, concerning the Real and Actual Existence of such a Being: the Pagans themselves, besides their other *Many Gods* (which were *Understanding Beings Superiour to men*;) acknowledging *One Chief and Sovereign Numen*, the *Maker* of them all, and of the Whole World. From whence it plainly appears, that those few *Atheists*, that formerly have been, and still are, here and there up and down in the World, are no other than the *Monsters* and *Anomalies* of Humane Kind. And this alone might be sufficient, to repel the *First Atheistick Assault*, made against the *Idea* of God.

Nevertheless, that we may not seem to dissemble any of the *Atheists* Strength, we shall here Particularly declare, all their most *Colourable Pretences*, against the *Idea* of God, and then show the Folly and Invalidity of them. Which *Pretences* are as follow; First, *That we have no Idea nor Thought of any thing not Subject to Corporeal Sense; nor the least Evidence of the Existence of any thing, but from the same.* Secondly, *That Theists themselves acknowledging God to be Incomprehensible, he may be from thence inferred to be a Non-Entity.* Thirdly, *That the Theists Idea of God including Infinity in it, is therefore absolutely Unconceivable and Impossible.* Fourthly, *That Theology is an Arbitrarious Compilement of Inconsistent and Contradictory Notions;* And Lastly, *That the Idea and Existence of God owes all its being, either to the Confounded Non-Sence of Astonish'd Minds; or else to the Fiction and Imposition of Politicians.*

We begin with the First. That we can have no *Idea*, *Conception*, or *Thought* of any thing, not *Subject to Sense*; nor the least *Evidence* of the *Existence* of any thing, but from the same. Thus a Modern *Atheistick Writer*; *Whatsoever we can conceive, hath been Perceived first by Sense, either at once or in parts; and a man can have no Thought representing any thing not Subject to Sense.* From whence it follows, that whatsoever is not *Sensible* and *Imaginable*, is utterly *unconceivable* and to us *Nothing*. Moreover the same *Writer* adds, *That the only Evidence which we have of the Existence of any thing, is from Sense;* the Consequence whereof is this, That there being no *Corporeal Sense* of a *Deity*, there can be no *Evidence* at all of his *Existence*. Wherefore according to the Tenour of the *Atheistick Philosophy*, all is Resolved into *Sense*; as the only *Criterion* of *Truth*, accordingly as *Protagoras* in *Plato's Theætetus* concludes, *Knowledge to be Sense*; and a late *Writer* of our own determines, *Sense to be Original Knowledge*. Here have we a wide Ocean before us, but we must Contract our Sayls, Were *sense*, *Knowledge* and *Understanding*; then he that sees *Light* and *Colours*, and feels *Heat* and *Cold*, would understand *Light* and *Colours*, *Heat* and *Cold*, and the like of all other *Sensible Things*: neither would there be any *Philosophy* at all concerning them. Whereas the *Mind* of man remaineth altogether unsatisfied, concerning the Nature
of

of these Corporeal Things, even after the Strongest Sensations of them, and is but thereby awakened, to a further *Philosophick Enquiry* and Search about them, what this Light and Colours, this Heat and Cold, &c. Really should be; and whether they be indeed *Qualities* in the *Objects* without us, or only *Phantasms* and Sensations in our selves. Now it is certain, that there could be no Suspicion of any such thing as this, were *Sense* the Highest Faculty in us; neither can *Sense* it self ever decide this Controversie; since one *Sense* cannot judge of another, or correct the Error of it; all *Sense* as such, (that is, as *Phancy* and *Apparition*) being alike True. And had not these Atheists been Notorious Dunces, in that *Atomick Philosophy* which they so much pretend to, they would clearly have learn'd from thence, That *Sense* is not *Knowledge* and *Understanding*, nor the *Criterion* of Truth as to *Sensible* things themselves; it reaching not to the *Essence* or *Absolute Nature* of them, but only taking notice of their *Outside*, and perceiving its own *Passions* from them, rather than the Things themselves: and That there is a Higher Faculty in the Soul, of *Reason* and *Understanding*, which judges of *Sense*, detects the *Phantasm* and *Imposure* of it; discovers to us that there is nothing in the *Objects* themselves like to those forementioned *Sensible Ideas*; and resolves all *Sensible Things* into *Intelligible Principles*; the *Ideas* whereof are not *Foreign* and *Adventitious*, and meer *Passive Impressions* upon the Soul from without; but *Native* and *Domestick* to it, or *Actively Exerted* from the Soul it self: no *Passion* being able to make a Judgment either of it self or other things. This is a thing so Evident, that *Democritus* himself could not but take notice of it, and acknowledge it, though he made not a right use thereof; he in all Probability, continuing notwithstanding a *Confounded* and *Besotted Atheist*: *Sextus Empiricus* having recorded this of him.

Ἐν τοῖς κανόσι δύο φησὶν εἶναι γνώσεις, τὴν μὲν διὰ τῆς αἰσθήσεως, τὴν δὲ διὰ τῆς διανοίας. ὣν τὴν μὲν διὰ τῆς διανοίας γνώσιν καταλείπει, προσμαρτυρῶν αὐτῇ τὸ πρὸς εἰς ἀληθείας κέλευσιν, τὴν δὲ διὰ τῆς αἰσθήσεως σκοτίῳ ὀνομάζει, ἀφανίζοντα αὐτῇ τὸ πρὸς διάγνῶσιν τῆς ἀληθείας ἀπλανές. λέγει δὲ καὶ λέγειν, γνώμης δὲ δύο εἶναι ἰδέαι· ἡ μὲν γνησίη· ἡ δὲ σκοτίη καὶ σκοτίας μὲν, τὰδε συμπαῖτα, ὄψις, ἀκοή, ὀσμὴ, γούσις, ψαύσις· ἡ δὲ γνησίη ἀπεκκενυμένη ἢ ταύτης. *Democritus in his Canons affirmeth, that there are Two kinds of Knowledges, One by the Senses, and another by the Mind. Of which that by the Mind is only accounted Knowledge, he bearing witness to the Faithfulness and Firmness thereof, for the judgment of Truth. The other by the Senses, he calleth Dark, denying it to be a Rule and Measure of Truth. His own words are these. There are Two Species of Knowledge, the One Genuine the other Dark or Obscure. The Dark and Obscure Knowledge is Seeing, Hearing, Smelling, Tasting, Touching. But the Genuine Knowledge, is another more Hidden and Recondit. To which purpose there is another Fragment also of this Democritus preserved by the same Sextus;*

νόμος γλυκύ, καὶ νόμος πικρὸν, νόμος θερμόν, νόμος ψυχρόν· νόμος χερί· αἰτία δὲ ἄτομα καὶ κενόν. ὅσῳ νομίζεται μὲν εἶναι καὶ δοξάζεται τα αἰσθητά, ἐν ἑστὶ καὶ ἀλήθειαν ταῦτα· Bitter and Sweet, Hot and Cold, are only in Opinion or Phancy. Colour is only in opinion. Atoms and Vacuum alone in Truth and Reality. That which is thought to be, are Sensibles; but these are not according to Truth, but Atoms and Vacuum only. Now

the chief Ground of this Rational Discovery of the ancient Atomists, that Sensible things, as Heat and Cold, Bitter and Sweet, Red and Green, are no *Real Qualities* in the Objects without, but 'only our own *Phancies*, was because in Body, there are no such things *Intelligible*; but only *Magnitude, Figure, Site, Motion and Rest*. Of which we have not only *Sensible Ideas*, Passively impressed upon us from without, but also, *Intelligible Notions, Actively Exerted* from the Mind it self. Which Latter notwithstanding, because they are not unaccompanied with *Sensible Phantasms*, are by many unskilfully confounded with them. But besides these, we have other *Intelligible Notions or Ideas* also, which have no *Genuine Phantasms* at all belonging to them. Of which whosoever doubts, may easily be satisfied and convinced, by reading but a Sentence or two, that he understands, in any Book almost that shall come next to his hand; and reflexively examining himself, whether he have a *Phantasm* or *Sensible Idea*, belonging to every Word, or no. For whoever is modest and ingenuous, will quickly be forced to confess, that he meets with many Words, which though they have a *Sence* or *Intelligible Notion*, yet have no *Genuine Phantasm* belonging to them. And we have known some, who were confidently engaged in the other Opinion; being put to read the beginning of Tully's Offices, presently non-plust and confounded, in that first word *Quanquam*; they being neither able to deny but that there was a *Sence* belonging to it, nor yet to affirm, that they had any *Phantasm* thereof, save only of the *Sound* or *Letters*. But to prove that there are *Cogitations* not subject to *Corporeal Sense*, we need go no further than this very *Idea* or *Description* of God; *A Substance, Absolutely Perfect, Infinitely Good, Wise and Powerful, Necessarily Self-existent, and the Cause of all other things*. Where there is not One Word unintelligible, to him that hath any Understanding in him, and yet no Considerative and Ingenuous Person can pretend, that he hath a *Genuine Phantasm* or *Sensible Idea*, answering to any one of those words; either to *Substance*, or to *Absolutely Perfect*, or to *Infinitely*, or to *Good*, or to *Wise*, or to *Powerful*, or to *Necessity*, or to *Self-existence*, or to *Cause*; or indeed to *All*, or *Other*, or *Things*. Wherefore it is nothing but want of *Meditation*, together with a *Fond and Sottish Dotage* upon *Corporeal Sense*, which hath so far imposed upon some, as to make them believe, that they have not the least *Cogitation* of any thing, not subject to *Corporeal Sense*, or that there is nothing in *Humane Understanding* or *Conception*, which was not First in *Bodily Sense*; a Doctrine highly favourable to *Atheism*. But since it is certain on the contrary, that we have many Thoughts not Subject to Sense, it is manifest that whatsoever falls not under External Sense, is not therefore *Unconceivable*, and *Nothing*. Which whosoever asserts, must needs affirm, *Life* and *Cogitation* it self, *Knowledge* or *Understanding*, *Reason* and *Memory*, *Volition* and *Appetite*, things of the greatest Moment and Reality, to be Nothing but mere Words without any *Signification*. Nay *Phancy* and *Sense* it self, upon this *Hypothesis*, could hardly scape from becoming *Non-Entities* too, forasmuch as neither *Phancy* nor *Sense* falls under *Sense*, but only the Objects of them; we neither seeing *Vision*, nor feeling *Taction*, nor hearing *Audition*, much less,

less, *hearing Sight*, or *seeing Taste*, or the like. Wherefore though God should be never so much Corporeal, as some Theists have conceived him to be, yet since the *Chief of his Essence*, and as it were his *Inside*, must by these be acknowledged to consist in *Mind, Wisdom, and Understanding*, he could not possibly as to this, fall under Corporeal Sense (*Sight or Touch*) any more than *Thought* can. But that there is *Substance Incorporeal* also, and therefore in it self altogether *Insensible*; and that the Deity is such; is demonstrated elsewhere.

We grant indeed that the *Evidence* of Particular Bodies, existing *Hic & Nunc*, without us, doth necessarily depend upon the *Information of Sense*: but yet nevertheless the *Certainty* of this very *Evidence*, is not from *Sense* alone, but from a *Complication of Reason and Understanding* together with it. Were *Sense* the only *Evidence* of things, there could be no *Absolute Truth and Falshood*, nor *Certainty* at all of any thing; Sense as such being only *Relative* to Particular *Persons*, *Seeming* and *Phantastical*, and obnoxious to much *Delusion*. For if our *Nerves* and *Brain* be inwardly so moved, and affected, as they would be by such an Object present, when indeed it is absent, and no other Motion or Sensation, in the mean time prevail against it and obliterate it; then must that Object of necessity seem to us present. Moreover those *Imaginations*, that spring and bubble from the Soul it self, are commonly taken for *Sensations* by us when asleep, and sometimes in *Melancholick* and *Phanciful* Persons also, when awake. That *Atheistick Principle*, that there is no Evidence at all of any thing as Existing, but only from *Corporeal Sense*, is plainly contradicted by the *Atomick Atheists* themselves, When they assert *Atoms* and *Vacuum* to be the Principles of all things, and the *Exuvions Images* of Bodies to be the Causes both of *Sight* and *Cogitation*: for *Single Atoms*, and those *Exuvions Images*, were never Seen nor Felt; and *Vacuum* or *Empty Space*, is so far from being *Sensible*, that these *Atheists* themselves allow it to be the *One Only Incorporeal*. Wherefore they must here go beyond the Ken of Sense, and appeal to Reason only for the *Existence* of these Principles: as

Thas. P. 155
Steph.

Protagoras one of them in *Plato* professedly doth; ἀθεῖ οὐδ' ὁμοιοῦσιν μὴ τις τῶν ἀμύητων ἐπαυχή· εἰσι δ' ἔστωι, οἱ δὲν ἄλλο οἰόμενοι εἶναι, ἢ ἂν δύνασθαι ἀπεριεῖ ταῖν χειρῶν λαβέσθαι, πᾶν τὸ ἀόρατον ἐκ ἀποδεχόμενοι, ὡς ἐν ἑοδᾷ μέλει· Have a Care that none of the Prophane and Uninitiated in the Mysteries, over-hear you. By the Prophane, I mean (saith he) those who think nothing to Exist, but what they can feel with their Fingers, and exclude all that is Invisible, out of the Rank of Being. Were Existence to be allowed to nothing, that doth not fall under Corporeal Sense, then must we deny the Existence of Soul and Mind, in our selves, and others, because we can neither Feel nor See any such thing. Whereas we are certain of the Existence of our own Souls, partly from an inward *Consciousness* of our own *Cogitations*, and partly from that *Principle of Reason*, That, *Nothing can not Act*. And the Existence of other Individual Souls, is manifest to us, from their Effects, upon their Respective Bodies, their *Motions, Actions, and Discourse*. Wherefore since the *Atheists* cannot deny the Existence

of Soul or Mind in men, though no such thing fall under External Sense; they have as little Reason to deny, the Existence of a *Perfect Mind*, presiding over the *Universe*, without which it cannot be conceived whence our *Imperfect* ones should be derived. The Existence of that *God*, whom no Eye hath seen nor can see, is plainly proved by Reason from his *Effects*, in the *Visible Phenomena* of the *Universe*, and from what we are Conscious of within our selves.

Plato Theat.

The Second Pretence of *Atheists* against the *Idea of God*, and consequently his *Existence*, is because Theists themselves acknowledging *God* to be *Incomprehensible*, it may be from thence Inferred, that he is a *Non-Entity*. Which Argumentation of the *Atheists*, supposes these Two Things, First, That what is *Incomprehensible*, is altogether *Unconceivable*; and then, that what is *Unconceivable*, is *Nothing*. The Latter of which Two, perhaps may be granted to them, That what is so Utterly *Unconceivable*, as that no man can frame any manner of *Idea* or *Conception* of it, is therefore either in it self, or at least to us, *Nothing*. Because though that of *Protagoras* be not true, in his sense, πολλῶν χρημάτων μέτρον ἀνθρώπου εἶναι, τῷ μὲν ὄντων ὡς ἐστὶ, τῷ δὲ μὴ ὄντων, ὡς οὐκ ἐστὶν. That *Man is the measure of all things, either as Existing or not Existing*. He meaning indeed nothing else thereby, but that there was no *Absolute Truth* or *Falshood* of any thing, but all was *Relative* to particular persons, and *Phantastical* or *Seeming* only. And though it must not be granted, that whatsoever any man's shallow Understanding, cannot easily and fully comprehend, is therefore presently to be expunged out of the Catalogue of Beings; which is the *Reason*, or rather *Infidelity* of the *Anti-Trinitarians*; yet is there notwithstanding some Truth in that of *Aristotle*, that ψυχὴ πᾶς παντα, the *Rational Soul or Mind*, is in a manner *All things*; it being able to frame some *Idea* and *Conception* or other, of whatsoever is in the *Nature of things*, and hath either an *Actual* or *Possible Existence*, from the very Highest to the Lowest. Mind and Understanding is as it were a *Diaphanous* and *CrySTALLINE GLOBE*, or a kind of *Notional World*, which hath some *Reflex Image*; and correspondent Ray, or Representation in it, to whatsoever is in the *True and Real World of Being*. And upon this account may it be said, that whatsoever is in its own Nature *Absolutely Unconceivable*, is indeed a *Non-Entity*.

But the Former is absolutely denied by us, That Whatsoever is *Incomprehensible* is *Unconceivable*; and therefore when we affirm that *God* is *Incomprehensible*, our meaning is only this, that our *Imperfect Minds* cannot have such a *Conception* of his Nature, as doth perfectly Master, Conquer, and Subdue that Vast Object under it; or at least is so fully Adequate and Commensurate to the same, as that it doth every way Match and Equalize it. Now it doth not at all follow from hence, because *God* is thus *Incomprehensible* to our *Finite* and *Narrow Understandings*, that he is utterly *Unconceivable* by them, so that they cannot frame any *Idea* at all of him, and he may therefore be concluded to be a *Non-Entity*. For it is certain, that we cannot fully Comprehend our Selves, and that we have not such an Adequate and Comprehensive Knowledge of the *Essence* of any Substantial thing, as that

that we can perfectly *Master and Conquer* it. It was a Truth, though abused by the Scepticks, that there is ἀκατάληπτόν τι, *something Incomprehensible* in the Essence of the Lowest Substances. For even *Body* it self, which the *Atheists* think themselves so well acquainted with, because they can feel it with their fingers, and which is the only Substance that they acknowledge either in themselves or the Universe, hath such puzzling Difficulties and Entanglements in the Speculation of it, that they can never be able to extricate themselves from. We might instance also in some *Accidental things*, as *Time* and *Motion*. *Truth is Bigger than our Minds*, and we are not the *Same* with it, but have a lower Participation only of the *Intellectual Nature*, and are rather *Apprehenders* than *Comprehenders* thereof. This is indeed One Badge of our *Creaturely State*, that we have not a perfectly *Comprehensive Knowledge*, or such as is *Adequate* and *Commensurate* to the Essences of things; from whence we ought to be led to this acknowledgment, that there is another *Perfect Mind* or *Understanding Being* above us in the Universe, from which our *Imperfect Minds* were derived, and upon which they do depend. Wherefore if we can have no *Idea* or *Conception* of any thing whereof we have not a Full and *Perfect Comprehension*, then can we not have an *Idea* or *Conception* of the Nature of any Substance. But though we do not Comprehend all Truth, as if our Mind were *Above* it, or *Master* of it; and cannot Penetrate into, and look quite thorough the Nature of every thing; yet may Rational Souls frame certain *Ideas* and *Conceptions*, of whatsoever is in the *Orb of Being*, proportionate to their own Nature, and sufficient for their purpose. And though we cannot fully Comprehend the Deity, nor Exhaust the *Infiniteness* of its *Perfection*, yet may we have an *Idea* or *Conception* of a *Being Absolutely Perfect*, such a one as is, *Nostro modulo conformis*, agreeable and proportionate to our *Measure and Scantling*; as we may approach near to a Mountain, and touch it with our hands, though we cannot encompass it all round, and enclasp it within our arms. Whatsoever is in its own Nature *Absolutely Unconceivable*, is *Nothing*; but not whatsoever is not fully *Comprehensible* by our *Imperfect Understandings*.

It is true indeed, that the Deity is more *Incomprehensible* to us than any thing else whatsoever, which proceeds from the Fulness of its Being and Perfection, and from the Transcendency of its Brightness, but for the very same reason, may it be said also, in some sence, that it is more Knowable and Conceivable than any thing. As the Sun, though by reason of its Excessive Splendour, it dazle our weak sight, yet is it notwithstanding far more Visible also, than any of the *Nebulose Stella*, the *Small Misty Stars*. Where there is more of Light, there is more of Visibility, so where there is more of Entity, Reality, and Perfection, there is there more of *Conceptibility* and *Cognoscibility*; such an Object Filling up the Mind more, and Acting more strongly upon it. Nevertheless because our Weak and Imperfect Minds are lost in the Vast Immenity and Redundancy of the Deity, and overcome with its transcendent Light, and dazeling Brightness, therefore hath it to us an Appearance of *Darkness* and *Incomprehensibility*.
Thus

As the unbounded Expansion of Light, in the clear transparent *Ether*, hath to us the *Apparition* of an *Azure Obscurity*; which yet is not any *Absolute* thing in it self, but only *Relative* to our *Sense*, and a meer *Phancy* in us.

The *Incomprehensibility* of the *Deity*, is so far from being an Argument against the *Reality* of its *Existence*, as that it is most certain on the contrary, that were there nothing *Incomprehensible* to us, who are but contemptible Pieces, and small Atoms of the *Universe*; were there no other Being in the world, but what our *Finite* and *Imperfect Understandings* could span or fathom, and encompass round about; look thorough and thorough, have a commanding view of, and perfectly Conquer and Subdue under them; then could there be nothing *Absolutely* and *Infinitely Perfect*, that is, no *God*. For though that of *Empedocles* be not true in a *Literal Sense*, as it seems to have been taken by *Aristotle*, *ἡ γὰρ μὲν γῆ γαίαν*, &c. *That by Earth we see Earth, by Water Water, and by Fire Fire*; and understand every thing by something of the same within our selves; yet is it certain, that every thing is apprehended by some *Internal Congruity* in that which apprehends, which perhaps was the sense intended by that Noble *Philosophick Poet*. Wherefore it cannot possibly otherwise be, but that the *Finiteness*, *Scantness*, and *Imperfection* of our narrow Understandings, must make them *Asymmetrall* or *Incommensurate*, to that which is *Absolutely* and *Infinitely Perfect*.

And Nature it self plainly intimates to us, that there is some such *Absolutely Perfect Being*, which though not *Inconceivable*, yet is *Incomprehensible* to our *Finite Understandings*; by certain *Passions* which it hath implanted in us, that otherwise would want an *Object* to display themselves upon; namely those, of *Devout Veneration*, *Adoration*, and *Admiration*, together with a kind of *Ecstasie*, and *Pleasing Horrour*; which in the silent Language of Nature, seem to speak thus much to us, that there is some *Object* in the *World*, so much *Bigger* and *Vaster* than our *Mind* and *Thoughts*, that it is the very same to them, that the *Ocean* is to narrow *Vessels*, so that when they have taken into themselves as much as they can thereof by *Contemplation*, and filled up all their *Capacity*, there is still an *Immensity* of it left without, which cannot enter in for want of room to receive it, and therefore must be apprehended after some other strange and more mysterious manner, *viz.* by their being as it were *Plunged* into it, and *Swallowed up* or *Lost* in it. To conclude, the *Deity* is indeed *Incomprehensible* to our *Finite* and *Imperfect Understandings*, but not *Inconceivable*, and therefore there is no Ground at all for this *Atheistick Pretence*, to make it a *Non-Entity*.

We come to the *Third Atheistick Argumentation*; That because *Infinity* (which according to *Theology* is included in the *Idea* of *God*, and pervadeth all his *Attributes*) is utterly *Unconceivable*, the *Deity* it self is therefore an *Impossibility*, and *Non-Entity*. To this Sense sound sundry *Passages* of a *Modern Writer*; as, *Whatsoever we know, we learn from our Phantasms, but there is no Phantasm of Infinite,*
and

and therefore no Knowledge or Conception of it. Again, *Whatsoever we Imagine is Finite*, and therefore there is no Conception or Idea, of that which we call *Infinite*. No man can have in his Mind an Image of *Infinite Time*, or of *Infinite Power*. Wherefore the Name of God is used, not to make us conceive him, but only that we may Honour him. The true Meaning whereof (as may be plainly gathered from other Passages of the same Writer) is thus to be Interpreted; That there is nothing of *Philosophick Truth and Reality*, in the *Idea or Attributes* of God; nor any other Sence in those Words, but only to signify, the *Veneration and Astonishment* of mens own *Confounded Minds*. And accordingly the Word *Infinite*, is declared, to signify nothing at all in that which is so called, (there being no such thing really existing) but only the *Inability* of mens own Minds, together with their *Rustick Astonishment and Admiration*. Wherefore when the same Writer determines, that God must not be said to be *Finite*; this being no good *Courtskip nor Complement*; and yet the Word *Infinite*, signifieth nothing in the thing it self, nor hath any Conception at all answering to it; he either does plainly abuse his Reader, or else he leaves him to make up this Conclusion; That since God is neither *Finite* nor *Infinite*, he is an *Unconceivable Nothing*. In like manner, another Learned *Well-willer to Atheism*, declareth, That he who calleth any thing *Infinite*, doth but *Rei quam non capit, attribuere nomen quod non intelligit*, Attribute an *Unintelligible Name*, to a thing *Unconceivable*; because all Conception is *Finite*, and it is impossible to conceive any thing that hath no *Bounds or Limits*. But that which is mistaken for *Infinite*, is nothing but a *Confused Chaos of the Mind*, or an *unshapen Embryo of Thought*; when men going on further and further, and making a *Continual Progress*, without seeing any *End* before them, being at length quite weary and tyred out with this their *endless Journey*, they sit down, and call the thing by this *Hard and Unintelligible Name*, *Infinite*. And from hence does he also infer; That because we can have no *Idea of Infinite*, as to signify any thing in that which is so called; we therefore cannot possibly have, *Germanam Ideam Dei*, Any True and Genuine *Idea or Notion of God*. Of which, they who understand the *Language of Atheists*, know very well the meaning to be this; That there is indeed No such thing; or, That he is a *Non-Entity*.

Now since this *Exception* against the *Idea of God*, and consequently his *Existence*, is made by our *Modern and Neoterick Atheists*; we shall in the first place shew, how *Contradictious* they are herein to their *Predecessors*, the *Old Philosophick Atheists*; and consequently how inconsistent and disagreeing, *Atheists* in several Ages have been with one another. For whereas these *Modern Atheists*, would have this thought a sufficient *Confutation of a Deity*, That there can be *Nothing Infinite*; it is certain that the *Ancient Philosophick Atheists* were so far from being of this *Perswasion*, that some of them, as *Anaximander* expressly, made $\alpha\tau\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\upsilon$, or *Infinite*, the *Principle of all things*; that is, *Infinitely Extended and Eternal Matter*, devoid of all *Life and Understanding*. For though *Melissus* his $\alpha\tau\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\upsilon$ or *Infinite*, which he made *The First Principle*, was a *Most Perfect Being*, Eminent

nently containing *all things* (as hath been already shewed) and therefore the *True Deity*: yet *Anaximander's* $\alpha\pi\epsilon\lambda\epsilon\gamma$ or *Infinite*, however called $\theta\epsilon\acute{\iota}\omega\nu$ or *Divine* by him, (it being the only *Divinity* which he acknowledged) was nothing but *Senseless Matter*; an *Atheistick Infinite*. Wherefore both *Theists* and *Atheists* in those former times, did very well agree together in this One Point, that there was Something or other *Infinite*, as the *First Principle* of all things; either *Infinite Mind*, or *Infinite Matter*; though this latter *Atheistick Infinity* of *Extended Matter*, be indeed repugnant to Conception, (as shall be proved afterwards) there being no *True Infinite*, but a *Perfect Being*, or the Holy Trinity. Furthermore, not only *Anaximander*, but also after him, *Democritus*, and *Epicurus*, and many others of that *Atheistick Gang*, heretofore asserted likewise, a *Numerical Infinity* of *Worlds*, and therefore much more than an *Infinity* of *Atoms*, or *Particles of Matter*. And though this *Numerical Infinity* of theirs were also *Unconceivable* and *Impossible*; yet does it sufficiently appear from hence, that these *Ancient Philosophick Atheists* were so far from being abhorrent from *Infinity*; as a Thing *Impossible*, and a *Non-Entity*, that they were on the contrary very fond thereof; and therefore never went about to disprove a *Deity*, after this manner, *Because there can be Nothing Infinite*.

But in the next place, we shall make it manifest, that these *Modern Atheists*, do no less contradict plain Reason and their very Selves also, than they do their Predecessors in that Impiety, when they thus go about to disprove the Existence of a God; *Because there can be Nothing Infinite*, neither in *Duration*, nor in *Power*, nor in any other regard. For First, though it should be doubted, whether there be a God or no, yet must it needs be acknowledged to be as Indubitable, as any thing in all Geometry, that there was something or other *Infinite in Duration*, or *Eternal, without Beginning*: because, if there had been once Nothing at all, there could never have been Any thing; that *Common Notion* or Principle of Reason, having here an *Irresistible Force*, That Nothing could ever come from Nothing. Now if there were never Nothing, but always Something, then must there of necessity be something *Infinite in Duration*, and *Eternal without Beginning*. Wherefore it cannot be accounted less than *Extreme Sottishness* and *Stupidity* of Mind, in these *Modern Atheists*, thus to impugn a *Deity*, from the *Impossibility* of *Infinite Duration* without beginning. But in the next place, we must confess it seems to us hardly conceivable, that any *Atheist* whatsoever, could possibly be so prodigiously Sottish, or so monstrously infatuated, as really to think; that once there was Nothing at all, but that afterwards *Senseless Matter* happened, (no body knows how) to come into Being, from whence all other things were derived. According to which *Hypothesis*, it would follow also, that *Matter* might as well some time or other happen again, to cease to be, and so all things vanish into Nothing. To conclude therefore, these *Atheists* must of necessity be Guilty, of One or Other of these Two Things; either of *Extreme Sottishness* and *Stupidity*, in acknowledging neither God, nor Matter, nor Any Thing, to have Existed *Ininitely* from

Eternity

Eternity without Beginning ; or else if they do acknowledge the *Pre-Eternity of Matter*, or its *Infinite Past-duration without Beginning* ; then, of the most *Notorious Impudence*, in making that an Argument against the *Existence of a God*, which themselves acknowledge to *Matter*.

Nevertheless we shall here readily comply, with these *Modern Atheists* thus far, as to grant them these *Two following Things* ; *First*, that we can have no Proper and Genuine *Phantasm* of any *Infinite* whatsoever, because we never had *Corporeal Sense* of any, neither of *Infinite Number*, nor of *Infinite Magnitude*, and therefore much less of *Infinite Time* or *Duration*, and of *Infinite Power* ; these two Latter things, *Time* and *Power*, themselves not falling under *Corporeal Sense*. Secondly, That as we have no *Phantasm* of any *Infinite*, so neither is *Infinity Fully Comprehensible* by our humane Understandings, that are but *Finite*. But since it is certain even to *Mathematical Evidence*, That there was *Something Infinite in Duration*, or *without Beginning*, inso much that no Intelligent Atheist, upon Mature Consideration will ever venture to contradict it, we shall from hence extort from these Atheists an acknowledgment, of the *Falseness* of these *Two Theorems* of theirs, That whatsoever we have no *Phantasm* or *Sensible Idea* of, as also whatsoever is not *Fully Comprehensible* by us, is therefore a pure *Non-Entity* or *Nothing* : and enforce them to confess, That there is something Really Existing in Nature, which we have neither any *Phantasm* of, nor yet can *Fully Comprehend* with our Imperfect Understandings.

Nay, we will yet go further in compliance with them and acknowledge likewise, That as for those *Infinities*, of *Number*, of *Corporeal Magnitude*, and of *Time* or *Successive Duration*, we have not only no *Phantasm*, nor *Full Intellectual Comprehension* of them, but also no manner of *Intelligible Idea*, *Notion* or *Conception*. For though it be true, that *Number* be somewhere said by *Aristotle* to be *Infinite*, yet was his meaning there only in such a negative Sense as this, that we can never possibly come to an End thereof by Addition, but may in our minds still add *Number* to *Number* *Ininitely* ; which is all one as if he should indeed have affirmed, that there can be no *Number* *Actually* and *Positively Infinite*, according to *Aristotle's* own Definition of *Infinite* elsewhere given, namely, *That to which nothing can be added* : no *Number* being ever so Great, but that *One* or *More* may still be added to it. And as there can be no *Infinite Number*, so neither can there be any *Infinity of Corporeal Magnitude* ; not only because if there were, the parts thereof must needs be *Infinite in Number* ; but also because, as no *Number* can be so great, but that *More* may be added to it ; so neither can any *Body* or *Magnitude* be ever so Vast, but that more *Body* or *Magnitude* may be supposed still further and further ; this *Addition of Finites*, never making up *Infinite*. Indeed *Infinite Space*, beyond the *Finite World*, is a thing which hath been much talked of ; and it is by some supposed to be *Infinite Body*, but by others to be an *Incorporeal Infinite* ; through whose Actual Distance notwithstanding (*Mensurable by Poles and Miles*)

this *Finite World* might rowl and tumble *Infinitely*. But as we conceive, all that can be demonstrated here, is no more than this, That how vastsoever the *Finite World* should be, yet is there a *Possibility* of more and more *Magnitude* and *Body*, still to be added to it, further and further, by *Divine Power*, *Infinitely*; or that the *World* could never be made so Great, no not by God himself, as that his own Omnipotence could not make it yet Greater. Which *Potential Infinity* or *Indefinite Encreasableness* of *Corporeal Magnitude*, seems to have been mistaken for an *Actual Infinity* of *Space*. Whereas for this very Reason, because more could be added to the *Magnitude* of the *Corporeal World* *Infinitely*, or without *End*; therefore is it *Impossible* that it should ever be *Positively* and *Actually Infinite*; That is, such as to which nothing more can *Possibly* be added. Wherefore we conclude concerning *Corporeal Magnitude*, as we did before of *Number*, that there can be no *Absolute* and *Actual Infinity* thereof; and that how much Vaster soever, the *World* may be, than according to the Supposition of *Vulgar Astronomers*, who make the *Starry Sphere* the *Dimost Wall* thereof, yet is it not *Absolutely Infinite*, such as Really hath *No Bounds* or *Limits* at all; nor to which Nothing more could by *Divine Power* be added. Lastly, we affirm likewise concerning *Time* or *Successive Duration*, that there can be no *Infinity* of that neither, no *Temporal Eternity* without *Beginning*: and that not only because there would then be an *Actual Infinity* and more than an *Infinity* of *Number*; but also because upon this Supposition, there would always have been an *Infinity* of *Time Past*, and consequently an *Infinity* of *Time Past*, which was never *Present*. Whereas all the *Moments* of *Past Time*, must needs have been once *Present*; and if so, then all of them, at least save One, *Future* too; from whence it will follow, that there was a *First Moment* or *Beginning* of *Time*. And thus does Reason conclude, neither the *World* nor *Time* it self, to have been *Infinite* in their *Past Duration*, or *Eternal* without *Beginning*.

Here will the *Atheist* think presently, he hath got a great advantage to disprove the *Existence* of a *God*, *Nonne qui Aeternitatem Mundi sic tollunt, eadem operâ etiam Mundi Conditori Aeternitatem tollunt?* Do not they, who thus destroy the *Eternity* of the *World*, at the same time destroy also the *Eternity* of the *Creator*? For if *Time* it self were not *Eternal*, then how could the *Deity* or any thing be so? The *Atheist* securely taking it for granted, that *God* himself could not be otherwise *Eternal*, than by a *Successive Flux* of *Infinite Time*. But we say, that this will on the contrary afford us a plain *Demonstration* of the *Existence* of a *Deity*. For since the *World* and *Time* it self, were not *Infinite* in their *Past-Duration*, but had a *Beginning*, therefore were they both certainly made together by some other Being, who is in order of *Nature* Senior to *Time*, and so without *Time*, before *Time*; he being above that *Successive Flux*, and comprehending in the *Stability* and *Immutable Perfection* of his own Being, his *Yesterday* and *To day* and *For ever*. Or thus; Something was of necessity *Infinite* in *Duration*, and without *Beginning*; But neither the *World*, nor *Motion*, nor *Time*, that is, no *Successive Being*, was such; therefore is there something else whose Being and *Duration* is not *Successive*

cessive and *Flowing*, but *Permanent*; to whom this *Infinity* belongeth. The Atheists here, can only smile, or make faces; and shew their little wit, in quibbling upon *Nunc-stans*, or a *Standing Now* of *Eternity*; as if that *Standing Eternity* of the Deity (which with so much Reason hath been contended for, by the Ancient *Genuine Theists*) were nothing but a *Pitiful Small Moment* of *Time Standing still*; and as if the *Duration* of all Beings whatsoever must needs be like our own. Whereas the *Duration* of every thing, must of necessity be agreeable to its *Nature*; and therefore, As that whose *Imperfect Nature* is ever *Flowing* like a *River*, and consists in *Continual Motion* and *Changes* one after another, must needs have accordingly a *Successive* and *Flowing Duration*, sliding perpetually from *Present* into *Past*, and always posting on towards the *Future*, expecting Something of it self, which is not yet in being, but to come: So must that, whose *Perfect Nature*, is *Essentially Immutable*, and always the *Same*, and *Necessarily Existent*, have a *Permanent Duration*; never losing any thing of it self once *Present*, as sliding away from it; nor yet running forwards to meet something of it self before, which is not yet in being: and it is as *Contradictious* for it, ever to have begun, as ever to Cease to be.

Now whereas the *Modern Atheists* pretend to have proved, that there is *Nothing Infinite*, neither in *Duration* nor otherwise, and consequently *No Deity*; meerly because we have no *Sense* nor *Phantasm* of *Infinite*, nor can *Fully Comprehend* the same; and therefore will needs conclude that the *Words, Infinite* and *Eternal*, signify nothing in the thing it self, but either mens own *Ignorance* and *Inability* to conceive *When*, or *Whether*, that which is called *Eternal*, began; together with the *Confounded Non-sence* of their *Astonish'd Minds*, and their *Stupid Veneration*, of that which their own *Fear* and *Phancy*, has raised up as a *Bugbear* to themselves; or else the *Progress* of their *Thoughts* further and further backward *Indefinitely*; (though they plainly confute themselves in all this, by sometimes acknowledging *Matter* and *Motion Infinite* and *Eternal*, which argues either their *Extreme Sottishness* or *Impudence*.) We have shewed with *Mathematical Evidence* and *Certainty*, that there is really something *Infinite in Duration* or *Eternal*, by which therefore cannot be meant, Mens own *Ignorance*, or the *Confounded Non-sence* of their *Devotion*, nor yet the *Idle Progress* of their *Minds* further and further *Indefinitely*, which never reaches *Infinite*; but a *Reality* in the thing it self, namely this; that it *Never was Not*; nor had any *Beginning*. Moreover having *Demonstrated* concerning this *Infinity* and *Eternity*, *without Beginning*, that it cannot possibly belong to any *Successive Being*, we confidently conclude against these Atheists also, that it was not *Matter* and *Motion*, or this *Mundane System*, but a *Perfect Immutable Nature* of a *Permanent Duration*, (that is, a *God*) to whom it belonged. To sum up all therefore, we say that *Infinite* and *Eternal*, are not *Words* that signify *nothing in the thing it self*, nor meer *Attributes* of *Honour*, *Complement* and *Flattery*, that is, of *Devout* and *Religious Non-sence*, *Error* and *Falshood*, but *Attributes*, belonging to the *Deity*, and to that alone, of the most *Philosophick*

Truth and Reality. And though we being *Finite*, have no *Full Comprehension* and *Adequate Understanding* of this *Infinity* and *Eternity* (as not of the Deity) yet can we not be without some *Notion*, *Conception* and *Apprehension* thereof, so long as we can thus demonstrate concerning it, that it belongs to something, and yet to nothing neither but a *Perfect Immutable Nature*. But the *Notion* of this *Infinite Eternity* will be yet further cleared in the following *Explanation* and *Vindication* of *Infinite Power*.

For the *Atheists* principally quarrel with *Infinite Power*, or *Omnipotence*, and pretend in like manner this to be *Utterly Unconceivable*, and *Impossible*, and *Subjected* in *Nothing*. Thus a *Modern Atheistick Writer* concludes, that since *No man can conceive Infinite Power*, this is also but an *Attribute of Honour* which the *Confounded Non-sence* of *Astonish'd Minds*, bestows upon the *Object* of their *Devotion*, without any *Philosophick Truth* and *Reality*. And here have our *Modern Atheists* indeed the *Suffrage* and *Agreement* of the ancient *Philosophick Atheists* also with them, who as appears from the *Verses* before cited out of *Lucretius*, concern'd themselves in nothing more, than asserting *All Power to be Finite*, and *Omnipotence* or *Infinite Power to belong to Nothing*.

First therefore it is here observable, that this *Omnipotence* or *Infinite Power* asserted by *Theists*, has been commonly either ignorantly mistaken, or wilfully misrepresented by these *Atheists*, out of design to make it seem *Impossible* and *Ridiculous*; as if by it were meant, a *Power of Producing* and *Doing* any thing whatsoever without *Exception*, though never so *Contradictory*. As a late *Atheistick Person*, seeming to assert this *Divine Omnipotence* and *Infinite Power*, really and designedly notwithstanding abused the same, with this *Scottick Irony*, That *God by his Omnipotence, or Infinite Power, could turn this Tree into a Syllogism*. Children indeed have sometimes such *Childish apprehensions* of the *Divine Omnipotence*; and *Ren. Cartesius*, (though otherwise an *Acute Philosopher*) was here no less *Childish*, in affirming, that all things whatsoever, even the *Natures of Good and Evil*, and all *Truth* and *Falshood*, do so depend upon the *Arbitrary Will* and *Power of God*, as that if he had pleased, *Twice Two should not have been Four*, nor the *Three Angles of a Plain Triangle, Equal to Two Right ones*, and the like: he only adding, that all these things notwithstanding, when they were once settled by the *Divine Decree*, became *Immutable*; that is, I suppose, not in themselves or to *God*, but unto us. Than which, no *Paradox* of any old *Philosopher*, was ever more *Absurd* and *Irrational*: and certainly if any one did desire, to persuade the *World*, that *Cartesius*, notwithstanding all his pretences to *Demonstrate* a *Deity*, was indeed but an *Hypocritical Theist*, or *Personated* and *Disguised Atheist*, he could not have a fairer pretence for it out of all his *Writings*, than from hence. This being plainly to destroy the *Deity*, by making one *Attribute* thereof, to *Devour* and *Swallow* up another; *Infinite Will* and *Power*, *Infinite Understanding* and *Wisdom*. For to suppose *God to Understand* and to be *Wise* only by his *Will*, is all one as to suppose him,

him, to have Really no *Understanding* at all. Wherefore we do not affirm, God to be so *Omnipotent*, or *Infinately Powerful*, as that he is able to Destroy or Change the *Intelligible Natures* of things at Pleasure; this being all one, as to say, that God is so *Omnipotent* and *Infinately Powerful* that he is able to Destroy, or to Baffle and Befool his own *Wisdom* and *Understanding*; which is the very *Rule* and *Measure* of his *Power*. We say not therefore, that God by his *Omnipotence* or *Infinite Power*, could make *Twice Two* not to be *Four*, or turn a *Tree* into a *Syllogism*; but we say, that *Omnipotence* or *Infinite Power*, is that which can *Produce* and *Do*, all whatsoever is *Possible*, that is, whatsoever is *Conceivable*, and Implies no manner of *Contradiction*: the very *Essence* of *Possibility* being no other than *Conceptibility*. And thus has the Point been stated all along, not only by *Christian Theists*, but even the *Ancient Pagan Theologers* themselves; that *Omnipotence* or *Infinite Power*, is that which can do all things, that do not imply a *Contradiction*; or which are not *Unconceivable*. This appearing from that of *Agatho*, cited before out of *Aristotle*, That nothing is exempted from the *Divine Power*, but only to make *περὸς ἑαυτὸν*, what hath been done, to be *Undone*; or the like hereunto. Now *Infinite Power*, being nothing else, but a *Power* of *Doing* whatsoever is *Conceivable*, it is plainly Absurd to say; That a *Power* of doing nothing but what is *Conceivable*, is *Unconceivable*.

But because the *Atheists* look upon *Infinity*, as such a *Desperate* and *Affrightful* thing; we shall here render it something more easie, and take off that *Frightful Vizard* from it, which makes it seem such a *Mormo* or *Bugbear* to them; by declaring in the next place, that *Infinity*, is Really nothing else but *Perfection*. For *Infinite Understanding* and *Knowledge*, is nothing else but *Perfect Knowledge*, that which hath no *Defect* or *Mixture* of *Ignorance* with it; or the *Knowledge* of whatsoever is *Knowable*. So in like manner, *Infinite Power* is nothing else but *Perfect Power*, that which hath no *Defect* or *Mixture* of *Impotency* in it; a *Power* of *Producing* and *Doing* all whatsoever is *Possible*; that is, whatsoever is *Conceivable*. *Infinite Power* can *Do*, whatsoever *Infinite Understanding* can *Conceive*, and nothing else: *Conception* being the *Measure* of *Power* and its *Extent*, and whatsoever is in it self *Unconceivable*, being therefore *Impossible*. Lastly *Infinity of Duration* or *Eternity*, is Really nothing else, but *Perfection*, as including *Necessary Existence* and *Immutability* in it. So that it is not only *Contradictious* to such a Being, to Cease to Be, or Exist; but also to have had a *Newness* or *Beginning* of Being; or to have any *Flux* or *Change* therein, by *Dying* to the *Present*, and acquiring something *New* to it self which was not before. Notwithstanding which, this Being comprehends the differences of *Past*, *Present*, and *Future*, or the *Successive Priority* and *Posteriority* of all *Temporary Things*. And because *Infinity* is *Perfection*, therefore can nothing which includeth any thing of *Imperfection*, in the very *Idea* and *Essence* of it, be ever Truly and Properly *Infinite*; as *Number*, *Corporeal Magnitude*, and *Successive Duration*. All which can only, *Mentiri Infinitatem*, *Counterfeit* and *Imitate Infinity*, in their having more and more added to them *Infinately*, whereby
not-

notwithstanding they never reach it or overtake it. There is nothing truly Infinite, neither in Knowledge, nor in Power, nor in Duration, but only One Absolutely Perfect Being or The Holy Trinity.

Now, that we have an Idea or Conception of Perfection, or a Perfect Being; is Evident, from the Notion that we have, of Imperfection so familiar to us: Perfection being the Rule and Measure of Imperfection, and not Imperfection of Perfection; as a Straight Line, is the Rule and Measure of a Crooked, and not a Crooked Line of a Straight. So that Perfection is First Conceivable, in order of nature, before Imperfection, as Light before Darkneſs, a Positive before the Privative or Defect. For Perfection is not properly the want of Imperfection, but Imperfection of Perfection. Moreover, we perceive divers Degrees of Perfection, in the Essences of things, and consequently a Scale or Ladder of Perfections, in Nature, one above another, as of Living and Animate Things, above Senseless and Inanimate; of Rational things above Sensitive. And this by Reason of that Notion or Idea, which we first have, of that which is Absolutely Perfect; as the Standard; by comparing of things with which, and measuring of them, we take notice of their approaching more or less near thereunto. Nor indeed, could these Gradual Ascents, be Infinite, or Without End; but they must come at last, to that which is Absolutely Perfect, as the Top of them all. Lastly, we could not perceive Imperfection, in the most Perfect of all those things which we ever had Sense or Experience of in our lives, had we not a Notion or Idea of That which is Absolutely Perfect, which secretly comparing the same with, we perceive it to come short thereof. And we might add here, that it is not Conceivable neither, how there should be any Lesser Perfection, Existent in any Kind, were there not First something Perfect in that Kind, from whence it was derived. This of Boetius, being the very Sense and Language of Nature in Rational Beings; *Omne quod Imperfectum esse dicitur, id diminutione Perfecti Imperfectum esse perhibetur. Quod sit, ut si in quolibet genere Imperfectum quid esse videatur, in eo Perfectum quoque aliquid esse, necesse sit. Etenim sublata Perfectione, unde illud, quod Imperfectum perhibetur, existerit, ne fingi quidem potest. Neque enim a Diminutis Inconsummatisque, Natura Rerum cepit exordium; sed ab Integris Absolutisque procedens, in hac extrema, atque effeta dilabitur.* Whatsoever is said to be Imperfect, is accounted such, by the Diminution of that which is Perfect, From whence it comes to pass, that if in any kind, any thing appear Imperfect, there must of Necessity be something also, in that Kind, Perfect. For Perfection being once taken away, it could not be imagined, from whence that which is accounted Imperfect, should have proceeded. Nor did the Nature of things, take beginning, from Inconsummate and Imperfect things, but proceeding from things Absolute and Complete, thence descend down to these lower, Effete, and Languid things. But of this more elsewhere.

Wherefore since Infinite, is the same with Absolutely Perfect, we having a Notion or Idea of the Latter, must needs have of the Former.

mer. From whence we learn also, that though the word *Infinite*, be in the form thereof, *Negative*, yet is the Sence of it, in those things which are really capable of the same, *Positive*; it being all one with *Absolutely Perfect*: as likewise the Sence of the word *Finite*, is *Negative*; it being the same with *Imperfect*. So that, *Finite* is properly the *Negation* of *Infinite*, as that which in order of Nature is before it; and not *Infinite* the *Negation* of *Finite*. However in those things which are capable of no true *Infinity*, because they are Essentially *Finite*, as *Number*, *Corporeal Magnitude*, and *Time*, *Infinity* being there a meer *Imaginary thing*, and a *Non-Entity*, it can only be conceived, by the *Negation* of *Finite*; as we also conceive *Nothing*, by the *Negation* of *Something*; that is, we can have no *Positive Conception* at all thereof.

We conclude, To assert an *Infinite Being*, is nothing else but to assert a Being *Absolutely Perfect*, such as *Never* was *Not*, or had no *Beginning*, which could produce all things *Possible* and *Conceivable*, and upon which all other things must depend. And this is to assert a *God*; One *Absolutely Perfect Being*, the *Original* of all things. *God*, and *Infinite*, and *Absolutely Perfect*, being but different Names for One and the same thing.

We come now to the *Fourth Atheistick Objection*, That *Theology* is nothing but an *Arbitrarious Compilement* of *Inconsistent and Contradictious Notions*. Where First, we deny not, but that as some *Theologers* (or *Bigotical Religionists*) of later times, extend the *Divine Omnipotence*, to things *Contradictious* and *Impossible*, as to the *Making* of *One* and the same *Body*, to be all of it, in several distant places at once: so may others sometimes unskilfully attribute to the *Deity*, things *Inconsistent* or *Contradictious* to one another, because seeming to them to be all *Perfections*. As for example, though it be concluded generally by *Theologers*, that there is a *Natural Justice* and *Sanctity* in the *Deity*, yet do some notwithstanding contend, That the *Will* of *God* is not determined by any *Antecedent Rule* or *Nature* of *Justice*, but that whatsoever he could be supposed to *Will* *Arbitrarily*, would therefore be *Ipso facto Just*; which is called by them the *Divine Sovereignty*, and look'd upon as a *Great Perfection*. Though it be certain that these Two Things are directly *Contradictious* to one another; viz. That there is something *Good*, in its own Nature *Just* and *Unjust*, or a *Natural Sanctity* in *God*; and That the *Arbitrary Will* and *Command* of the *Deity*, is the only *Rule* of *Justice* and *Injustice*. Again some *Theologers* determining, That *Whatsoever* is in *God*, is *God*, or *Essential* to the *Deity*; they conceiving such an *Immutability* to be a *Necessary Perfection* thereof, seem thereby not only to *Contradict* all *Liberty of Will* in the *Deity*, which themselves notwithstanding contend for in a high degree; that all things are *Arbitrarily* determined by *Divine Decree*; but also to take away from it, all *Power* of *Acting ad Extra*, and of *Perceiving* or *Animadverting* things done successively here in the *World*. But it will not follow from these and the like *Contradictions*, of *mistaken Theologers*, that therefore *Theology* it self is *Contradictious*, and hath nothing of *Philosophick Truth* at all in it; no more

more than because Philosophers also hold *Contradictory Opinions*, that therefore Philosophy it self is *Contradictory*, and that there is *Nothing Absolutely True or False*, but (according to the Protagorean Doctrine) all *Seeming and Phantastical*.

But in the next place we add, that though it be true, that the Nature of things, admits of nothing *Contradictory*, and that whatsoever plainly Implies a *Contradiction*, must therefore of necessity be a *Non-Entity*, yet is this Rule notwithstanding, obnoxious to be much abused, when whatsoever mens Shallow and Gross Understandings cannot Reach to, they will therefore presently conclude to be *Contradictory*, and *Impossible*. As for example, the *Atheists* and *Materialists* cannot Conceive of any other *Substance* besides *Body*, and therefore do they determine presently, that *Incorporeal Substance* is a *Contradiction* in the very Terms; it being as much as to say *Incorporeal Body*; wherefore when God is said by Theologers, to be an *Incorporeal Substance*, this is to them an *Absolute Impossibility*. Thus a Modern Writer; *The Universe, that is, the whole Mass of all things, is Corporeal; that is to say, Body. Now every Part of Body is Body, and Consequently every Part of the Universe is Body; and that which is not Body is no part thereof. And because the Universe is All, that which is no part of it, is nothing. Therefore when Spirits are called Incorporeal, this is only a name of Honour, and it may with more Piety be attributed to God himself, in whom we consider, not what Attribute best expresseth his Nature which is Incomprehensible; But what best expresseth our Desire to Honour him. Where, Incorporeal, is said to be, an Attribute of Honour, that is, such an Attribute, as expresseth only the Veneration of mens Minds, but signifieth nothing in Nature, nor hath any Philosophick Truth and Reality under it: a Substance Incorporeal being as Contradictory, as Something and Nothing. Notwithstanding which, this Contradiction is only in the Weakness and Childishness of these mens Understandings, and not the thing it self; it being Demonstrable, that there is some other Substance besides Body, according to the True and Genuine Notion of it. But because, this mistake is not proper to Atheists only, there being some Theists also, who labour under this same Infirmary of Mind, not to be able to Conceive any other Substance besides Body, and who therefore assert a Corporeal Deity: we shall in the next place show, from a passage of a Modern Writer, what kind of Contradictions they are, which these Atheists impute to all Theology; namely such as these, that it supposes God, to Perceive things Sensible, without any Organs of Sense; and to Understand and be Wise without any Brains. Pious men (saith he) attribute to God Almighty for Honours sake, whatsoever they see Honourable in the world, as Seeing, Hearing, Willing, Knowing, Justice, Wisdom, &c. But they deny him such poor things, as Eyes, Ears and Brains, and other Organs, without which we Worms, neither have, nor can conceive, such Faculties to Be; and so far they do well. But when they dispute of God's Actions Philosophically, then do they Consider them again, as if He had indeed such Faculties. This is not well, and thence is it, that they fall into so many Difficulties. We ought not to dispute of God's Nature. He is no fit Subject of our Philosophy.*

True

True Religion consisteth in Obedience to Christ's Lieutenants, and in giving God such Honour, both in Attributes and Actions, as they in their several Lieutenancies shall ordain. Where the plain and Undisguised meaning of the Author seems to be this; That God is no Subject of Philosophy, as all Real things are: (accordingly as he declareth elsewhere, that *Religio non est Philosophia sed Lex*, Religion is not a Matter of Philosophy, but only of Law and Arbitrary Constitution) He having no Real Nature of his own, nor being any True Inhabitant of the World or Heaven, but (as all other Ghosts and Spirits) an Inhabitant of mens Brains only, that is, a Figment of their Fear and Phancy, or a meer Political Scare-Crow. And therefore such Attributes are to be given to him, without any Scrupulosity, as the Civil Law of every Country shall appoint, and no other. The Wise and Nasute, very well understanding, that all this Business of Religion, is nothing but meer Pageantry, and that the Attributes of the Deity, indeed signifie neither True nor False nor any thing in Nature, but only mens Reverence and Devotion towards the Object of their Fear: the manner of expressing which, is determined by Civil Law. Wherefore to say, that God sees all Things, and yet hath no Eyes; and that he hears all things, and yet hath no Ears; and that he Understands and is Wise, and yet hath no Brains; and whatsoever else you will please to say of him, as Attributes of Honour and only as signifying Devotion, is thus far well enough. But when men, not understanding the true Cabal, will needs go further, they mistaking Attributes of Honour, for Attributes of Nature and of Philosophick Truth, and making them Premises to infer Absolute Truth, and convince Falseness from, or Matters to Dispute and Reason upon, that is, when they will needs suppose such a thing as a God, Really to Exist in the World, then do they involve themselves in all manner of Contradiction, Nonsense, and Absurdity; as for example, to affirm seriously, that this God Really sees all things in the world, and yet hath no Eyes; and that He indeed hears all things, and yet hath no Ears; and Lastly that he Understands and is Wise, and yet hath no Brains, which things are all Absolutely Contradictious, Unconceivable and Impossible. The summ of all is this, that when Religion and Theology, which is indeed nothing but Law and Phantastry, is made Philosophy, then is it all meer Jargon and Insignificant Nonsense. And now we see, what those Contradictions are, which the Atheists charge upon Theology; such as owe all their Being, only to the Grossness, Sottishness, and Brutishness, of these mens own apprehensions. From whence proceedeth likewise, this following Definition of Knowledge and Understanding, That it is nothing but a Tumult of the Mind, raised by External Things, Pressing the Organical Parts of mans Body. O Ye Brutish among the People, when will ye Understand? and ye Fools, when will ye be Wise? He that Planted the Ear (and gave mans Soul a power of hearing thereby) shall not He (though himself have no Ears) hear? He that formed the Eye, (and gave the Humane Soul a power of Seeing, by it as an Instrument) shall not he (though himself have no Eyes) see? Lastly, He that teacheth man Knowledge, (or gave him an Understanding Mind, besides Brains) shall not he (though himself be without Brains) Know and Understand?

It is certain, that no *Simple Idea*, as that of a *Triangle* or a *Square*, of a *Cube* or *Sphere*, can possibly be *Contradictory* to it self; and therefore much less can the *Idea* of a *Perfect Being* (which is the *Compendious Idea of God*) it being more *Simple*, than any of the other. Indeed this *Simple Idea* of a *Perfect Being*, is *Pregnant* of many *Attributes*, and therefore the *Idea* of *God*, more fully declared by them all, may seem to be in this respect a *Compound Idea*, or *One Idea* and *Conception*, Consisting or made up of *Many*; which if they were really *Contradictory*, would render the whole, a *Non-Entity*. As for example, This, *A Plain Triangle, whose Three Angles are Greater than Two Right ones*; it being *Contradictory* and *Unconceivable*, is therefore no *True Idea*, but a *Non-Entity*. But all the *Genuine Attributes* of the *Deity*, of which its *Entire Idea* is made up, are Things as *Demonstrable* of a *Perfect Being*, as the *Properties* of a *Triangle* or a *Square* are of those *Ideas* respectively, and therefore cannot they Possibly be *Contradictory*, neither to it, nor to one another; because those things which agree in one *Third*, must needs agree together amongst themselves.

Nay the *Genuine Attributes* of the *Deity*, namely, such as are *Demonstrable* of an *Absolutely Perfect Being*, are not only not *Contradictory*; but also necessarily *Connected* together, and *Inseparable* from one another. For there could not possibly be, *One Thing Infinite in Wisdom Only*, Another *Thing Infinite Only in Power*, and Another thing *Only Infinite in Duration* or *Eternal*. But the very same thing which is *Infinite in Wisdom*, must needs be also *Infinite in Power*, and *Infinite in Duration*, and so *vice versa*. That which is *Infinite* in any one *Perfection*, must of necessity, have all *Perfections* in it. Thus are all the *Genuine Attributes* of the *Deity*, not only not *Contradictory*, but also *Inseparably Concatenate*; and the *Idea of God* no *Congeries* either of *Disagreeing things*; or else of such as are unnecessarily *Connected* with one another.

In very truth, all the several *Attributes* of the *Deity*, are nothing else but so many *Partial* and *Inadequate Conceptions*, of *One and the Same, Simple Perfect Being*, taken in as it were by piece-meal: by reason of the *Imperfection* of our *Humane Understandings*, which could not fully *Conceive* it all together at once: And therefore are they Really all but *One thing*, though they have the Appearance of *Multiplicity* to us. As the *One Simple Light* of the *Sun*, diversly *Refracted* and *Reflected* from a *Rorid Cloud*, hath to us the *Appearance*, of the *variegated Colours* of the *Rainbow*.

Wherefore the *Attributes* of *God*, are no *Bundle* of *Unconceivables*, and *Impossibles*, huddled up together; nor *Attributes* of *Honour* and *Complement* only, and nothing but the *Religious Nonsense* of *Astonish'd Minds*, expressing their *Devotion* towards what they *Fear*; but all of them *Attributes* of *Nature*, and of most *severe Philosophick Truth*. Neither is the *Idea of God*, an *Arbitrarious Compilement*, of things *Unnecessarily Connected*, and *Separable* from one another:

another: it is no *Facitious* nor *Fictitious* thing, made up by any *Feigning Power* of the Soul, but it is a *Natural* and most *Simple Un-compounded Idea*; such as to which nothing can be Arbitrarily added, nor nothing detracted from. Notwithstanding which, by reason of the Imperfection of humane Minds there may be, and are, different Apprehensions concerning it. For as every one that hath a *Conception* of a Plain Triangle in general, doth not therefore know, that it includes this *Property* in it, to have *Three Angles Equal to Two Right ones*; nor doth every one, who hath an *Idea* of a *Rectangular Triangle*, presently understand, that the *Square of the Subtense*, is Equal to the *Squares of both the Sides*; so neither doth every one, who hath a *Conception* of a *Perfect Being*, therefore presently know all that is included in that *Idea*. Moreover men may easily mistake things, for *Absolute Perfections*, which are not such, as hath been partly already shewed.

And now whereas the Atheists, pretend in the next place, to give an Account of that *Supposed Contradictionness*, in the *Idea* and *Attributes of God*; namely, that it proceeded principally, from *Fear*, or the *Confounded Nonsense of mens Astonished Minds*, huddling up together all *Imaginable Attributes of Honour, Courtship, and Complement* without any *Philosophick Truth, Sence, or Signification*: as also in part from the *Fiction and Imposture of Politicians*: all this hath been already prevented, and the Foundation thereof quite taken away, by our shewing, that there is nothing in the *Genuine Idea of God* and his *Attributes*, but what is *Demonstrable of a Perfect Being*, and that there cannot be the least either *Added* to that *Idea*, or *Detracted* from it, any more than there can be any thing *Added to, or Detracted from the Idea of a Triangle or of a Square*. From whence it follows unavoidably, that there cannot possibly be any thing, either *Contradictory or Arbitrary* in the *Divine Idea*, and that the *Genuine Attributes* thereof, are *Attributes of Necessary Philosophick Truth*: namely, such as do not only speak the *Piety, Devotion, and Reverence* of mens own Minds; but declare the *Real Nature* of the thing it self. Wherefore when a *Modern Atheistick Writer*, affirmeth of all those who Reason and conclude concerning *God's Nature*, from his *Attributes*; *That Losing their Understanding in the very first attempt, they fall from one Inconvenience (or Absurdity) to another without end, after the same manner as when one ignorant of Court-ceremonies, coming into the presence of a greater person than he was wont to speak to, and stumbling at his entrance, to save himself from falling lets slip his Cloak, to recover his Cloak, lets fall his Hat, and so with one disorder after another, discovers his Rusticity and Astonishment*: We say, that though there be something of *Wis and Phancy* in this, yet as it is applied to Theology and the *Genuine Attributes of the Deity*, there is not the least of *Philosophick Truth*. However we deny not, but that some, either out of *Superstition*, or else out of *Flattery*, (for thus are they stiled by St. Jerome, *Stulti Adulatores Dei, Foolish Flatterers of God Almighty*) have sometimes attributed such things to him, as are *Incongruous* to his Nature, and under a pretence of *Honouring him*, by *Magnifying his Power and Sovereignty*, do indeed

most highly Dishonour him; they representing him to be such a Being, as is no way *Amiable* or *Desirable*.

But the Atheists are most of all concerned, to give an Account of that *Unquestionable Phenomenon*, the *General Perswasion of the Existence of a God*, in the Minds of men, and their *Propensity to Religion*, in all ages and places of the world; whence this should come, if there be really no such thing in Nature. And this they think to do, in the Last place also, *Partly*, from mens *Own Fear*, together with their *Ignorance of Causes*, and *Partly*, from the *Fiction of Lawmakers and Politicians*, they endeavouring thereby to keep men in Civil Subjection under them. Where we shall *First* plainly and Nakedly declare the *Atheists* meaning, and then manifest the *Invalidity* and *Foolery* of these their Pretences, to salve the forementioned *Phenomenon*.

First therefore, these Atheists affirm, That mankind by reason of their *Natural Imbecillity*, are in perpetual *Solicitude, Anxiety*, and *Fear*, concerning *Future Events*, or their *Good and Evil Fortune* to come; and this *Passion of Fear* inclining men to *Imagine* things *Formidable and Fearful*, and to *Suspect or Believe* the Existence of what really is not; I say, that this *Distrustful Fear* and *Jealousie* in the Minds of men, concerning their *Future Condition*, raises up to them the *Phantasm*, of a most *Affrightful Spectre*, an *Invisible Understanding Being*, *Arbitrarily Governing and Swaying the affairs of the whole World*, and at pleasure *Tyrannizing over Mankind*. And when mens *Exorbitant Fear and Fancy*, has thus raised up to it self, such a *Mormo or Eugbear*, such an *Affrightful Spectre* as this, a thing that is really no *Inhabitant of the World or of Heaven*, but only of *mens Brains*; they afterward stand in awe of this their *Own Imagination*, and Tremblingly worship this *Creature and Figment* of their own *Fear and Phancy*, as a thing *Really Existing* without them, or a *God*: devising all manner of expressions of *Honour and Reverence* towards it, and anxiously endeavouring, by all ways conceivable, to *Propitiate and Atone* the same. And thus have they brought upon themselves, a most heavie *Token of Bondage*, and filled their Lives with all manner of *Bitterness and Misery*.

Again to this *Fear of Future Events*, the Atheists add also *Ignorance of Causes*, as a further *Account of this Phenomenon of Religion*, so generally entertained in the world. For Mankind (say they) are *Naturally Inquisitive* into the *Causes* of things, and that not only of the *Events* of their *Own Good and Evil Fortune*, but also of the *Phænomena of the World*, and the *Effects of Nature*. And such is their *Curiosity*, that wheresoever they can discover no *Visible and Natural Causes*, there are they prone to *Feign and Imagine*, other *Causes Invisible and Supernatural*. As it was observed of the *Tragick Dramatists*, that whenever they could not well extricate themselves, they were wont to bring in a *God* upon the Stage: and as *Aristotle* recordeth of *Anaxagoras*, that he never betook himself to *Mind or Understanding*, that is, to *God*, for a *Cause*; but only then when he was at a loss for other *Natural and Necessary Causes*. From whence these Atheists would infer, that nothing but *Ignorance of Causes*, made *Anaxagoras*

xagoras to assert a *Deity*. Wherefore it is no wonder (say they) if the Generality of Mankind, being *Ignorant of the Causes*, almost of all Events, and Effects of Nature, have by reason of their *Natural Curiosity* and *Fear* Feigned or Introduced, one *Invisible Power or Agent Omnipotent*, as the *Supreme Cause of all things*: they betaking themselves thereto, as to a kind of *Refuge, Asylum, or Sanctuary* for their *Ignorance*.

These two *Accounts* of the *Phenomenon of Religion*, from mens *Fear* and *Solicitude* about *Future Events*, and from their *Ignorance of Causes*, together with their *Curiosity*, are thus joyned together by a *Modern Writer*; *Perpetual fear of Future Evils, always accompanying mankind, in the Ignorance of Causes, as it were in the Dark, must needs have for Object Something. And therefore when there is nothing to be seen, there is nothing to accuse for their Evil Fortune, but some Power or Agent Invisible.* Moreover it is concluded, that from the same *Originals*, sprang, not only that vulgar opinion of *Inferiour Ghosts and Spirits* also, subservient to the *Supreme Deity* (as the *Great Ghost of the whole World*) (*Apparitions* being nothing but mens own *Dreams and Phancies* taken by them for *Sensations*) but also mens taking things *Casual* for *Prognosticks*, and their being so *Superstitiously* addicted to *Omens and Portents, Oracles, and Divinations and Prophecies*; this proceeding likewise, from the same *Phantastick Supposition*, that the things of the *World*, are disposed of, not by *Nature*, but by some *Understanding and Intending Agent or Person*.

But lest these Two forementioned *Accounts*, of that *Phenomenon of Religion*, and the *Belief of a Deity*, so *Epidemical* to Mankind, should yet seem insufficient; the *Atheists* will superadd a *Third* to them, from the *Fiction and Imposture of Civil Sovereigns, Crafty Law-makers and Designing Politicians*. Who perceiving a great advantage to be made, from the *Belief of a God and Religion*, for the better keeping of men in *Obedience and Subjection* to themselves, and in *Peace and Civil Society* with one another (when they are perswaded, that besides the *Punishments* appointed by *Laws*, which can only take place upon open and convicted *Transgressors*, and are often eluded and avoided, there are other *Punishments* that will be inflicted even upon the secret violators of them, both in this *Life* and after *Death*, by a *Divine, Invisible and Irresistible Hand*) have thereupon *Dextrously* laid hold of mens *Fear and Ignorance*, and cherished those *Seeds of Religion* in them (being the *Infirmities of their Nature*) and further confirmed their *Belief of Ghosts and Spirits, Miracles and Prodigies, Oracles and Divinations*, by *Tales or Fables*, publicly allowed and recommended. According to that *Definition of Religion*, given by a *Modern Writer*, *Fear of Power Invisible, Feigned by the Mind, or Imagined from Tales* publicly allowed, *Religion*; not allowed, *Superstition*. And that *Religion* thus *Nursed up* by *Politicians*, might be every way *Compliant* with, and *Obsequious* to their *Designs*, and no way *Refractory* to the same; it hath been their great care to perswade the *People*, that their *Laws* were not meerly their
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own Inventions, but that themselves were only the *Interpreters* of the *Gods* therein, and that the same things were really displeasing to the *Gods*, which were forbidden by them: *God* ruling over the world no otherwise than in them, as his *Vicegerents*; according to that Assertion of a Late Writer, *Deum nullum Regnum in homines habere, nisi per eos qui Imperium tenent*, that *God* Reigneth over men, only in the *Civil Sovereigns*. This is therefore another *Atheistick* Account of Religions so generally prevailing in the world, from its being a fit Engine of State, and Politicians generally looking upon it, as an *Arcanum Imperii*, a *Mystery of Government*, to possess the Minds of the People with the Belief of a *God*, and to keep them busily employed in the exercises of Religion, thereby to render them the more *Tame* and *Gentle*; apt to *Obedience*, *Subjection*, *Peace* and *Civil Society*.

Neither is all this, the meer Invention of *Modern Atheists*, but indeed the old *Atheistick Cabal*; as may appear partly, from that known Passage of the Poet, *That the Gods were first made by Fear*; and from *Lucretius* his so frequently insisting upon the same, according to the mind of *Epicurus*. For in his First Book, he makes *Terrorem animi, & Tenebras*, *Terrour of Mind*, and *Darkness*, the Chief Causes of *Theism*: and in his Sixth, he further pursues the same Grounds, especially the Latter of them, after this manner;

Lamb. 528.

*Cætera quæ fieri in Terris Cæloque tuentur,
Mortales, pavidis quom' pendent mentibus sæpe,
Efficiunt animos humiles formidine Divum:
Depressosque premunt ad terram, propterea quod
IGNORANTIA CAUSARUM, conferre Deorum
Cogit ad Imperium res; & concedere Regnum, &
Quorum operum causas nulla ratione videre
Possunt, hæc fieri Divino Numine rentur.*

To this Sence. *Mortals*, when with Trembling Minds they behold the Objects both of *Heaven* and *Earth*, they become depressed and sunk down under the Fear of the *Gods*. Ignorance of Causes setting up the *Reign* and *Empire* of the *Gods*. For when men can find no *Natural Causes* of these things, they suppose them presently, to have been done by a *Divine Power*.

And this Ignorance of Causes, is also elsewhere insisted upon by the same Poet, as the chief Source of Religion, or the Belief of a *God*.

Lib. 5. Lamb.
p. 500.

*Præterea cæli rationes ordine certo,
Et varia annorum cernebant tempora verti;
Nec poterant quibus id fieret cognoscere causas.
Ergo PERFUGIUM sibi habebant, omnia Divis
Tradere, & ipsorum nutu facere omnia flecti.*

Moreover when a Modern Writer, declares the Opinion of *Ghosts*, to be one of those things, in which consisteth the *Natural Seeds* of Religion;

Religion : As also that this *Opinion* proceedeth from the Ignorance how to distinguish *Dreams* and other strong Phancies, from *Vision* and *sense* ; he seemeth herein to have trod likewise in the Footsteps of *Lucretius*, giving not obscurely, the same Account of *Religion* in his Fifth Book.

*Nunc quæ causa Deum per magnas Numina gentes,
Pervolgarit, & ararum compleverit Urbes, &c.
Non ita difficile est rationem reddere Verbis.
Quippe etenim jam tum Divum mortalia Secla,
Egregias animo facies vigilante videbant,
Et magis in Somnis, mirando corporis auctu.
His igitur Sensum tribuebant, &c.*

That is, How the Noise of the Gods, came thus to ring over the whole world, and to fill all places with Temples and Altars, is not a thing very difficult to give an account of, it proceeding first, from mens Fearful Dreams, and their Phantasms when awake ; taken by them for Visions and Sensations. Whereupon they attributed not only Sense to these things as really Existing, but also Immortality and great Power. For though this were properly an Account only, of those Inferiour and Plebeian Gods, called Demons and Genii, yet was it supposed, that the belief of these things, did easily dispose the minds of men also, to the Perswasion of One Supreme Omnipotent Deity over all.

Lastly, That the Ancient Atheists, as well as the Modern, pretended, the *Opinion* of a God, and *Religion*, to have been a *Political Invention*, is frequently declared in the writings of the Pagans ; as in this of *Cicero*, *Si qui dixerunt totam de Diis Immortalibus Opinionem, fictam esse ab hominibus Sapientibus, Reipublicæ causa, ut quos Ratio non posset, eos ad Officium Religio duceret ; nonne omnem Religionem funditus sustulerunt ?* They who affirmed the whole opinion of the Gods, to have been feigned by wise men for the sake of the Commonwealth, that so Religion might engage those to their Duty whom Reason could not ; did they not utterly destroy all Religion ? And the sence of the Ancient Atheists is thus represented by *Plato* ; θεοὺς, ὃ μακάρετε, εἶναι περὶ τῶν φασὶν εἶναι τέχνην, ἢ φύσιν, ἀλλὰ ποιεῖ νόμοις, ἢ τῶν ἄλλων ἀλλοις, ὅπῃ ἕκαστος συνουσιασάμενος νομοθετῶμεν. *De Leg. L. 10.* They First of all affirm, that the Gods are not by Nature, but by Art and Laws onely, and that from thence it comes to pass, that they are different to different Nations and Countreys, accordingly as the severall humours of their Law-makers did chance to determine. And before *Plato*, *Critias* one of the Thirty Tyrants of Athens, plainly declared Religion at first to have been a *Political Intrigue* in those Verses of his recorded by *Sextus* the Philosopher, beginning to this purpose ; That there was a time at first, when mens life was Disorderly and Brutish, and the Will of the Stronger was the only Law. After which they consented and agreed together to make Civil Laws ; that so the disorderly might be punished. Notwithstanding which, it was still found that men were only hindred from open, but not from secret Injustices. Whereupon some Sagacious and Witty person was the Author of a further Invention, to deterr men as well from secret, as from open Injuries ;

Ἐν πύθεσσι δὲ τὸ θεῖον εἰσζηῖται •
 ὥς ἐστὶ δαίμων ἀφ' ἧτος πάντων βίῳ,
 νόσος τ' ἀκέρων καὶ βλέπων, φρονῶντι •
 ἢ γὰρ πᾶν μὲν τὸ λεχθὲν ἐν βροτοῖς ἀκρίβειαι,
 δεινὸν δὲ πᾶν ἰδεῖν δυνήσεται.

Namely, by introducing or feigning a God Immortal and Incorruptible, who hears and sees and takes notice of all things. Critias then concluding his Poem in these words,

οὕτω δὲ πρῶτον οἶμαι πείσασθαι τινα
 θνητὸς νομίζειν δαιμόνων εἶναι γένος.

And in this manner do I conceive, some One at first, to have perswaded mortals to believe, that there is a kind of Gods.

Thus have we fully declared, the fence of the Atheists, in their Account of the *Phenomenon of Religion* and the *Belief of a God*; namely, that they derive it principally from these *Three Springs* or *Originals*; First from mens own *Fear* and *Solicitude* concerning *Future Events*, or their *Good and Evil Fortune*. Secondly, from their *Ignorance* of the *Causes* both of those *Events*, and the *Phænomena* of *Nature*; together with their *Curiosity*. And Lastly, from the *Fiction* of *Civil Sovereigns*, *Law-makers*, and *Politicians*. The *Weakness* and *Foolery* of all which, we shall now briefly manifest: First therefore, it is certain, that such an *Excess of Fear*, as makes any one constantly and obstinately to believe, the *Existence* of That, which there is no manner of ground neither from *Sense* nor *Reason* for; tending also to the great *Disquiet* of mens own *Lives*, and the *Terrour* of their *Minds*; cannot be accounted other than a kind of *Crazedness* or *Distractiōn*. Wherefore the Atheists themselves acknowledging, the *Generality* of mankind, to be possessed with such a *Belief* of a *Deity*, when they resolve this into such an *Excess of Fear*; it is all one, as if they should affirm, the *Generality* of mankind, to be Frighted out of their *Wits*, or *Crazed* and *Distemper'd* in their *Brains*: none but a few Atheists, who being undaunted and undismayed have escaped this *Panick Terrour*, remaining *Sober* and in their *Right Senses*. But whereas the Atheists, thus impute to the *Generality* of mankind not only *Light-Minded Credulity*, and *Phantastry*, but also such an *Excess of Fear*, as differs nothing at all from *Crazedness* and *Distractiōn* or *Madness*; We affirm on the contrary, that their supposed *Courage*, *Steadiness* and *Sobriety*, is really nothing else but the *Dull and Sottish Stupidity* of their minds; *Dead and Heavy Incredulity*, and *Earthly Diffidence* or *Distrust*; by reason whereof, they will believe nothing but what they can *Feel* or *See*.

Theists indeed have a *Religious Fear* of God, which is Consequent from him, or their *Belief* of him (of which more afterwards;) but the *Deity* it self or the *Belief* thereof, was not *Created* by any *Antecedent Fear*, that is, by *Fear* concerning *Mens Good and Evil Fortune*; it being

being certain, that none are less *Sollicitous* concerning such *Events*, than they who are most truly *Religious*. The Reason whereof is, because these place their *Chief Good*, in nothing that is ἀνόμιον, *Aliene* or in *Others Power*, and Exposed to the *Strokes of Fortune*; but in that which is most truly their *Own*, namely the *Right use of their own Will*. As the *Atheists* on the contrary, must needs for this very reason be liable to great *Fears* and *Solicitudes*, concerning *Outward Events*, because they place their *Good and Evil*, in the πάθος ἡδονῆς καὶ λύπης, the *Passion of Pleasure and Pain*; or at least denying *Natural Honesty*, they acknowledge no other *Good*, but what belongs to the *Animal Life only*, and so is under the *Empire of Fortune*. And that the *Atheists* are indeed generally, *Timorous* and *Fearful*, *Suspicious* and *Distrustful things*; seems to appear plainly, from their building all their *Politicks*, *Civil Societies*, and *Justice*, (improperly so called) upon that only *Foundation of Fear and Distrust*.

But the *Grand Error* of the *Atheists* here is this, that they suppose the *Deity*, according to the sence of the *Generality* of mankind, to be nothing but a *Mormo*, *Bug-bear*, or *Terriculum*; an *Affrightful*, *Hurtful*, and most *Undesirable thing*: Whereas men every where invoke the *Deity* in their *Straits* and *Difficulties* for aid and assistance; looking upon it as *Exorable* and *Placable*; and by their *Trust* and *Confidence* in it, acknowledge its *Goodness* and *Benignity*. *Synesius* De Regno p. 9. affirms, that though men were otherwise much divided in their opinions, yet ἀρχαῖον καὶ θεὸν ὑμνεῖσιν ἅπαντες ἅπανταχῶς καὶ σοφοὶ καὶ ἄσοφοι, *They all every where, both Wise and Unwise, agree in this, that God is to be praised, as one who is Good and Benign*.

If amongst the *Pagans*, there were any, who understood that *Proverbial Speech*, φθονεῖν τὸ δαιμόνιον in the worst sence, as if *God Almighty*, were of an *Envious* and *Spiteful Nature*, these were certainly, but a few *Ill-natur'd men*, who therefore drew a *Picture* of the *Deity*, according to their own *Likeness*. For the *Proverb* in that sence, was disclaimed and cried down, by all the wiser *Pagans*; as *Aristotle*, who affirmed the *Poets* to have lyed in this, as well as they did in many other things; and *Plutarch*, who taxeth *Herodotus* for insinuating, τὸ θεῖον πᾶν φθονεῖν τε καὶ ταραχᾶδες, *The Deity universally* (that is, All the *Gods*) to be of an *Envious* and *Vexatious* or *Spiteful disposition*, whereas Himself appropriated this only to that *Evil Demon* or *Principle* asserted by him; as appeareth from the *Life* of *P. Æmilius* written by him, where he affirmeth, not that τὸ θεῖον πᾶν φθονεῖν, *The Deity Universally* was of an *Envious Nature*, but, *That there is a Certain Deity or Demon, whose proper task it is, to bring down all great and over-swelling humane Prosperity, and so to temper every mans Life, that none may be happy in this world sincerely and unmixedly, without a check of Adversity*; which is as if a *Christian*, should ascribe it to the *Devil*. And *Plato* plainly declares the reason of *God's* making the *World* at first, to have been no other than this, ἀγαθὸς ἦν, ἀγαθὸν δὲ καὶ εὖ εἰς εὖ δεινὸς εἰδέναι ἐστὶν αὐτῷ φθόνος, *because he was Good, and there is no manner of Envy in that which is Good*. From whence he also concluded, πάντα ἐπιμαλίσσει ἐς εὐεχίαν γενέσθαι καὶ ἀπλήσια αὐτῷ, *That God*

Metaph. L. 1:
c. 2. ὅτι τὸ θεῖον
φθονεῖν ἐνδύσασθαι
εἶναι, ἀλλὰ πάντα
ἐμμενῆσαι ἀσθενῶς.
c. de Herod.
Malign.

therefore willed, all things should be made the most like himself, that is, after the best manner. But the true meaning of that *Ill*-languaged Proverb, seems at first, to have been no other, than what, besides *Hesiod*, the Scripture it self also attributes to God almighty, that he affecteth to *Humble* and *Abase* the *Pride* of men, and to pull down all *High*, *Towering*, and *Lofly* things, whether as *Noxious* and *Hurtful* to the men themselves, or as in some sence *Invidious* to him, and *D derogatory* from his Honour, who alone ought to be exalted, and no flesh to glory before him. And there hath been so much experience of such a thing as this in the world, that the *Epicurean* Poet himself, could not but confess, that there was some *Hidden Force* or *Power* which seemed to have a spite to all *Over-swelling Greatnesses*, and affect to cast contempt and scorn upon the *Pride* of men,

Lamb. 503.

*Usque adèd res humanas Vis Abdita quædam
Obterit, & pulchros fascēs, sævasque secures,
Proculcare, ac ludibrio sibi habere videtur.*

Where he plainly Reel'd and Stagger'd in his *Atheism*, or else was indeed a Theist, but knew it not; it being certain that there can be no such Force as this, in *Regno Atomorum*, in the *Reign* or *Empire* of *Senseless Atoms*. And as for those among Christians, who make such a horrid Representation of God Almighty, as one who Created far the greatest part of mankind, for no other end or design, but only this, that he might *Recreate* and *Delight* himself in their *Eternal Torments*; these also do but *transcribe* or *copy out* their own *Ill Nature*, and then read it in the *Deity*; the Scripture declaring on the contrary, That *God is Love*. Nevertheless these very persons in the mean time, dearly hug and embrace God Almighty in their own Conceit, as one that is Fondly Good, Kind, and Gracious to themselves; he having fastned his affections upon their very *Persons*, without any consideration of their *Dispositions* or *Qualifications*.

It is true indeed, that *Religion* is often expressed in the Scripture, by the *Fear of God*, and *Fear* hath been said to be *Prima Mensura Deitatis*, the *First Measure of the Divinity in us*, or the *First Impression* that *Religion* makes upon men in this *Obnoxious* and *Guilty* state, before they have arrived to the *true Love of God* and *Righteousness*. But this *Religious Fear*, is not a *Fear of God*, as a meer *Arbitrary Omnipotent Being*, much less as *Hurtful* and *Mischievous* (which could not be disjoyned from *Hatred*;) but an awful regard of him, as of one who is *Essentially Just*, and as well a *Punisher of Vice* and *Wickedness*, as a *Rewarder of Vertue*. *Lucretius* himself, when he describes this *Religious Fear* of men, confessing it to be conjoyned with a *Conscience of their Duty*, or to include the same within it self.

P. 503.

*Tunc Populi Gentesque tremunt, &c.
Ne quod ob admissum sædè dictumve superbè,
Pœnarum grave sit solvendi tempus adactum.*

And

And this is the Sence of the Generality of mankind, that there being a *Natural Difference of Good and Evil Moral*, there is an *Impartial Justice* in the Deity which presideth over the same, and inclines it as well, to *Punish the wicked*, as to *Reward the Vertuous*: *Epicurus* him-
 self acknowledging thus much, ἴδεν ἡ μάλιστα βλάβας οἰοῖται, τοῖς κα-
 κῶς ἔχ. θεῶν ἐπὶ γὰρ εἶναι, ἡ ἀφελείας τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς, *Theists* suppose, that there
 are both great Evils inflicted upon the wicked from the Gods; and also
 great Rewards by them bestowed upon the Good. And this Fear of God,
 is not only Beneficial to mankind in general, by repressing the
 growth of wickedness, but also wholesom and Salutary to those ve-
 ry persons themselves, that are thus *Religiously affected*, it being Pre-
 servative of them both from *Moral Evils*, and likewise from the *Evils*
of Punishment consequent thereupon. This is the *True and Genuine*
Fear of Religion; which when it degenerates into a *Dark kind*, of
jealous and Suspicious Fear of God Almighty, either as a *Hurtful*, or
 as a meer *Arbitrary and Tyrannical Being*, then is it look'd upon,
 as the *Vice or Extreme of Religion*, and distinguished from it by that
 name of *ἰσοδοκίμωσις, Superstition*. Thus is the Character of a *Superstiti-*
ous Man given by *Plutarch*, οἶεται θεὸς εἶναι, λυπηρὸς ὃ ἡ βλάβη, *mei dei Ceteris*
That he thinks there are Gods, but that they are Noxious and Hurtful;
 and ἀνάσσει ἡ μὲν ἡ ἰσοδοκίμωσις ἡ φοβέσθαι τὸν θεόν, *a Superstitious*
man must needs Hate God, as well as Fear him. The true Fear of God
 (as the Son of *Sirach* speaks) is the *Beginning of his Love, and Faith*
 is the *Beginning of cleaving to him*. As if he should have said,
 The first Entrance into Religion is an Awful regard to God as the Pu-
 nisher of Vice; the Second step forwards therein, is *Faith or Confi-*
dence in God, whereby men Rely upon him for Good, and Cleave
 to him: and the Top and Perfection of all Religion, is the *Love of God*
 above all, as the most Amiable Being. Christianity, the best of
 Religions, recommendeth *Faith* to us, as the Inlet or Introduction
 into all True and Ingenuous Piety; for He that cometh to God, must
 not only believe that he is, but also that he is a *Rewarder of those that*
 seek him. Which *Faith* is better defined in the Scripture, than by
 any Scholastick; to be the Substance of things (that are to be) ho-
 ped for, and the Evidence of things not seen. That is, a *Confident Per-*
swasion of things that fall not under Sight, (because they are either
Invisible or Future) and which also are to be Hoped for. So that *Reli-*
gious Fear consisteth well with *Faith*, and *Faith* is near of kin to
Hope, and the result of both *Faith* and *Hope*, is *Love*: which *Faith*,
Hope and *Love*, do all suppose an *Essential Goodness* in the Deity. God is
 such a Being, who if He were not, were of all things whatsoever most
 to be Wished for. It being indeed no way desirable (as that noble Em-
 perour concluded) for a man to live in a world, void of a *God* and
Providence. He that believes a God, believes all that *Good* and *Per-*
fection in the Universe, which his Heart can possibly wish or desire.
 It is the Interest of none, that there should be no God, but only of
 such wretched Persons, as have abandoned their First and only true
 Interest, of being Good, and Friends to God, and are desperately
 resolved upon ways of Wickedness.

The Reason why the Atheists do thus grossly mistake the Notion of
 God,

God, and conceive of him differently from the Generality of mankind, as a thing which is only to be Feared, and must consequently be Hated, is from nothing but their own Vice and Ill Nature. For first, their Vice so far blinding them, as to make them think, that the Moral Differences of Good and Evil, have no foundation in Nature, but only in Law or Arbitrary Constitution (which Law is contrary to Nature, Nature being Liberty, but Law Restraint;) as they cannot but really Hate that, which Hinders them of their True Liberty and Chief Good, so must they needs interpret the Severity of the Deity so much spoken of against Wickedness, to be nothing else, but Cruelty and Arbitrary Tyranny. Again it is a wretched Ill-natured Maxim, which these Atheists have, That there is *Nulla Naturalis Charitas*, No Natural Charity, but that *Omnis Benevolentia oritur ex Imbecillitate & Metu*, All Benevolence ariseth onely, from Imbecillity and Fear; that is, from being either obnoxious to anothers Power, or standing in need of his Help. So that all that is now called Love and Friendship amongst Men, is according to these really nothing, but either a crouching under Anothers Power, whom they cannot Resist; or else *Mercatura quædam Utilitatum*, a certain kind of Merchandizing for Utilities. And thus does Cotta in Cicero declare their sence, *Ne Homines quidem censeatis, nisi Imbecilli essent, futuros Beneficos aut Benignos*, You conceive that no man would be any way Beneficent or Benevolent to another, were it not for his Imbecillity or Indigence. But as for God Almighty, these Atheists conclude, That upon the supposition of his Existence, there could not be so much as this Spurious Love or Benevolence in him neither, towards any thing; because by reason of his Absolute and Irresistible Power, He would neither stand in Need of Any thing, and be devoid of all Fear. Thus the forementioned Cotta. *Quid est Præstantius Bonitate & Beneficentiâ? Quâ cum carere Deum vultis, neminem Deo nec Deum nec Hominem Carum, neminem ab eo amari vultis. Ita sit ut non modo Homines à Diis, sed ipsi Dii inter se ab aliis alii negligantur.* What is there more excellent than Goodness and Beneficence? which when you will needs have God to be utterly devoid of, you suppose that neither any God nor Man, is Dear to the Supreme God, or beloved of him. From whence it will follow, that not only men are neglected by the Gods, but also the Gods amongst themselves are neglected by one another. Accordingly a late Pretender to Politicks, who in this manner, discards all Natural Justice and Charity, determines concerning God, *Regnandi & Puniendi eos qui Leges suas violant, Jus Deo esse à Solâ Potentiâ Irresistibili*, That he has no other Right of Reigning over men, and of Punishing those who transgress his Laws, but only from his Irresistible Power. Which indeed is all one as to say, That God has no Right at all of Ruling over mankind, and imposing Commands upon them, but what he doth in this kind, he doth it only by Force and Power; Right, and Might, (or Power) being very different things from one another, and there being no Jus or Right without Natural Justice; so that the word Right is here only Abused. And Contentaneously hereunto the same Writer further adds, *Si Jus Regnandi habeat Deus ab Omnipotentia sua, manifestum est Obligationem ad præstandum ipsi Obedientiam incumbere Hominibus propter Imbecillitatem*, That if God's Right of Commanding, be derived only from his Omnipotence, then

Cic. de N.D.
L. 1. 213.
La mb.

Cic. Ibid.

Cic. Ibid.

then is it manifest, that mens Obligation to obey him, lies upon them only from their Imbecillity. Or as it is further explained by him, *Homines idè Deo subiectos esse, quia Omnipotentes non sunt, aut quia ad Resistendum satis Virium non habent*, That men are therefore only subject to God, because they are not Omnipotent, or have not sufficient Power to Resist him. Thus do we see plainly, how the Atheists by reason of their Vice and and Ill Nature. (which makes them deny all Natural Justice and Honesty, all Natural Charity and Benevolence) transform the Deity into a monstrous shape; such an Omnipotent Being, as if he were, could have nothing neither of Justice, in him, nor of Benevolence towards his Creatures; and whose only Right and Authority of Commanding them; would be his Irresistible Power; whom his Creatures could not place any Hope, Trust and Confidence in, nor have any other Obligation to obey, than that of Fear and Necessity, proceeding from their Imbecillity, or Inability to resist him. And such a Deity as this, is indeed a Mormo or Bug-bear, a most Formidable and Affrightful thing.

But all this is nothing, but the Atheists False Imagination; True Religion representing a most comfortable Prospect of things from the Deity; whereas on the contrary, the Atheistick Scene of things, is Dismal, Hopeless and Forlorn, That there should be no other Good, than what depends upon things wholly out of our own power, the momentary gratification of our Insatiate Appetites, and the perpetual pouring in to a *Dolium Pertusum*, a Perforated and Leaking Vessel. That our selves should be but a Congeries of Atoms, upon the dissolution of whose Compages, our Life should vanish into nothing, and all our Hope perish. That there should be no Providence over us, nor any Kind and Good-natured Being above, to take care of us, there being nothing without us, but Dead and Senseless Matter. True indeed there could be no spiteful Designs in Senseless Atoms, or a Dark Inconscious Nature. Upon which account, *Plutarch* would grant, that even this Atheistick Hypothesis it self, as bad as it is, were notwithstanding to be preferred, before that of an Omnipotent, Spiteful and Malicious Being. (if there can be any such Hypothesis as this) a Monarchy of the Manichean Evil Principle, reigning all alone over the whole world, without any Corrival, and having an undisturbed Empire. Nevertheless it is certain also, that there could be no Faith nor Hope neither, in these Senseless Atoms, both Necessarily and Fortuitously moved, no more than there could be Faith and Hope in a Whirlwind, or in a Tempestuous Sea, whose merciless waves are Inexorable, and deaf to all Cries and Supplications. For which reason *Epicurus* himself confessed, that it was better to give credit to the Fable of the Gods, (as he calls it) than to serve the Atheistick Fate, or that Material Necessity of all things, introduced by those Atheistick Physiologers *Leucippus* and *Democritus*; *κεῖθεν ἦν τὰς θεῶν μέτρον καὶ ἀκολοθεῖν, ἢ τῇ τῆς φύσεως ἀναγκῇ. ὁ μὲν γὰρ ἐλπίδα ἀδελφότητος ὑπογράφει θεῶν διὰ πυνυῖς· ἢ δὲ ἀδελφότητον ἔχει τῷ ἀνάγκῃ. Because there is Hope that the Gods may be prevailed with, by worship and prayer; but the other (Necessity) is altogether deaf and Inexorable.* And though *Epicurus* thought to mend the matter, and make the Atheistick Hypothesis more tolerable, by introducing into it (contrary to the Tenour of those Principles) Liberty

De Superst.

Epist. ad Men.
P. 49. Gass.

of

of Will in Men; yet this being not a Power over things Without us, but our selves only, could alter the case very little. *Epicurus* himself was in a *Panick Fear*, lest the frame of Heaven should sometime upon a sudden crack, and tumble about his Ears, and this Fortuitous Complement of Atoms be dissolved into a *Chaos*,

— — — — — *Tria talia Texta*

*Una Dies dabit exitio ; multosque per annos
Sustentata ruet moles, & Machina mundi.*

De Superst.

And what Comfort could his *Liberty of Will* then afford Him, who placed all his happiness in *Security from External Evils*? Τέλος τῆ μὴ νομίζειν θεῶς, μὴ φοβεῖσθαι, (saith *Plutarch*) *The Atheistick Design in shaking off the Belief of a God, was to be without Fear*; but by means hereof, they framed such a System of things to themselves, as under which, they could not have the least *Hope, Faith or Confidence*. Thus running from *Fear*, did they plunge themselves into *Fear*; for they who are without *Hope*, can never be free from *Fear*. Endless of necessity must the *Fears and Anxieties* of those men be, who shake off that *One Fear* of God, that would only preserve them from *Evil*, and have no *Faith* nor *Hope* in him. Wherefore we might conclude upon better grounds than the *Atheists* do of *Theism*; that *Atheism* (which hath no foundation at all in Nature nor in Reason) springs first from the *Imposture of Fear*. For the *Faith of Religion*, being the Substance or Confidence of such things not seen, as are to be Hoped for; *Atheistick Infidelity* must needs on the contrary be, a certain heavy *Diffidence, Despondence and Misgiving of Mind*, or a *Timorous Distrust and Disbelief of Good*, to be Hoped for, beyond the reach of Sense; namely of an *Invisible Being Omnipotent*, that exerciseth a *Just, Kind, and Gracious Providence*, over all those who commit their ways to him, with an endeavour to please him, both here in this Life and after Death. But *Vice*, or the *Love of Lawless Liberty*, prevailing over such *Disbelieving persons*, makes them by degrees, more and more desirous, that there should be no *God*; that is, no such *Hinderer* of their *Liberty*, and to count it a happiness to be freed from the *Fear* of him, whose *Justice* (if he were) they must needs be obnoxious to.

And now have we made it Evident, that these *Atheists* who make Religion and the *Belief of a God*, to proceed from the *Imposture of Fear*, do first of all disguise the *Deity*, and put a *Monstrous, Horrid and Affrightful Vizard* upon it, transforming it into such a thing, as can only be Feared and Hated; and then do they conclude concerning it (as well indeed they may) that there is no such thing as this, really Existing in Nature, but that it is only a *Mormo* or *Bugbear*, raised up by mens *Fear and Phansie*. Of the Two, it might better be said, that the *Opinion of a God*, sprung from mens *Hope of Good*, than from their *Fear of Evil*; but really, it springs neither from *Hope* nor *Fear*, (however in different Circumstances it raises both those Passions in our Minds;) nor is it the *Imposture of any Passion*, but that whose *Belief* is supported and Sustained, by the strongest

strongest and clearest *Reason*; as shall be declared in due place. But the Sense of a *Deity*, often *Preventing Ratiocination* in us, and urging it self more *Immediately* upon us, it is certain that there is also, besides a *Rational Belief* thereof, a *Natural Prolepsis* or *Anticipation* in the Minds of men concerning it, which by *Aristotle* is called *μαντεία*, *A Vaticination*.

Thus have we sufficiently confuted, the *First Atheistick Pretence*, to falsify the *Phænomenon of Religion* and the *Belief of a God*, so generally entertained, from the *Imposture of Fear*: we come now to the *Second*, That it proceeded from the *Ignorance of Causes* also, or *Mens want of Philosophy*: they being prone, by reason of their *Innate Curiosity*, where they find no *Causes* to make or feign them; and from their *Fear*, in the Absence of *Natural and Necessary Causes*, to imagine *Super-natural and Divine*; this also affording them a handsom *Cover and Pretext* for their *Ignorance*. For which cause these *Atheists* stick not to affirm of *God Almighty*, what some *Philosophers* do of *Occult Qualities*, that he is but *Perfugium & Asylum Ignorantiae*, a *Refuge* Lucret. p. 500. L. and *Shelter for mens Ignorance*; that is, in plain and downright Language, *The meer Sanctuary of Fools*.

And these two things are here commonly joyned together by these *Atheists*, both *Fear*, and *Ignorance of Causes*, as which jointly concur in the Production of *Theism*. Because as the *Fear of Children* raises up *Bugbears* especially in the *Dark*, so do they suppose in like manner, the *Fear of men*, in the *Darkness* of their *Ignorance of Causes* especially, to raise up the *Mormo, Spectre* or *Phantasm of a God*; which is thus intimated by the *Epicurean Poet*,

————— *Omnia Cæcis*
In tenebris Metuunt.

And accordingly *Democritus* gave this account of the Original of *Theism* or *Religion*, *ὁρῶντες τὰ ἐν τοῖς μετέωροις παθήματα οἱ παλαιοὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων, καὶ δὲ βροντὰς καὶ ἀστραπὰς, καὶ κεραινοὺς, ἡλίου τε καὶ σελήνης ἐκλείψεις, ἐδιδματίζοντο θεοὺς οἰόμενοι τῶν αἰτίων·* That when in old times, men observed strange and affrightful things in the *Meteors* and the *Heaven*, as *Thunder, Lightning, Thunderbolts & Eclipses*; they not knowing the *Causes* thereof, & being terrified thereby, presently imputed them to the *Gods*. And *Epicurus* declares this to have been the reason, why he took such great pains in the study of *Physiology*, that by finding out the *Natural and Necessary Causes* of things, he might be able to free both himself and others from the *Terrour of a God*, which would otherwise *In-vade and Assault* them: the *Importunity* of mens minds, when-ever they are at a loss for *Natural Causes*, urging them so much, with the *Fear, Suspicion, and Jealousie of a Deity*. Steph. Pec. Phil. 158. ex Sexto.

Wherefore the *Atheists* thus dabling in *Physiology*, and finding out as they conceive, *Material and Mechanical Causes*, for some of the *Phænomena of Nature*, and especially for such of them, as the unskilful *Vulgar* some times impute to *God himself*; when they can prove *Eclipses*

Eclipses (for example) to be no *Miracles*, and render it probable, that *Thunder* is not the *Voice of God Almighty* himself, as it were roaring above in the Heavens, meerly to affright and amaze poor Mortals, and make them quake and tremble; and that *Thunderbolts* are not there flung by his own hands, as the direful messengers of his wrath and displeasure; they presently conclude triumphantly thereupon, concerning *Nature* or *Matter*, that it doth

Ipse sua per se, sponte, omnia, Deus agere expers,

Do all things alone of it self without a God. But we shall here make it appear in a few Instances as briefly as we may, that *Philosophy* and the *True Knowledge of Causes*, leads to God; and that *Atheism* is nothing but *Ignorance of Causes and of Philosophy*.

For first, no Atheist, who derives all from senseless Atoms or Matter, is able to assign any Cause at all of Himself, or give any true account of the Original of his own *Soul* or *Mind*, it being utterly Unconceivable and Impossible, that *Soul* and *Mind*, *Sense*, *Reason* and *Understanding*, should ever arise from *Irrational* and *Senseless Matter* however modified; or result from *Atoms*, devoid of all manner of Qualities; that is, from meer *Magnitude*, *Figure*, *Site* and *Motion* of Parts. For though it be indeed absurd to say (as these Atheists alledge) that *Laughing and Crying Things*, are made out of *Laughing and Crying Principles*,

Et Ridere potest non ex Ridentibus factus;

Yet does it not therefore follow, that *Sensitive* and *Rational Beings*, might result from a Composition of *Irrational* and *Senseless Atoms*, which according to the *Democritick Hypothesis*, have nothing in them, but *Magnitude*, *Figure*, *Site*, and *Motion*, or *Rest*. Because *Laughing and Crying*, are *Motions*, which result from the *Mechanism* of Humane Bodies, in such a manner *Organized*, but *Sense* and *Understanding* are neither *Local Motion*, nor *Mechanism*. And the Case will be the very same, both in the *Anaximandrian* or *Hylopathian*, and in the *Stratonick* or *Hylozoick Atheism*, because *Sense* and *Conscious Understanding*, could no more result, either from those Qualities of Heat and Cold, Moist and Dry, contempered together, or from the meer *Organization* of *Inanimate* and *Senseless Matter*, than it could from the

Concursus, Motus, Ordo, Positura, Figura,

of *Atoms* devoid of all manner of Qualities. Had there been once nothing but *Senseless Matter*, *Fortuitously Moved*, there could never have emerged into Being, any *Soul* or *Mind*, *Sense* and *Understanding*: because no *Effect* can possibly transcend the *Perfection* of its Cause. Wherefore Atheists supposing *Themselves*, and all *Souls* and *Minds*, to have sprung from *Stupid* and *Senseless Matter*; and all that *Wisdom* which is any where in the World, both *Political* and *Philosophical*,

to

to be the Result of meer *Fortune* and *Chance* ; must needs be concluded, to be Grossly *Ignorant of Causes* ; which had they not been, they could never have been *Atheists*. So that *Ignorance of Causes*, is the *Seed*, not of *Theism*, but of *Atheism* : true *Philosophy*, and the *Knowledge of the Cause of our Selves*, leading necessarily to a *Deity*.

Again, *Atheists* are *Ignorant of the Cause of Motion in Bodies* also ; by which notwithstanding they suppose all things to be done ; that is, they are never able to *Salve this Phenomenon*, so long as they are *Atheists*, and acknowledge no other Substance besides *Matter* or *Body*. For First it is undeniably certain, that *Motion* is not *Essential* to all *Body* as such, because then no Particles of *Matter* could ever *Rest* ; and consequently there could have been no *Generation*, nor no such *Mundane System* produced as this is, which requires a certain Proportionate Commixture of *Motion* and *Rest* ; no *Sun*, nor *Moon*, nor *Earth*, nor *Bodies of Animals* ; since there could be no Coherent Consistency of any thing, when all things flutter'd and were in continual *Separation* and *Divulsion* from one another. Again it is certain likewise, that *Matter* or *Body* as such, hath no Power of *Moving* it self *Freely* or *Spontaneously* neither, by *Will* or *Appetite* ; both because the same Inconvenience would from hence ensue likewise, and because the *Phænomena* or *Appearances* do plainly evince the contrary. And as for that Prodigious Absurd Paradox, of some few *Hylozoick Atheists*, that all *Matter* as such, and therefore every *Smallest Particle* thereof, hath not only *Life* *Essentially* belonging to it, but also *Perfect Wisdom* and *Knowledge*, together with *Appetite*, and *Self-moving Power*, though without *Animal Sense* or *Consciousness* : this, I say, will be elsewhere in due place further confuted. But the Generality of the ancient *Atheists*, that is, the *Anaximandrians* and *Democriticks*, attributed no manner of *Life* to *Matter* as such ; and therefore could ascribe no *Voluntary*, or *Spontaneous Motion* to the same, but *Fortuitous* only ; according to that of the *Epicurean Poet* already cited,

Nam certè neque Consilio, Primordia rerum,
Ordine se quæque, atque sagaci mente locarunt ;
Nec quos quæque darent Motus pepigere profectò.

Wherefore these *Democriticks*, as *Aristotle* somewhere intimates, were able to assign no other Cause of *Motion*, than only this, That One Body moved another from *Eternity* *Infinitely*, so that there was no *πρῶτον, κινῆν*, no First Unmoved Mover, ever to be found ; because there is no Beginning nor First in *Eternity*. From whence probably that Doctrine of some *Atheistick Stoicks* in *Alex. Aphrodisius* was derived, That there is no First in the rank and order of Causes. In the footsteps of which Philosophers, a Modern Writer seemeth to have trodden, when declaring himself after this manner ; Si quis ab Effectu quocunque, ad Causam ejus Immediatam, atque inde and Remotiorum, ac sic perpetuò ratiocinatione ascenderit, non tamen in eternum procedere poterit, sed defatigatus aliquando deficiet. If any one will from whatsoever Effect, ascend upward to its Immediate Cause, and

Alex. Aph.
Lib de Fato,

P.

from thence to a Remoter, and so onwards perpetually, in his Ratiocination; yet shall he never be able to hold on thorough all Eternity, but at length being quite tyred out with his Journey, be forced to desist or give over. Which seems to be all one, as if he should have said; One thing Moved or Caused another Infinitely from Eternity, in which there being no Beginning, there is consequently no First Mover or Cause to be reach'd unto. But this Infinite Progress of these Democriticks, in the Order of Causes, and their shifting off the Cause of Motion, from one thing to another without end or beginning, was rightly understood by Aristotle, to be indeed the Assigning of No Cause of Motion at all, *εἰς ἀπείρονα αἰών, εἰ μὴτι ἔσται καὶ φέρον κινῆσαι πρῶτον*, They acknowledging (saith he) no First Mover according to Nature, must needs make an idle Progress Infinitely; that is, in the Language of this Philosopher, assign no Cause at all of Motion. Epicurus therefore to mend the matter, though according to the Principles of the Atomick Physiology, he discarded all other Qualities, yet did he notwithstanding admit this One Quality of Gravity or Ponderosity in Atoms, pressing them continually downwards in Infinite Space. In which, as nothing could be more Absurd nor Unphilosophical, than to make Upwards and Downwards in Infinite Space, or a Gravity tending to no Centre, nor Place of Rest; so did he not assign any Cause of Motion neither; but only in effect affirm, the Atoms therefore to tend Downwards, because they did so: a Quality of Gravity signifying only an Endeavour to tend Downwards, but Why or Wherefore, nobody knows. And it is all one as if Epicurus should have said; that Atoms moved Downwards by an Occult Quality, he either betaking himself to this as an Asylum, a Sanctuary or Refuge for his Ignorance; or else indeed more absurdly making his very Ignorance it self (disguized under that name of a Quality) to be the Cause of Motion. Thus the Atheists universally, either assigned no Cause at all for Motion, as the Anaximandrians and Democriticks; or else no True one, as the Hylozoists; when to avoid Incorporeal Substance, they would venture to attribute, Perfect Understanding, Appetite or Will, and Self-moving Power, to all Senseless Matter whatsoever. But since it appears plainly, that Matter or Body cannot Move it self; either the Motion of all Bodies, must have no manner of Cause, or else must there of necessity, be some other Substance besides Body, such as is Self-active and Hylarchical, or hath a Natural Power, of Ruling over Matter. Upon which latter account, Plato rightly determin'd, that Cogitation, which is Self-activity or Autochinesie, was in order of Nature, before the Local Motion of Body, which is Heterochinesie. Though Motion considered Passively in Bodies, or taken for their Translation, or Change of Distance and Place, be indeed a Corporeal thing, or a Mode of those Bodies themselves moving; yet as it is considered Actively, for the Vis Movens, that Active Force which causes this Translation or Change of Place, so is it an Incorporeal thing; the Energy of a Self-Active Substance, upon that sluggish Matter or Body, which cannot at all move it self. Wherefore in the Bodies of Animals, the True and Proper Cause of Motion, or the Determination thereof at least, is not the Matter it self Organized; but the Soul either as Cogitative, or Plastically-Self Active, Vitally united thereunto, and Naturally Ruling over it. But in the whole World it is either God himself, Originally impress-
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ing a certain *Quantity of Motion* upon the Matter of the Universe, and constantly conserving the same, according to that of the Scripture, *In him we Live & Move*: (which seems to have been the Sence also of that Noble Agrigentine Poet and Philosopher, when he described God, to be only, *A Pure or Holy Mind, that with swift thoughts agitates the whole World*) or else it is Instrumentally, an *Inferiour Created Spirit, Soul, or Life of Nature*, that is, a *Subordinate Hylarchical Principle*, which hath a Power of *Moving Matter Regularly*, according to the Direction of a *Superiour Perfect Mind*. And thus do we see again, that *Ignorance of Causes*, is the Seed of *Atheism*, and not of *Theism*; no Atheists being able to assign a true *Cause of Motion*; the Knowledge whereof plainly leadeth to a God.

Furthermore those Atheists who acknowledge no other Principle of things, but *Senseless Matter Fortuitously moved*, must needs be *Ignorant* also of the Cause of that *Grand Phenomenon*, called by Aristotle, the τὸ ὅλον καὶ τὸ μέρος, the *Well and Fit in Nature*, that is, of the most *Artificial Frame* of the whole Mundane System in General, and of the *Bodies of Animals* in Particular, together with the *Conspiring Harmony* of all. For they who boasted themselves able to give *Natural Causes* of all things whatsoever without a God; can give no other Cause at all of this *Phenomenon*, but only that the *World Happened by Chance to be thus made as it is*. Now they who make *Fortune and Chance*, to be the only Cause of this so Admirable *Phenomenon*, the most Regular and Artificial Frame, and Harmony of the Universe; they either make the meer *Absence and Want of a Cause*, to be a Cause, *Fortune and Chance* being nothing else but the *Absence or want of an Intending Cause*. Or else do they make, their own *Ignorance of a Cause*, and *They know not How*, to be a Cause; as the Author of the *Leviathan* interprets the meaning hereof, *Many times* (saith he) *men put for Cause of Natural Events, their own Ignorance, but disguised in other words, as when they say, that Fortune is the Cause of things Contingent, that is, of things whereof they know no Cause*. Or they affirm against all Reason, one Contrary to be the Cause of another, as *Confusion* to be the Cause of *Order, Pulo britude and Harmony*; *Chance and Fortune*, to be the Cause of *Art and Skill*; *Folly and Nonsense*, the Cause of the most *Wise and Regular Contrivance*. Or Lastly, they deny it to have any Cause at all, since they deny an *Intending Cause*, and there cannot Possibly be any other Cause of *Artificialness and Conspiring Harmony*, than *Mind and Wisdom, Counsel and Contrivance*.

But because the *Atheists* here make some *Pretences* for this their *Ignorance*, we shall not conceal any of them, but bring them all to light; to the end that we may discover their *Weakness and Foolery*. First therefore they *Pretend*, that the World is not so *Artificially and Well made*, but that it might have been made much *Better*, and that there are many *Faults and Flaws* to be found therein; from whence they would infer, that it was not made by a God, he being supposed by *Theists*, to be no *Bungler*, but a *Perfect Mind*, or a *Being Infinitely Good and Wise*, who therefore should have made all things for the *Best*.

But this being already set down by it self, as a *Twelfth Atheistick Objection* against a *Deity*, we must reserve the Confutation thereof for its proper place. Only we shall observe thus much here by the way ; That those *Theists* of Later times, who either because they Fancy a meer *Arbitrary Deity* ; or because their *Faith* in the *Divine Goodness* is but weak ; or because they Judge of things according to their own *Private Appetites*, and *Selfish Passions*, and not with a Free *Uncaptivated Universality* of Mind, and an *Impartial Regard* to the *Good of the Whole* ; or because they look only upon the *Present Scene* of things, and take not in the *Future* into consideration, nor have a *Comprehensive View* of the whole *Plot of Divine Providence* together ; or lastly, because we Mortals do all stand upon too *Low a Ground*, to take a commanding view and *Prospect* upon the whole *Frame* of things ; and our shallow *Understandings* are not able to fathom the *Depths* of the *Divine Wisdom*, nor trace all the *Methods* and *Designs* of *Providence* ; grant, That the *World* might have been made much *Better* than now it is ; which indeed is all one as to say, that it is *Not Well* made ; these *Neoterick Christians* (I say) seem hereby, to give a much greater advantage to the *Atheists*, than the *Pagan Theists* themselves heretofore did, who stood their *Ground*, and generously maintained against them, that *Mind* being the *Maker of all things*, and not *Fortune* or *Chance*, nor *Arbitrary Self-will*, and *Irrational Humour* *Omnipotent*, the τὸ βέλτιστον, that which is *Absolutely the Best* in every case, so far as the *Necessity* of things would admit, and in compliance with the *Good of the Whole*, was the *Measure* and *Rule* both of *Nature* and *Providence*.

Again the *Atomick Atheists* further alledge, that though there be many things in the world, which serve well for *Uses*, yet it does not at all follow, that therefore they were made *Intentionally* and *Designedly* for those *Uses* ; because though things *Happen* by *Chance* to be so or so Made, yet may they serve for something or other afterward, and have their several *Uses* *Consequent*. Wherefore all the things of *Nature*, *Happened* (say they) by *Chance*, to be so made as they are, and their several *Uses* notwithstanding were *Consequent*, or *Following* thereupon. Thus the *Epicurean Poet*,

Lucret. L. 4.
P. 367. Lamb.

————— Nil ideo natum est in Corpore, ut Uti
Possemus, sed quod Natum est id precreat Usus.

Nothing in mans Body was made out of design for any Use, but all the several Parts thereof, happening to be so made as they are, their Uses were Consequent thereupon. In like manner the Old *Atheistick Philosophers* in *Aristotle*, concluded, τὰς ὀδύνας ἔξ ἀνάγκης ἀνατεῖλαι, τὰς μὲν ἐμπροσθὶς ὀφείας, ὅτι τινος εἰς τὸ διατεῖν, τὰς δὲ γμφίους πλατεῖς, καὶ χροσίμους πρὸς τὸ λεαίνειν τὴν τροφήν. ἐπεὶ δὲ τὰς ἐνεκα γινέσθαι, ἀλλὰ συμπεσεῖν. ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ περὶ τῶν ἄλλων μερῶν, ἐν ὅποις δευὰ ὑπερέχεν τὸ ἐνεκα τῶ. That the Former Teeth, were made by *Material* or *Mechanical Necessity*, Thin and Sharp, by means whereof they became fit for *Cutting* ; but the Jaw-Teeth Thick and Broad, whereby they became

came Useful for the Grinding of Food. But neither of them were Intended to be such, for the sake of these Uses, but Happened by Chance only. And the like concerning all the other Parts of the Body, which seem to be made for Ends. Accordingly the same Aristotle, represents the sense of those ancient Atheists, concerning the other Parts of the Universe, or Things of Nature, that they were all likewise made such, by the Necessity of Material (or Mechanical) Motions Undirected, and yet had nevertheless their several Uses Consequent, upon this their Accidental Structure. *Τί κωλύει τὴν φύσιν μὴ ἐνέχειν τὰ ποιεῖν, μὴδ' ὅτι βέλτιον, ἀλλ' ὡς ὅτι ὑεὶ ὁ Ζεὺς, ὅχι ὅπως τ' αὐτὸν αὐξήσει, ἀλλ' ὡς ἀνάγκης, &c.* What hinders but that Nature might act without any respect to Ends or Good and Better, as Jupiter or the Heaven, raineth not Intentionally to make the Corn grow, but from Necessity? Because the vapours being raised up into the Middle Region, and there Refrigerated and Condensed, must needs descend down again in the form of Water. But this happens by meer Chance and without any Intention, that the Grain is made to grow thereby; as the Contrary sometimes Happens, by the excess of it.

But to this we Reply, That though a thing that Happens Accidentally to be so or so Made, may afterwards notwithstanding prove often serviceable for some Use or other; yet when any thing consisteth of many Parts, that are all Artificially proportionated together, and with much Curiosity accommodated one to another; any one of which Parts having been wanting, or otherwise in the least placed and disposed of, would have rendred the whole altogether Inept for such a Use; then may we well conclude it not to have been made by Chance, but by Counsel and Design Intentionally, for such Uses. As for example, The Eye, whose Structure and Fabrick consisting of many Parts (Humours and Membranes) is so Artificially composed; no reasonable person who considers the whole Anatomy thereof, and the Curiosity of its Structure, can think otherwise of it, but that it was made out of Design for the Use of Seeing; and did not Happen Accidentally to be so made, and then the Use of Seeing follow; as the Epicurean Poet would fain perswade us,

*Lumina ne facias Oculorum clara Creatâ,
Prospicere ut possimus.*

P. 367. Lamb.

You are by all means to take heed, of entertaining that so dangerous Opinion (to Atheism) that Eyes were made for the sake of Seeing; and Ears for the sake of Hearing. But for a man to think, that not only Eyes happened to be so made, and the Use of Seeing Unintended Followed; but also that in all the same Animals, Ears Happened to be so made too, and the Use of Hearing Followed them; and a Mouth and Tongue Happened to be so made likewise, and the Use of Eating, and (in men) of Speaking, was also Accidentally Consequent thereupon; and Feet were in the same Animals made by Chance too, and the Use of Walking Followed; and Hands made in them by Chance also, upon which so many necessary Uses depend; besides Innumerable other Parts of the Body, both Similar and Organical, none of which could

could have been wanting, without rendering the whole *Inept* or *Useless*; I say, to think, that all these things should Happen by Chance to be Thus made in every one and the same Animal, and not *Designed* by *Mind* or *Council*, that they might joyntly *Concur* and *Contribute* to the Good of the whole; This argues the greatest *Insensibility* of *Mind* *Imaginable*. But this Absurd and Ridiculous Conceit hath been long since so industriously Confuted, and the folly thereof so fully manifested, by that learned Pagan Philosopher and Physician, *Galen*, in his Book of the Use of Parts, that it would be altogether Superfluous to insist any more upon it.

Wherefore that the *Former Teeth* are made *Thin* and *Sharp*, and the *Jaw-Teeth* *Thick* and *Broad*, by *Chance only*, and not for *Use*, was one of the *Democritick* Dotages; as also That nothing in the Clouds and Meteors, was intended for the *Good* of this Habitable Earth, within whose *Atmo-sphere* they are contained, but all proceeded from *Material* and *Mechanical Necessity*. Which Conceit, though *Cartesius* seem to have written his whole Book of Meteors in favour of, he beginning it with the Derision of those, who *Seat God in the Clouds*, and *imagine his hands to be Employed*, in opening and shutting the *Cloisters* of the *Winds*, in sprinkling the *Flowers* with *dews*, and *thunder-striking the Tops of Mountains*; and closing his Discourse with this Boast; that he had now made it manifest, there was no need to *fly to Miracles*, (that is, to *Bring in a God upon the Stage*) to save those *Phænomena*; yet were it easie enough to demonstrate, the Defectiveness of those his *Mechanical Undertakings*, in sundry particulars, and to evince that all those things could not be carried on, with such constant Regularity, by meer *Fortuitous Mechanism*, without any *Superiour Principle* to guide and steer them. Nevertheless we acknowledge, that *God* and *Nature* do things every where, in the most *Frugal* and *Compendious way*, and with the least *Operoseness*, and therefore that the *Mechanick Powers* are not rejected, but taken in, so far as they could comply serviceably with the *Intellectual Model and Platform*. But still so, as that all is supervised by One *Understanding* and *Intending Cause*, and nothing passes, without His *Approbation*; who when either those *Mechanick Powers* fall short, or the *Stubborn Necessity* of *Matter* proves uncompliant, does over-rule the same, and supply the Defects thereof, by that which is *Vital*; and that without setting his own Hands immediately to every work too; there being a *Subservient Minister* under him, an *Artificial Nature*, which as an *Archæus* of the whole world, governs the *Fluctuating Mechanism* thereof, and does all things faithfully, for *Ends and Purposes*, Intended by its Director.

But our *Atomick Atheists* still further alledge, That though it might well seem strange, that *Matter* *Fortuitously moved*, should at the very first jump, fall into such a *Regular Frame* as this is, having so many *Aptitudes* for *Uses*, so many *Correspondencies* between several things, and such an agreeing *Harmony* in the whole; yet ought it not to seem a jot strange, if *Atoms* by *Motion*, making all possible *Combinations* and *Contextures*, and trying all manner of *Conclusions* and *Experiments*,

ments, should after Innumerable other Freaks, and Discongruous Forms produced, in length of time, fall into such a System as this is. Wherefore they affirm, that this Earth of ours at first, brought forth divers Monstrous and Irregular shapes of Animals,

*Orba pedum partim, manuum viduata vicissim;
Multa sine ore etiam, sine Voltu ceca reperta.*

*Lucret. L. 5.
p. 476. Lamb.*

some without Feet, some without Hands, some without a Mouth and Face, some wanting fit Muscles and Nerves for the Motion of their members. And the old Philosophick Atheists, were so frank and lavish herein, that they stuck not to affirm, amongst those monstrous shapes of Animals there were once produced, Centaurs, and Scyllas, and Chimeras; *ἑξωνὴ ἰ, ἀνδρῶν τε καὶ βουῶν*, mixtly Boviform and Hominiform, Biform and Triform Animals: but Epicurus a little ashamed of this, as that which must needs look Oddly and Ridiculously, and seeming more Cautious and Castigate, pretends to correct the Extravagancy of this Phancy,

*Sed neque Centauri fuerunt, neque tempore in ullo,
Esse queat Duplici Natura, & Corpore Bino,
Ex alienigenis Membris compacta potestas.*

*Luc. L. 5.
p. 479.*

Nevertheless, there were not then any Centaurs, nor Biform and Triform Animals; he adding, that they who feigned such things as these, might as well phancy, Rivers flowing with Golden Streams, and Trees Germinating sparkling Diamonds, and such vastly Gigantean men, as could stride over Seas, and take up Mountains in their Clutches, and turn the Heavens about with the strength of their arms. Against all which notwithstanding, he gravely gives such a Reason, as plainly overthrows his own Principles,

*Res sic quæque suo ritu procedit, & omnes,
Fœdere Naturæ certo discrimina servant.*

P. 480.

Because things by a certain Covenant of Nature, always keep up their Specifick Differences, without being confounded together. For what Covenant of Nature can there be in Infinite Chance? or what Law can there be set to the Absolutely Fortuitous Motions of Atoms, to circumscribe them by? Wherefore it must be acknowledged, that according to the genuine Hypothesis of the Atomick Atheism, all Imaginable Forms of Inanimate Bodies, Plants and Animals, as Centaurs, Scyllas and Chimeras, are producible by the Fortuitous Motions of Matter, there being nothing to hinder it, whilst it doth,

*Omnimodis coire, atque omnia pertentare
Quæcunque inter se possint congressa creare,*

Put it self into all kind of Combinations, play all manner of Freaks, and try all possible Conclusions and Experiments.

But

But they Pretend, that these *Monstrous, Irregular Shapes of Animals*, were not therefore now to be found, because by reason of their *Inept Fabrick*, they could not propagate their kind by Generation, as neither indeed Preserve their own Individuals. Thus does *Lucretius* declare the fence of *Epicurus*,

Lamb. p. 476.

Quoniam Natura absterruit auctum
Nec potuere cupitum atatis tangere florem,
Nec reperire cibum, nec jungi per Veneris res.

Nat. Aufc.
L. 2. c. 8.]

And that this *Atheistick Doctrine* was older than *Epicurus*, appeareth from these words of *Aristotle*, ὅτις μὲν ἐν ἀπαντα συνέβη, ταῦτα μὲν ἐσώθη ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτομάτης συστάσεως ἑκταυδεκάτης· ὅσα ὃ μὴ ἔταος, ἀπώλετο, καὶ δὲ ἔμπεδοκλῆς λέγει τὰ βεβηκῆν καὶ ἀνδ' ἐξήρατο. When Animals Happened at first to be made, in all manner of Forms, those of them only, were preserved and continued to the present time, which chanced to be fitly made (for Generation) but all the others perished, as *Empedocles* affirmeth of the *Partly-Oxe-and-Partly-Man-Animals*. Moreover the ancient both *Anaximandrian* and *Democritick Atheists*, concluded that besides this One World of ours, there were other *Infinite Worlds*, (they conceiving it as absurd to think, there should be but One only World in *Infinite Space*, as that in a vast plowed and sowed Field, there should grow up only One Ear of Corn, and no more) and they would have us believe, that amongst these *Infinite Worlds* (all of them Fortuitously made) there is not One of a Thousand or perhaps of Ten thousand, that hath such *Regularity, Concinnity, and Harmony* in it, as this World that we chanced to emerge in. Now it cannot be thought strange (as they suppose) if amongst *Infinite Worlds*, One or Two, should chance to fall into some *Regularity*. They would also confidently assure us, that the present System of things, in this World of ours, shall not long continue such as it is, but after a while fall into *Confusion* and *Disorder* again;

Mundi naturam totius ætas
Mutat, & ex alio terram status excipit alter,
Quod potuit nequeat, possit quod non tulit ante :

The same wheel of Fortune, which moving upward, hath brought into view this Scene of things that now is, turning round, will sometime or other, carry it all away again, introducing a new one in its stead: and then shall we have *Centaur*s, and *Scylla's* and *Chimera's* again; all manner of *Inept Forms of Animals*, as before.

But because men may yet be puzzled with the *Universality* and *Constancy* of this *Regularity*, and its long Continuance through so many Ages, that there are no Records at all of the contrary any where to be found; the *Atomick Atheist* further adds, that the *Senseless Atoms*, playing and toying up and down, without any care or thought, and from Eternity Trying all manner of *Tricks, Conclusions*

sions and Experiments, were at length (they know not how) Taught, and by the Necessity of things themselves, as it were, Driven, to a certain kind of Trade of Artificialness and Methodicalness: so that though their Motions were at First all Casual and Fortuitous, yet in length of Time, they became Orderly and Artificial, and Governed by a certain Law; they contracting as it were upon themselves by long Practice and Experience, a kind of Habit of moving Regularly; or else being by the meer Necessity of things, at length forced so to move, as they should have done, had Art and Wisdom directed them. Thus Epicurus in his Epistle to Herodotus, ἀλλὰ μὴν ὑπολιπτόν τε τὴν φύσιν πολλὰ
 τε πάντα ὑπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς τῆς περιστάσεως διδάχθηναι τε ἢ ἀναγκασθῆναι, P. 28. Gass.
 It must be held, that Nature is both Taught and Necessitated by the things themselves: Or else as Gassendus interprets the words, *quadam veluti Naturali Necessariaque Doctrina sensim imbuta*; by little and little Embued, with a certain kind of Natural and Necessary Doctrine.

To which Atheistick Pretences, we shall briefly reply; First, that it is but an Idle Dream, or rather Impudent Forgery of these Atheists, that heretofore there were in this World of ours, all manner of Monstrous and Irregular Shapes of Animals produced; Centaurs, Scylla's, and Chimera's, &c. and indeed at first none but such: There being not the least footstep of any such thing appearing in all the Monuments of Antiquity, and Traditions of Former times; and these Atheists being not able to give any manner of reason, why there should not be such produced as well at this Present time, however the Individuals themselves could not continue long, or propagate by Generation; or at least why it should not Happen, that in some Ages or Countreys, there were either all Androgyna, of both Sexes, or else no Animal but of One Sex, Male, or Female only; or lastly none of any Sex at all. Neither is there any more reason to give credit to these Atheists, when (though enemies to Divination) they would Prophesee concerning Future times, that in this World of ours, all shall sometime fall into Confusion and Nonsense again. And as their Infinity of Worlds, is an Absolute Impossibility; so to their Bold and Confident Assertion, concerning those Supposed other Worlds; as if they had travelled over them all; that amongst Ten Thousand of them, there is hardly One, that hath so much Regularity in it, as this World of ours; it might be replied, with equal Confidence, and much more Probability of Reason; That were every Planet about this Sun of ours an Habitable Earth; and every Fixed Star a Sun, having likewise its several other Planets or Habitable Earths moving round about it; and not any one of these Desert or Uninhabited, but all Peopled with Animals; we say, were this so extravagant Supposition true; That there would not be found any one Ridiculous or Inept System amongst them all; but that the Divine Art and Wisdom (which being Infinite, can never be Defective, nor any where Idle) would exercise its Dominion upon all, and every where Impress the Sculptures and Signatures of it self.

In the next place we affirm, That the Fortuitous Motions of Senseless Atoms, trying never so many Experiments and Conclusions, and making

king never so many *Combinations* and *Aggregate Forms* of things, could never be able to produce so much as the *Form* or *System* of one complete Animal, with all the Organick parts thereof so Artificially disposed (each of these being as it were a *Little World*) much less the *System* of this *Great World*, with that variety of Animals in it; but least of all could it *Constantly Continue* such *Regularity* and *Artificialness* every where. For that the *Fortuitous Motions* of *Irrational*, *Senseless* and *Stupid Matter*, should in length of time grow *Artificial*, and contract a *Habit*, of acting as *Regularly* and *Methodically*, as if perfect *Art* or *Wisdom* had directed them; this is the most *Prodigious Nonsense Imaginable*, and can be accounted no other, than *Atheistick Fanaticism*.

It is no more possible, that the *Fortuitous Motion* of *Dead* and *Senseless Matter*, should ever from it self be *Taught* & *Necessitated* to produce such an *Orderly* and *Regular System* as the Frame of this whole World is, together with the Bodies of Animals, and constantly to continue the same; than that a man perfectly *Illiterate*, and neither able to write nor read, taking up a Pen into his hand, and making all manner of of scrawls, with Ink upon Paper, should at length be *Taught* and *Necessitated* by the Thing it self, to write a whole Quire of Paper together, with such Characters, as being *Decyphered* by a certain Key, would all prove coherent *Philosophick Sense*. Or than that we our selves, writing down the meer *Letters of the Alphabet*, transposedly, any how, as it happens, without the least Thought, either of Words or Sense, after our scribbling a long time together what was altogether *Insignificant*, should at length have been *Taught* & *Necessitated* by the Thing it self, without the least Study and Consideration of our own, to write this whole Volume. Or to use another *Instance*; This is no more possible, than that Ten or a Dozen Persons, altogether unskilled in *Musick*, having several Instruments given them, and striking the Strings or Keys thereof, any how, as it happened, should after some time of Discord and Jarring, at length be *Taught* and *Necessitated*, to fall into most *Exquisite Harmony*, and continue the same uninterruptedly for several Hours together.

Wherefore if it be Ridiculous for one that hath read over the works of *Plato* or *Aristotle*, or those six Books of *T. Lucretius Carnus, De Natura Rerum*; to contend, that possibly, the Letters of those Books might be all put together by Chance, or Scribbled at random, without the least Thought or Study of the Writer, he having also no manner of *Philosophick Skill* in him; Or for one that hears ten or a dozen Persons playing in Confort upon Instruments of *Musick*, and making Ravishing Harmony, to persuade himself that none of those Players, had for all that, the least of *Musical Art* or *Skill* in them, but struck the Strings as it happened: It must needs be much more *Ridiculous* and *Absurd*, to suppose this *Artificial System* of the whole World, to have Resulted from the *Fortuitous Motion* of *Senseless Atoms*, without the Direction of any *Art* or *Wisdom*; there being much more of *Sence*, *Art* and *Philosophy* therein, than in any *Philosophick Volume* or *Poem* ever written by men; and more of *Harmony* and

and Proportion, than in any Composition of Vocal Musick. We conclude therefore with Aristotle, ἀδύνατον ὅ ταῦτα ῥῆτον ἔχειν ἢ τελεῖται, *Nat. Ausc.* That it is Absolutely Impossible things should have come to pass, after *L. 2. c. 8.* this manner; that is, by meer Fortune and Chance, and without the Direction of any Mind or God. The Divine Mind and Wisdom, hath so Printed its Seal or Signature upon the Matter of the whole Corporeal World, as that Fortune and Chance; could never possibly have counterfeited the same.

Notwithstanding all which, the Ancient Atheists would undertake by their wonderful skill in Logick, to demonstrate, that *The Frame of Nature* could not possibly be made by any Intending Cause, and for the sake of Ends and Uses; as for example, that Eyes could not be first of all made Intentionally for the Use of Seeing, nor Ears Intentionally for the Use of Hearing, and so for the rest: Because forsooth, these things were all of them, in order of Time and Nature, before their several Uses. The argument is seriously propounded by *Lucretius* after this manner,

*Nec fuit ante, Videre, Oculorum lumina nata,
Nec Diſtis Orare, prius, quam Lingua Creatæ eſt;
Sed potius longè Lingua præceſſit Origo
Sermonem, multoque Creatæ ſunt prius Aures,
Quam Sonus eſt Auditus; & omnia denique membra,
Antè fuere, ut opinor, eorum quam fuit uſus.
Haud igitur potuere Utendi creſcere cauſa.*

Lamb. p. 367.

To this ſence; There was no ſuch thing as Seeing before Eyes were made, nor Hearing before Ears, nor Speaking before the Tongue. But the original of the Tongue much preceded Speech: So likewise Eyes and Ears were made before there was any Seeing of colours or Hearing of Sounds. In like manner all the other members of the Body, were produced before their reſpective Uſes. And therefore they could not be made Intentionally, for the ſake of thoſe Uſes. The Force of which Argument conſiſteth in this Propoſition; That whatſoever is made for the ſake of another thing, muſt exiſt in time after that other thing for whoſe ſake it was made: Or, That for which any thing is made, muſt not only be, in order of Nature, but alſo of Time, before that which is made for it. And this that Epicurean Poet endeavours to prove by ſundry Inſtances;

*At Contra conferre Manu certamina pugnae,
Antè fuit muliè quàm lucida tela volarent, &c.*

Ibid.

Darts were made for the ſake of Fighting, but Fighting was before Darts, or elſe they had never been invented. Bucklers were excogitated and deviſed, for the keeping off of blows and ſtrokes, but the declining of ſtrokes was before Bucklers. So were Beds contrived for the ſake of Reſting and Sleeping, but Reſting and Sleeping were older than Beds, and gave occaſion for the invention of them. Cups were intended and deſigned for the ſake of Drinking, which they would not have been, had

there not been drinking before. According to the force of which Instances, the Poet would infer, that whosoever affirms *Eyes* to have been made for the sake of *Seeing*, must suppose in like manner, there was some kind of *Seeing* or other, before *Eyes*. But since there was no *Seeing* at all before *Eyes*, therefore could not *Eyes* be made for the sake of *Seeing*. And this is the *Atheistick Demonstration*, That the Parts of Mens Bodies, and other things of Nature, could not be made by any *Intending Cause*, for the sake of *Ends* and *Uses*.

But it is evident, that this *Logick of Atheists*, differs from that of all other *Mortals*; according to which *The End* or *That* for which any thing is made, is only in *Intention* before the *Means*, or *That* which is Made for it; but in *Time* and *Execution* after it. And thus, was the More Effectual way of *Fighting* and doing *Execution*, for whose sake *Darts* were invented, in *Time* after *Darts*, and only in *Intention* before them. It is true indeed, that *Fighting* in General, was before *Darts*, *Sleeping* before *Beds*, and *Drinking* before *Cups*, and thereby did they give occasion for men to think of *Means*, for the more Effectual *Fighting*, and more *Commodious Sleeping* and *Drinking*. Men being commonly excited from the *Experience of Things*, and the Sense of their *Needs* and *Wants*, to excogitate and provide fit *Means* and *Remedies*. But it doth not therefore follow, that the *Maker of the World*, could not have at once beforehand, a *Preventive Knowledge*, of whatsoever would be Useful and for the Good of Animals, and so make them *Intentionally* for those *Uses*. Wherefore the Argument should have been framed thus; Whatsoever any thing is made for, as the end, that must needs be in the *Knowledge* and *Intention* of the Maker, before the Existence of that which is made for it. And therefore if *Eyes* were made for the Sake or End of *Seeing*, *Seeing* must of necessity be in the *Knowledge* and *Intention* of the Maker of *Eyes*, before there were any *Eyes* actually existing. But there could be no *Knowledge* of *Seeing*, before there were any *Eyes*. Wherefore *Eyes* could not be made for the sake of *Seeing*.

And this indeed is the Genuine Scope and Drift of the Premised *Atheistick Argument*, however it were disguised by them in their manner of propounding it. The Reason whereof was, because they took it for granted, that all Knowledge as such, is Derived by Sense, from the *Things themselves Known Pre-existing*. From whence it follows, that there could be no Knowledge of *Vision* or *Seeing*, before there was *Actual Seeing* and *Eyes*; and so they think it to be Demonstrated, that *Eyes* could not be made by any Deity for the Sake of *Seeing*, before there was *Seeing*; no more than *Spectacles* by men for the sake of *Eyes*, before there were *Eyes*. Thus does the Epicurean Poet conclude *Triumphantly*,

L. 3. p. 368.

*Illa quidem seorsum sunt omnia, quæ prius ipsa
Nata, dedere suæ post Notitiam Utilitatis.
Quo genere imprimis Sensus & Membra videmus.
Quare etiam atque etiam proculest ut credere possis,*

Utili.

Utilitatis ob officium potuisse creari.

That is, *The Members of Mens Bodies, and Organs of Sense, were first Made by themselves, and then did they afterwards give the Notice or Knowledge of their several Utilities: none of which could have been had before. Wherefore we affirm again and again, that it is Impossible, these things should have been made Designedly for their Uses.*

So that the Controversie is at last resolved wholly into this. Whether or no, all Knowledge and Understanding as such, Universally, does arise from Things Antecedently Existing without the Knower. Which being asserted by Atheists, they conclude from thence, that the Things of the World could not be made by the Previous Counsel, Contrivance, and Intention of any Understanding Deity, but that they all Blunder'd out themselves, one after another, according to the Train or Sequel of the Fortuitous Motions of Matter. And that from thence, Knowledge and Understanding, Counsel and Intention, sprung up afterward, as Junior to Things, and the World. But this being already made the Eleventh Atheistick Argument against a Deity, viz. That all Knowledge and Mental Conception, is the Information of the Things themselves Known, existing before and without the Knower, and a Passion from them; and therefore that the World must needs be, before any Knowledge or Conception of it, and no Knowledge or Conception, before the World, as its Cause: We shall refer the Answer to it, and Confutation of it, to its proper place; where we shall plainly Demonstrate, that Knowledge or Understanding, is not in its own Nature, *Ectypal*, but *Archetypal*; and that it is Older than the World, and the Maker of all things.

But the Atheists yet further urge, against the Proving of a God from the *τὸ εὖ καὶ καλῶς*, the Regular Frame of the whole World in general, and the Artificial Structure of the Bodies of Animals, after this manner; That it is altogether Unreasonable to suppose, there should be no Cause in Nature, for the Phenomena thereof, especially for those things which are daily Generated, as the Bodies of Animals: but (as by the Tragick Poets) a God should be introduced, as it were from a Machin forcibly to save them. And indeed though there were a God, yet they think He ought not to be detruded to such mean Offices as this, viz. to make the Body of every the most Contemptible Animal, as it were with his own Hands *Miraculously*; nor ought Nature or the World to be supposed, so Imperfect, as if it must be Bungled and Botched up every where after this manner. It is Nature therefore which is the Cause of these Natural Productions and Generations. Which Nature, that it doth not Intend nor act Designedly for Ends and Uses, appears not only from hence, because it never Consults or Deliberates, (which Aristotle intimates to have been the Reason why some of old denied, the things of Nature, to have been made for Ends) but also because it hath no Animal-Sense or Consciousness, no Understanding or Appetite. Wherefore this Opinion of, Intending, and Final Causality in Nature, can be accounted no other, than an *Idolum specus* (as some affect to phrase it) or a Prejudice of mens Minds,

Minds, when they apply their own *Properties* to things without them, and think because themselves *Intend*, and act for *Ends*, that therefore *Nature* doth the like. And they might as well say, that *Nature* *Laughs* and *Cries*, *Speaks* and *Walks*, *Syllogizes* and *Philosophizes*, because themselves do so. But as a Modern Philosopher concludeth; *The Universe, as one Aggregate of things Natural, hath no Intention belonging to it.* And accordingly were all *Final Causes* rightly banished by *Democritus* out of *Physiology*, as *Aristotle* recordeth of him, τὸ ἕνεκα αἰεὶς λέγειν, πολλὰ ἀνάγκη οἷς χρεῖται ἡ φύσις. That he reduced all things to *Natural and Necessary Causes*, altogether rejecting *Final*.

To all which we briefly reply; That there are indeed two *Extremes* here to be avoided, the *One* of those, who derive all things from the *Fortuitous Motions* of *Senseless Matter*, which is the *Extreme* of the *Atomick Atheists*; the *Other* of *Bigotical Religionists*, who will needs have God αὐτῶν ἅπαντα, to do all things himself immediately; as if all in *Nature* were *Miracle*. But there is a *Middle* betwixt both these *Extremes*; namely, to suppose, that besides God and in Subordination to him, there is a *Nature* (not *Fortuitous*, but) *Artificial* and *Methodical*, which governing the *Motion* of *Matter* and bringing it into *Regularity*, is a *Secondary* or *Inferiour Cause* of *Generations*. Now this *Natura Artificiosa*, this *Artificial Nature*, though it self indeed do not understand the *Reason* of what it doth, nor properly *Intend the Ends* thereof, yet may it well be conceived to act *Regularly* for the sake of *Ends Understood and Intended*, by that *Perfect Mind*, upon which it depends. As the *Mannary Officers*, understand not the *Designs* of the *Architect*, but only drudgingly perform their several tasks imposed by him: and as *Types* or *Forms of Letters*, composed together, *Print Coherent Philosophick Sense*, which themselves understand nothing of (upon which *Artificial* or *Spermatick Nature*, we have largely insisted before, in the *Appendix* to the *Third Chapter*.) And thus, neither are all things performed *Immediately* and *Miraculously* by God himself, neither are they all done *Fortuitously* and *Temerarily*, but *Regularly* and *Methodically* for the sake of *Ends*, though not *Understood* by *Nature* it self, but by that *Higber Mind* which is the *Cause* of it, and doth as it were continually *Inspire* it. Some indeed have unskilfully attributed their *Own Properties*, or *Animal Idiopathies* to *Inanimate Bodies*, as when they say, that *Matter* desires *Forms* as the *Female* doth the *Male*, and that *Heavy Bodies* descend down by *Appetite* toward the *Centre*, that so they may rest therein: and that they sometimes again, *Ascend* in *Discretion*, to avoid a *Vacuum*. Of which *Fanciful Extravagances*, if the *Advancer of Learning* be understood, there is nothing to be reprehended in this following passage of his, *Incredibile est quantum agmen Idolorum Philosophiæ immiserit; Naturalium Operationum ad Similitudinem Actionum Humanarum Reductio; It is incredible, how many Errours have been transfused into Philosophy, from this One Delusion, of Reducing Natural actions, to the Mode of Humane; or of thinking that Nature acteth as a Man doth.* But if that of his be extended further, to take away all *Final Causes* from the things of *Nature*, as if nothing

nothing were done therein for *Ends Intended* by a *Higher Mind*, then is it the very *Spirit of Atheism and Infidelity*. It is no *Idol of the Cave or Den* (to use that *Affected Language*) that is, no *Prejudice, or Fallacy* imposed upon our selves, from the attributing our own *Animalish Properties, to things without us*; to think that the *Frame and System* of this whole *World*, was contrived by a *Perfect Understanding Being or Mind* (now also presiding over the same) which hath every where *Printed the Signatures* of its own *Wisdom* upon the *Matter*. As also, that though *Nature* it self do not properly *Intend*, yet it acteth according to an *Intellectual Platform* Prescribed to it, as being the *Manuary Opificer* of the *Divine Architectonick Art*, or this *Art* it self as it were *Transfused* into the *Matter* and *Embodied* in it. Thus *Cicero's Balbus* long since declared concerning it; that it was not, *Vis quædam sine Ratione, cienti Motus in Corporibus Necessarios*; sed *Vis particeps Ordinis, tanquam via progrediens*; *cujus Solertiam nulla Ars, nemo Artifex consequi potest imitando*; Not a force *Unguided by Reason, Exciting Necessary Motions in Bodies Temerariously*; but such a *Force as partakes of Order, and proceeds as it were Methodically*; whose *Cunning or Ingeniosity, no Art or Humane Opificer can possibly reach to by Imitation*. For, it is altogether *Unconceivable*, how we *Our Selves* should have *Mind and Intention* in us, were there none in the *Universe*, or in that *Highest Principle* from which all proceeds. Moreover it was truly affirmed by *Aristotle*, that there is much more of *Art* in some of the things of *Nature*, than there is in any thing *Artificially* made by men; and therefore *Intention, or Final and Mental Causality*, can no more be secluded from the consideration of *Natural*, than it can from that of *Artificial things*. Now it is plain that *Things Artificial*, as a *House or Clock*, can neither be *Understood*, nor any true *Cause* of them assigned, without *Design, or Intention for Ends and Good*. For to say, that a *House*, is *Stones, Timber, Mortar, Iron, Glas, Lead, &c.* all put together, is not to give a *Definition* thereof, or to tell what indeed it is; it being such an *Apt Disposition* of all these *Materials*, as may make up the whole fit for *Habitation*, and the *Uses* of men. Wherefore this is not sufficiently to assign the *Cause* of a *House* neither; to declare out of what *Quarry* the *Stones* were dug, nor in what *Woods or Forests* the *Timber* was felled, and the like: Nor as *Aristotle* addeth, ἐπὶ τῷ τοῦ οἴκου γινώσκειν ἐξ ἀνάγκης νομίζοι, ὅτι τὰ μὲν βαρέα κάτω πέφυκε φέρεσθαι, τὰ δὲ κατὰ ἑπιπολῆς. διὸ οἱ λίθοι μὲν κάτω καὶ θεμέλια, ἡ δὲ γῆ ἄνω διὰ τὴν καφότητα, ἐπιπολῆς δὲ μέλisset τὰ ξύλα. καφότερα γὰρ. If any one should go about thus to give an account of a *House* from *Material Necessity* (as the *Atheistick Philosophers* then did of the *World* and the *Bodies of Animals*) That the *Heavier things* being carried downward of their own accord, and the *Lighter* upward; therefore the *Stones* and *Foundation* lay at the bottom, and the *Earth* for the *Walls* being *Lighter* was *Higher*; and the *Timber* being yet *Lighter*, *Higher* than that; but above all the *Straw or Thatch*, it being the *Lightest* of all: Nor lastly, if as the same *Aristotle* elsewhere also suggesteth, one should further pretend, that a *House* was therefore made such, ἐμπέσειν τὸ ὄργανον, &c. meerly because the *Hands of the Labourers*, and the *Axes*, and *Hammers* and *Trowels*, and other *Instruments*, Chanced all to be moved so and so. We say, that

Nat. Aufc.
L. 2. c. 9.

that none of all these, would be to assign the true cause of a House; without declaring, that the Architect first framed in his Mind a Model or Platform of such a thing, to be made out of of those Materials, so aptly disposed, into a *Foundation, Walls, Roof, Doors, Rooms, Stairs, Chimneys, Windows, &c.* as might render the whole fit for Habitation, and other Humane uses. And no more certainly can the Things of Nature, (in whose very Essence Final Causality is as much included) be either rightly Understood, or the Causes of them assigned, merely from *Matter and Mechanism*, or the Necessary and *Unguided Motion* thereof; without *Design or Intention for Ends and Good*. Wherefore to say, that the Bodies of Animals became such, merely because the *Fluid Seed*, by Motion Happened to make such *Traces*, and beget such *Stamina and Lineaments*, as out of which that Compages of the whole resulted; is not to assign a *Cause* of them, but to *Dissemble, Smother, and Conceal* their *True Efficient Cause*, which is the *Wisdom and Contrivance* of that *Divine Architect and Geometer*, making them every way fit, for the Inhabitation and uses of their respective Souls. Neither indeed can we banish, all *Final*, that is all *Mental Causality*, from Philosophy, or the Consideration of *Nature*, without banishing at the same time, *Reason and Understanding* from our selves; and looking upon the Things of Nature, with no other *Eyes*, than *Brutes* do. However none of the Ancient Atheists, would ever undertake to assign *Necessary Causes*, for all the *Parts of the Bodies* of Animals, and their *Efformation*, from meer *Matter, Motion, and Mechanism*: Those small and pitiful attempts in order thereunto that have been made by some of them in a few *Instances*, (as that the *Spina Dorsi*, came from the *Flexure* of the Bodies of Animals, when they first sprung out of the Earth; the *Intestines* from the *Flux of Humours* excavating a crooked and winding Channel for it self, and that the *Nostrils* were broke open, by the *Eruption of breath*;) these, I say, only showing the *Unseifableness and Impossibility* thereof. And therefore *Democritus* was so wise, as never to pretend to give an Account in this way, of the *Formation* of the *Fœtus*, he looking upon it, as a thing absolutely Desperate; nor would he venture to say any more concerning it (as *Aristotle* informeth us) than ὅτι ἕως αἰετὲς ἀνάγκης γίνεσθαι, that it always cometh so to pass of necessity; but stopp'd all further Enquiry concerning it after this manner, τὸ ἐρωτᾶν τὸ διὰ τί, αἰετὲς τῶν τοιούτων πινός, τὸ ζητεῖν εἶναι τὴν ἀπείρητον ἀρχήν, That to demand, about any of these things, for what Cause it was thus; was to demand a Beginning of Infinite. As if, all the Motions from Eternity, had an Influence upon, and Contribution to, whatsoever Corporeal thing was now produced. And *Lucretius* notwithstanding all his swaggering, and boasting, that He and *Epicurus* were able to assign *Natural and Necessary Causes* for every thing, without a *God*; hath no where so much as one word concerning it. We conclude therefore, that *Aristotle's* Judgment concerning *Final Causes* in Philosophy, is much to be preferred before that of *Democritus*, καὶ ἀμφοτέρω τῶν φυσικῶν λεγόντων αἱ αἰτίαι, μέλλον, ὃ ἢ πινός ἐνεναι αἰτιῶν, ὅτι τὸ τῶν ὕλης, ἀλλ' ὅχι αὐτῶν τῶν τέλων, That Both kind of Causes (*Material, and Final*) ought to be declared by a *Physiologer*, but especially the *Final*; the End being the Cause of the Matter, but the Mat-

ter not the Cause of the End. And thus do we see plainly, that the *Atomick Atheists* are utterly Ignorant of the Cause, τὸ αἰτιὸν καὶ αἰτία, of the Regular and Artificial Frame of the things in Nature, and consequently of the whole *Mundane System*; the True Knowledge whereof, necessarily leadeth to a God.

But it is prodigiously strange, that these Atheists, should in this their Ignorance and Sottishness, be Justified by any *Professed Theists* and *Christians* of Later times; who Atomizing in their *Physiology* also, would fain persuade us in like manner, that this whole *Mundane System*, together with *Plants*, and *Animals*, was derived, meerly from the *Necessary* and *Unguided Motion*, of the *Small Particles* of Matter, at first turned round in a *Vortex*, or else jumbled all together in a *Chaos*, without any *Intention* for *Ends* and *Good*, that is, without the *Direction* of any *Mind*. God in the mean time standing by, only as an *Idle Spectator*, of this *Lusus Atomorum*, this *Sportful Dance of Atoms*, and of the various Results thereof. Nay these *Mechanick Theists*, have here quite outstripped and out-done, the *Atomick Atheists* themselves, they being much more *Immodest* and *Extravagant*, than ever those were. For the *Professed Atheists*, durst never venture to affirm, that this *Regular System* of things, Resulted from the *Fortuitous Motions* of Atoms, at the very first; before they had for a long time together, produced many other *Inept Combinations*, or *Aggregate Forms* of particular things, and *Nonsensical Systems* of the whole. And they supposed also, that the *Regularity* of things here in this world, would not always continue such neither, but that some time or other, *Confusion* and *Disorder* would break in again. Moreover, that besides this World of ours, there are at this very instant, *Innumerable* other worlds *Irregular*, and that there is but One of a Thousand or ten Thousand, amongst the *Infinite Worlds*, that have such *Regularity* in them. The reason of all which is, because it was generally taken for granted and look'd upon as a *Common Notion*, that τὰ ἀπὸ τύχης ἢ τὸ αὐτομάτῃ, ἔθεν αἰεὶ ἑστὸ γινέσθαι, as *Aristotle* expresseth it, that *None of those things which are from Fortune or Chance, come to pass constantly and always alike*. But our *Mechanick* or *Atomick Theists*, will have their Atoms, never so much as once to have Fumbled, in these their *Fortuitous Motions*; nor to have produced any *Inept System*, or *Incongruous Forms* at all; but from the very first all along, to have taken up their Places, and have Ranged themselves, so *Orderly*, *Methodically* and *Discreetly*; as that they could not possibly have done it better, had they been Directed by the most *Perfect Wisdom*. Wherefore these *Atomick Theists*, utterly Evacuate that grand Argument for a God, taken from the *Phenomenon* of the *Artificial Frame* of things, which hath been so much insisted on in all Ages, and which commonly makes the strongest impression of any other, upon the Minds of men; they leaving only certain *Metaphysical Arguments* for a *Deity*, which though never so good, yet by reason of their *Subtilty*, can do but little *Execution* upon the Minds of the *Generality*, and even amongst the *Learned*, do oftentimes beget, more of *Doubtful Disputation* and *Scepticism*, than of *Clear Conviction* and *Satisfaction*. The Atheists

in the mean time laughing in their sleeves, and not a little triumphing, to see the *Cause of Theism*, thus betrayed by its professed *Friends* and *Affertors*, and the *Grand Argument* for the same, totally *Slurred* by them; and so their work done, as it were to their hands, for them.

Now as this argues the greatest *Insensibility of Mind*, or *Sottishness* and *Stupidity*, in *Pretended Theists*, not to take the least notice of the *Regular and Artificial Frame of things*, or of the *Signatures* of the *Divine Art and Wisdom* in them, nor to look upon the *World* and things of *Nature*, with any *Other Eyes*, than *Oxen* and *Horses* do; so are there many *Phænomena* in *Nature*, which being partly *Above* the *Force* of these *Mechanick Powers*, and partly *Contrary* to the same, can therefore never be *Salved* by them, nor without *Final Causes*, and some *Vital Principle*. As for example, that of *Gravity*, or the *Tendency of Bodies Downward*, the *Motion of the Diaphragma in Respiration*, the *Systole and Diastole of the Heart*, which was before declared to be a *Muscular Constriction and Relaxation*, and therefore *Mechanical* but *Vital*. We might also add amongst many others, the *Interseccion of the Plains of the Equator and Ecliptick*, or the *Earth's Diurnal Motion*, upon an *Axis* not *Parallel* with that of the *Ecliptick*, nor *Perpendicular* to the *Plain* thereof. For though *Cartesius* would needs imagine this *Earth* of ours once to have been a *Sun*, and so it self the *Centre of a lesser Vortex*; whose *Axis* was then *Directed* after this manner, and which therefore still kept the same *Site* or *Posture*, by reason of the *Striate Particles*, finding no fit *Pores* or *Traces* for their passage thorough it, but only in this *Direction*; yet does he himself confess, that because these *Two Motions* of the *Earth*, the *Annual* and *Diurnal*, would be much more conveniently made upon *Parallel Axes*, therefore according to the *Laws of Mechanism*, they should perpetually be brought nearer and nearer together, till at length the *Equator* and the *Ecliptick* come to have their *Axes Parallel* to one another. Which as it hath not yet come to pass, so neither hath there been, for these last two *Thousand years*, (according to the best *Observations* and *Judgments of Astronomers*) any nearer approach, made of them to one another. Wherefore the *Continuation of these Two Motions of the Earth*, the *Annual* and *Diurnal*, upon *Axes* different or not *Parallel*, is resolvable into nothing, but a *Final* and *Mental Cause*, or the *Τὸ βέλτιστον*, because it was Best it should be so, the *Variety of the Seasons* of the year depending hereupon. But the greatest of all the particular *Phænomena*, is the *Organization and Formation* of the *Bodies of Animals*, consisting of such *Variety and Curiosity*; which these *Mechanick Philosophers* being no way able to give an account of, from the *Necessary Motion of Matter*, *Unguided by Mind for Ends*, prudently therefore break off their *System* there, when they should come to *Animals*, and so leave it altogether untouch'd. We acknowledge indeed, that there is a *Posthumous Piece* extant, imputed to *Cartesius*, and entituled, *De la Formation du Fœtus*, wherein there is some *Pretence* made to salve all this by *Fortuitous Mechanism*. But as the *Theory* thereof is wholly built upon a *False Supposition*, sufficiently

sufficiently confuted by the Learned *Harvey*, in his *Book of Generation*, That the Seed doth Materially enter, into the Composition of the Egg; so is it all along Precarious and Exceptionable; nor does it extend at all to the Differences that are in several Animals, or offer the least Reason, why an Animal of one Species or Kind, might not be Formed out of the Seed of another.

It is here indeed Pretended by these *Mechanick Theists*, that *Final Causes*, therefore ought not to be of any Regard to a Philosopher, because we should not arrogate to Our selves to be as Wise as God Almighty is, or to be Privy to his Secrets. Thus in the *Metaphysical Meditations*; Atq; ob hanc Unicam Rationem totum illud Causarum genus, quod à Fine peti solet, in Rebus Physicis nullum Usum habere existimo; non enim absque Temeritate me puto, investigare posse Fines Dei. And again likewise in the *Principles of Philosophy*. Nullas unquam Rationes circa Res Naturales, à Fine quem Deus aut Natura in iis faciendis sibi proposuit, admittimus, quia non tantum nobis debemus arrogare, ut ejus Consiliorum participes esse possimus. But the Question is not, Whether we can always reach to the Ends of God Almighty, and know what is Absolutely Best in every case, and accordingly make Conclusions, that therefore the thing is, or ought to be so; but, Whether any thing at all, were made by God, for Ends and Good, otherwise than would of it self have resulted from the Fortuitous Motion of Matter. Nevertheless we see no Reason at all, why it should be thought Presumption, or Intrusion into the Secrets of God Almighty, to affirm, that Eyes were made by him for the End of Seeing (and accordingly so contrived as might best conduce thereunto) and Ears for the End of Hearing, and the like. This being so plain, that nothing but Sottish Stupidity, or Atheistick Incredulity (masked perhaps under an Hypocritical Veil of Humility) can make any doubt thereof. And therefore *Aristotle* justly reprehended *Anaxagoras*, for that Absurd Aphorism of his, διὰ τὸ χεῖρας ἔχειν, φρονιμώτατον εἶναι τῶν ζώων, ἢ ἀνθρώπων, That Man was therefore the Wisest (or most Solert) of all Animals, because he Chanced to have hands. He not doubting to affirm on the Contrary; ὁ λόγος διὰ τὸ φρονιμώτατον εἶναι τῶν ζώων χεῖρας ἔχειν. ἢ γὰρ φύσις αἰεὶ διανέμει καὶ δακτύλους ἀνθρώπῳ φρόνιμῳ, τὰ δυναμύα χρῆσθαι ἔκαστον. προσήκει γὰρ τῷ ὄντι αὐλητῇ εἶναι μᾶλλον αὐλῆς, ἢ τῷ αὐλῆς ἔχοντι παραδεῖναι αὐλητικῶς. That it was far more reasonable to think, that because Man was the Wisest (or most Solert and Active) of all Animals, therefore he had Hands given him. For Nature (saith he) distributeth as a Wise man doth, what is suitable to every one; and it is more Proper to give Pipes to one that hath Muscal Skill, than upon him that hath Pipes, to bestow Muscal Skill.

Wherefore these *Mechanick Theists* would further, alledge, and that with some more Colour of Reason; That it is below the Dignity of God Almighty, to condescend to all those mean and trivial Offices, and to do the Things of Nature himself immediatly; as also that it would be but a Botch in Nature, if the Defects thereof were every where to be supplied by Miracle. But to this also the Reply is easie; That though the Divine Wisdom it self contrived the System of the whole World, for Ends and Good, yet Nature, as an Inferiour Mini-

Steph. Poet.
Philos.

ster, immediately Executes the same; I say, not a *Dead*, *Fortuitous*, and meerly *Mechanical*; but a *Vital*, *Orderly* and *Artificial Nature*. Which Nature, asserted by most of the Ancient Philosophers who were Theists, is thus described by *Proclus*, ἡ φύσις ἐσχάτη μὲν ὅτι τῇ τὸ σωματικῶδες τὸ τοῦ αἰαντὸς ἀνταρθεύοντων αἰτίων, καὶ τὸ πέραν τῆς τῇ ἀσωμάτων ὅσων πλάτης· πλήρης ὅ λόγων καὶ δυνάμεων δι' ὧν καθ' αὐτὴν τὰ ἐκδομα· τοιαύτη ὅ ὅσα περιέχουσιν ἀπὸ τῆς ζωογόνου θεᾶς,

Νῶτοις δ' ἀμφὶ, θεᾶς φύσις ἀπλεῖσθ' ἡγήται,

ἀφ' ἧς πᾶσα ζωὴ προέρχεται, ἡ τε νοερά καὶ ἡ ἀσώματος τῇ διοικητικῶν· ἡ ἡγετημένη δ' ἐκείνη καὶ ἀπρωμένη, φοιτᾷ διὰ πάντα ἀκαλύπτως, καὶ πάντα ἐμπνέει, δι' ἣν τὰ ἀψύχῳ ψυχῆς μετέχει πνός, καὶ τὰ φθαρτὸν μὲν διαιωνίως ἐν τῇ κόσμῳ, ταῖς ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ εἰδῶν αἰτίας συνεχόμενα·

Ἄρχεται δ' αὖ φύσις ἀκαμάτη κόσμων τε καὶ ἔργων
φισὶ τὸ λόγιον,
οὐρανὸς ὄφρα θεῶν δ' ἐξέμῳ αἰδῶν κατασφραγίσαν·
καὶ τὰ ἐξ ἧς.

Nature, is the Last of all those Causes that Fabricate this Corporeal and Sensible world, and the utmost Bound of Incorporeal Substances. Which being full of Reasons and Powers, Orders, and Presides over all Mundane affairs. It proceeding (according to the Magick Oracles) from that Supreme Goddess, the Divine Wisdom, which is the Fountain of all Life, as well Intellectual, as that which is Concrete with Matter. Which Wisdom, this Nature always essentially depending upon, passes through all things unhinderably: by means whereof, even Inanimate things, partake of a kind of Life; and things Corruptible remain Eternal in their Species, they being contained by its Standing Forms or Ideas, as their Causes. And thus does the Oracle describe Nature, as presiding over the whole Corporeal World, and perpetually turning round the Heavens. Here have we a Description of One Universal Substantial Life, Soul, or Spirit of Nature, Subordinate to the Deity; besides which the same *Proclus*, elsewhere supposeth other Particular Natures, or *Spermatick Reasons*, in those Words of his, μετὰ τὴν ψυχὴν τὴν πρῶτην, ψυχὰς καὶ μετὰ τὴν ὅλην φύσιν, φύσιν· After the first Soul, are there particular Souls, and after the Universal Nature, Particular Natures. Where it may be observed by the way, that this *Proclus*, though he were a Superstitious Pagan, much addicted to the Multiplying of Gods (Subordinate to one Supreme) or a Bigotick Polytheist, who had a humour of Deifying almost every thing, and therefore would have this Nature forsooth to be called a Goddess too; yet does he declare it not to be properly such, but Abusively only (*viz.* because it was no Intellectual Thing) as he saith the Bodies of the Sun, Moon and Stars, supposed to be Animated, were called Gods too, they being the Statues of the Gods. This is the meaning of those Words, καὶ θεὸς μὲν τῶν ἐκθεσθῶν, καὶ ἐν αὐτοῖς ἐχούσα τὸ εἶναι θεός· καὶ γὰρ τὰ θεῶν σώματα, θεὸς καλεῖται, ὡς ἀγάλματα τῇ θεῶν· Nature is a God or Goddess, not as having Godship properly belonging to it, but as the Divine Bodies are called Gods, because they are Statues of the Gods.

Wherefore

Wherefore we cannot otherwise conclude concerning these our *Mechanick Theists*, who will thus needs derive all Corporeal things from a *Dead and Stupid Nature*, or from the *Necessary Motions* of *Sensless Matter*, without the *Direction* of any *Mind*, or *Intention* for *Ends and Good*; but that they are indeed *Consin-Germans* to *Atheists*; or possessed in a Degree, with a kind of *Atheistick Enthusiasm*, or *Fanaticism*; they being so far forth, *Inspired*, with a *Spirit of Infidelity*, which is the *Spirit of Atheism*.

But these *Mechanick Theists* are again counterballanced by another sort of *Atheists*, not *Mechanical* nor *Fortuitous*; namely the *Hylozoists*; who are unquestionably convinced, that *Opera Naturæ sunt Opera Intelligentiæ*, that the *Works of Nature* are *Works of Understanding*; and that the Original of these Corporeal things was not *Dead and Stupid Matter Fortuitously moved*; upon which account *Strato* derided, *Democritus* his *Rough and Smooth, Crooked and Hooky Atoms*, as *meer Dreams and Dotages*. But these notwithstanding, because they would not admit of any other *Substance* besides *Matter*, suppose *Life and Perception*, Essentially to belong to all *Matter* as such; whereby it hath a *Perfect Knowledge* of whatsoever it self could *Do or Suffer* (though without *Animal-consciousness*) and can *Form* it self to the *Best advantage*; sometimes improving it self by *Organization*, to *Sense* in *Brutes*, and to *Reason* and *Reflexive Understanding* in *Men*. Wherefore according to the Principles of these *Hylozoists*, there is not any need of a *God*, at all; that is, of one *Perfect Mind or Understanding Being* presiding over the whole world; they concluding accordingly, the Opinion of a *God*, to be only a *Mistaking*, of the *Inadequate Conception* of *Matter* in *General*, its *Life and Energetick Nature* taken alone *Abstractly*, for a *Complete Substance* by it self. - Nevertheless these *Hylozoick Atheists*, are no way able by this *Hypothesis* of theirs neither, to *salve* that *Phænomenon* of the *Regularity and Harmony* of the whole Universe; because every *Part of Matter*, being according to them, a *Distinct Percipient* by it self, whose knowledge extendeth only to its own *Concernment*; and there being no one thing presiding over all; the things of the whole World (*ὅτι ὁ κόσμος συντάσσεται*, in which all things are *Co-ordered together*) could never have fallen, into One such *Agreeing and Conspiring Harmony*.

And as for those other *Cosmo-Plastick Atheists*, who suppose the whole World to be as it were but One *Huge Plant, Tree, or Vegetable*, or to have One *Spermatick, Plastick, and Artificial Nature* only, *Orderly and Methodically* disposing the whole, but without *Sense and Understanding*, these can no way do the business neither, that is, *salve* the forementioned *Phænomenon*, it being utterly *Impossible*, that there should be any such *Artificial and Regular Nature*, otherwise than as derived from, and depending upon, a *Perfect Mind or Wisdom*.

And thus do we see plainly, that no *Atheists* whatsoever, can *salve the Phænomena of Nature*, and this Particularly, of the *Regular*

gular Frame and Harmony of the Universe; and that true Philosophy, or the Knowledge of Causes, Necessarily leadeth to a God.

But besides these *Phænomena*, of Cogitation or Soul and Mind in Animals, Local Motion in Bodies, and the Artificial Frame of things for Ends and Uses, together with the Conspiring Harmony of the Whole; which can no way be Salv'd without a Deity; We might here further add, that the *Fortuitous*, that is, the *Anaximandrian* and *Democritick Atheists*, who Universally asserted the Novity of this Mundane System, were not able to give any tolerable account neither, of the First Beginning of Men, and those Greater Animals, that are no otherwise begotten, than in the way of Generation, by the Commixture of Male and Female.

Aristotle in his Book of the Generation of Animals, writeth thus; Lib. 3. c. ult. Περὶ τῆς ἀνθρώπων καὶ τετραπόδων γένεως, ὑπολάβοι τις ἂν, ἢ ὅτι ἐκ γυνότος περὶ γινεῖς, ὥστε φασί τινες, δύο τρόπων γίνεσθαι τὸ ἔτερον· ἢ ὅτι ὡς σκάλινθου συνιστάμενος τὸ πρῶτον, ἢ ἐξ ὠόν· If Men and Fourfooted Animals, were ever Generated out of the Earth, as some affirm, it may be probably conceived to have been, one of these Two ways; either that they were Produced as Worms out of Putrefaction, or else Formed in certain Eggs; growing out of the Earth. And then after a while he concludes again, ἢ περὶ τῶν τινος ἀρχῆς τῆς γένεως πᾶσι τοῖς ζώοις, ὅλον λόγον δεῖν τέτων εἶναι τὴν ἐτέραν, That if there were any Beginning of the Generation of all Animals, it is reasonable to think it, to have been one of these Two forementioned ways. It is well known that *Aristotle*, though a Theist, elsewhere asserteth the World's Eternity, according to which Hypothesis of his, there was never any First Male nor Female, in any kind of Animals, but one begat another Infinitely without any Beginning; a thing utterly repugnant to our Humane Faculties, that are never able to frame any Conception of such an Infinity of Number and Time, and of a Successive Generation from Eternity. But here *Aristotle* himself seems staggering or Sceptical about it; If Men were ever Generated out of the Earth; and, If there were any Beginning of the Generation of Animals: As he doth also, in his *Topicks*, propound it for an Instance of a thing Disputable, Πότερον ὁ κόσμος αἰδιός ἢ ὄχι, Whether the World were Eternal or no? he ranking it amongst those περὶ ὧν λόγον μὴ ἔχουσιν ὄντων μεγάλων, Those Great things for which we can give no certain Reason, one way nor other. Now (saith he) If the World had a Beginning, and If Men were once γινεῖς or αὐτόχθονες, Earth-Born, then must they have been in all probability, either Generated as Worms, out of Putrefaction, or else out of Eggs; he supposing (it seems) those Eggs to have grown out of the Earth. But the Generality of *Atheists* in *Aristotle's* time, as well as *Theists*, denying this Eternity of the Mundane System, as not so agreeable with their Hypothesis, because so Constant and Invariable an Order in the World, from Eternity, hath not such an appearance or semblance of Chance, nor can be easily supposed to have been, without the Providence of a Perfect Mind, presiding over it, and Senior to it (as *Aristotle* conceived) in Nature, though not in Time; They therefore in all Probability concluded likewise, Men at First

First to have been *Generated* One of these *Two* ways, either out of *Putrefaction*, or from *Eggs*; and this by the *Fortuitous Motion* of Matter; without the *Providence* or *Direction* of any Deity. But after *Aristotle*, *Epicurus* Phancied those First Men and other Animals, to have been Formed in certain *Wombs* or *Bags* growing out of the Earth,

Crescebant Uteri terræ radicibus apti;

And this no otherwise than by the *Fortuitous Motion* of *Atoms* also.

But if Men had been at First Formed after this manner, either in *Wombs* or *Eggs* (growing out of the Earth) or Generated out of *Putrefaction*, by *Chance*; then could there be no reason imaginable, why it should not sometimes so Happen now, the *Motions* of *Atoms* being as Brisk and Vigorous, as ever they were, and so to continue to all Eternity: so that there is not the least Ground at all, for that *Pre-carious Phancy* and *Pretence* of *Epicurus*, that the Earth as a *Child-bearing Woman*, growing old, became at length *Effete* and *Barren*. Moreover the Men thus at first excluded out of *Bags*, *Wombs* or *Egg-shells*, or Generated out of *Putrefaction*, were supposed by these *Atheists* themselves, to have been produced, not in a *Mature* and *Adult*, but an *Infant-like*, Weak and Tender State, just such as they are now born into the World; by means whereof they could neither be able to Feed and Nourish themselves, nor defend themselves from harms and Injuries. But when the same *Epicurus* would here pretend also, that the *Earth* which had been so *Fruitful a Mother*, became afterward by *Chance* too, as tender and indulgent a *Nurse*, of this her own Progeny, and sent forth Streams or Rivers of Milk after them, out of those Gaps of her Wounded Surface, which they had before burst out of, as *Critolans* long since observed, he might as well have feigned, the *Earth* to have had *Breasts* and *Nipples* too, as *Wombs* and *Milk*; and then what should hinder, but that she might have Arms and Hands also, and Swaddling-bands to boot? Neither is that less *Pre-carious*, when the same *Atheistick Philosopher* adds, that in this Imaginary State of the *New-born* world, there was for a long time neither any Immoderate Heat nor Cold, nor any Rude and Churlish Blasts of Wind, the least to annoy or injure those tender *Earth-born Infants* and *Nurslings*. All which things being considered, *Anaximander* seems of the *Two*, to have concluded more wisely, that Men, because they require a longer time than other Animals to be hatched up in, were at first Generated in the *Bellies* of *Fishes*, and there nourished up for a good while, till they were at length able to defend, and shift for themselves, and then were Disgorged, and cast up upon dry land. Thus do we see, that there is nothing in the World so Monstrous, nor Prodigiously Absurd, which men *Atheistically* inclined, will not rather Imagine, and Swallow down; than entertain the *Notion* of a *God*.

*In Philo. Quod
Mund. Incorr*

Wherefore here is *Dignus Vindice Nodus*, and this *Phænomenon* of the First Beginning of Mankind, and other Greater Animals, cannot be

be *salved* otherwise, than according to the *Mosaick History*, by admitting of *θεὸν ἐκ μηχανῆς*, a *God out of a Machin*, that is, an Extraordinary Manifestation of the Deity, in forming Man, and other Animals, Male and Female, once out of the Earth; and that not in a *Rude, Tender and Infant-like State*, but *Mature and Adult*, that so they might be able immediately, to shift for themselves, Multiply and Propagate their kind by Generation; and this being once done, and now no longer any necessity, of such an extraordinary way of proceeding; then putting a stop immediately thereunto, that so no more *Terrigine* nor *Autochthones*, *Earth-born Men*, should be any longer produced. For all these circumstances being put together, it plainly appears, that this whole *Phænomenon*, surpasses, not only the *Mechanical*, but also the *Plastick Powers*; their being much of *Discretion* in it, which the latter of these, cannot arrive to neither; they always acting, *Fatally* and *Necessarily*. Nevertheless we shall not here determine, Whether God Almighty might not, make use of the Subservient Ministry of Angels or Superiour Spirits, Created before Man, in this first extraordinary Efformation of the Bodies of Animals out of the Earth, in a *Mature and Adult State*: as Plato in his *Timæus*, introduceth the *Supreme God* (whom he supposeth to be the immediate Creator of all *Immortal Souls*) thus bespeaking the Junior Gods, and setting them a work in the *Fabrification* of *Mortal Bodies*, τὸ ἡμεῖς ὑμῖν, ἀθανάτων θνητῶν προσοφαινοῦντες, ἀπεργάζεσθαι ζῶα καὶ φρονεῖν, *It is your work now to Adaptate the Mortal to the Immortal, and to Generate or make Terrestrial Animals*; He afterwards adding, μετὰ τὸ σπείρειν τοῖς νέοις παρῆδεναι θεοῖς, πάμματα πλάττειν θνητὰ, *That after the sowing of Immortal Souls, (the Supreme God) committed to these Junior Gods, the task of forming Mortal Bodies*. Which of Plato's, some conceive to have been derived from that of *Moses*, *Let us make Man after our own Image*.

Moreover, these Atheists are no more able to *Salve* that other Common and Ordinary *Phænomenon* neither, of the *Conservation of the Species* of all Animals, by keeping up constantly in the world, a due *Numerical Proportion* between the *Sexes* of Male and Female. For did this depend only upon *Fortuitous Mechanism*, it cannot well be conceived, but that in some ages or other, there should happen to be, either all *Males*, or all *Females*; and so the *Species* fail. Nay it cannot well be thought otherwise, but that there is in this a *Providence* also, Superiour to that of the *Plastick* or *Spermatick Nature*, which hath not so much of *Knowledge* and *Discretion* allowed to it, as whereby to be able alone, to govern this Affair.

Lastly, there are yet other *Phænomena*, no less *Real*, though not *Physiological*, which *Atheists* can no way *Salve*; as that of *Natural Justice*, and *Honesty*, *Duty*, and *Obligation*; the true Foundation both of *Ethicks* and *Politicks*; and the τὸ ἐφ' ἡμῶν, *Liberty of Will*, properly so called, not that of *Fortuitous Determination*, when there is a *Perfect Equality* or *Indifferency* of *Eligibility* in Objects; but that whereby men deserve *Commendation* and *Blame*, *Rewards* and *Punishments*, and so become fit Objects for *Remunerative Justice* to display itself upon,

upon, a *Main Hinge* upon which Religion Turneth; (though those Two be not commonly so well distinguish'd as they ought.) For when *Epicurus* (an *Absolute Atheist*) departing here from *Democritus*, pretended to Salve this, by his *Exiguum Clinamen Principiorum*, this attempt of his, was no other, than a plain *Delirancy*, or *Atheistick Phrenzy* in him.

And now have we already, *Preventively Confuted*, the *Third Atheistick Pretence* also, to *Salve* the *Phænomenon* of Religion and the *Belief* of a *God*, so generally entertained; namely from the *Fiction* and *Imposture* of *Politicians*; we having not only manifested, that there is a *Natural Prolepsis* and *Anticipation* of a *God*, in the *Minds* of men, as the *Object* of their *Fear*, *Preventing Reason*; but also that the *Belief* thereof, is sustained and upheld, by the strongest *Reason*; the *Phænomena* of *Nature* being no way *Salvable*, nor the *Causes* of things *Assigneable*, without a *Deity*; so that Religion being *Founded*, both upon the *Instincts* of *Nature*, and upon *Solid Reason*, cannot possibly be any *Fiction* or *Imposture* of *Politicians*. Nevertheless we shall speak something particularly to this also. The *Atheists* therefore conceive, that though those *Infirmities* of *Humane Nature*, mens *Fear* and *Ignorant Credulity*, do much dispose and incline them, to the *Belief* of a *God*, or else of a *Rank of Beings*, Superiour to men (whether *Visible* or *Invisible*) commonly called by the *Pagans*, *Gods*; yet would not this be so generally entertained, as it is; especially that of *One Supreme Deity*, the *First Original* of all things, and *Monarch* of the *Universe*, had it not been for the *Fraud* and *Fiction* of *Lawmakers* and *Civil Sovereigns*, who the better to keep men in *Peace* and *Subjection* under them, and in a kind of *Religious* and *Superstitious Observation* of their *Laws*, and *Devotion* to the same, devised this *Notion* of a *God*, and then possessed the *Minds* of men with a *Belief* of his *Existence*, and an *Awe* of him.

Now we deny not, but that *Politicians* may sometimes abuse *Religion*, and make it serve for the promoting of their own private *Interests* and *Desires*; which yet they could not so well do neither, were the thing it self, a meer *Cheat* and *Figment* of their own, and had no *Reality* at all in *Nature*, nor any thing *Solid* at the bottom of it. But since Religion obtains so universally every where, it is not conceivable, how *Civil Sovereigns* throughout the whole *World*, some of which are so distant, and have so little *Correspondence* with one another, should notwithstanding, all so well agree in this *One Cheating Mystery* of *Government*, or *Piece* of *State-Coozenage*; nor if they could, how they should be able so effectually to possess the *Generality* of mankind, (as well wise as unwise) with such a *Constant Fear*, *Awe*, and *Dread*, of a meer *Counterfeit thing*, and an *Invisible Nothing*; and which hath not only no manner of *Foundation* neither in *Sense* nor *Reason*, but also (as the *Atheists* suppose) tends to their own great *Terrour* and *Disquietment*; and so brings them at once under a miserable *Vassallage* both of *Mind* and *Body*. Especially since men are not generally, so apt to think, that how much the more any have of *Power* & *Dignity*, they have therefore so much the more of

Knowledge and Skill, in Philosophy and the Things of Nature, above others. And is it not strange, that the world should not all this while, have suspected or discovered this *Cheat* and *Juggle* of Politicians, and have *Smelt* out, a *Plot* upon themselves, in the *Fiction* of Religion, to take away their Liberty and enthrall them under Bondage: and that so many of these Politicians and Civil Sovereigns themselves also, should have been unacquainted herewith, and as simply awed, with the Fear of this *Invisible Nothing*, as any others? All other Cheats and Juggles when they are once never so little detected, are presently thereupon dashed quite out of countenance, and have never any more the Confidence to obtrude themselves upon the world. But though the Atheists have for these Two Thousand years past, been continually buzzing into mens Ears, that Religion is nothing but a meer *State-Juggle* and *Political Imposture*, yet hath not the Credit thereof been the least impaired thereby, nor its Power and Dominion over the Minds of men abated; from whence it may be concluded, that it is no *Counterfeit* and *Fictitious thing*, but what is deeply rooted in the *Intellectual Nature* of man, a thing Solid at the bottom, and Supported by its own strength. Which yet may more fully appear from *Christianity*, a Religion founded in no *Humane Policy*, nor tending to promote any *Worldly Interest* or *Design*; which yet by its own, or the *Divine Force*, hath prevailed over the *Power* and *Policy*, the *Rage* and *Madness* of all *Civil States*, *Jewish* and *Pagan*, and hath Conquered so great a Part of the *Persecuting World* under it; and that not by *Resisting*, or *Opposing Force*, but by suffering Deaths and Martyrdoms, in way of Adherence to that Principle, *That it is better to obey God than Men*. Which thing was thus *Prefignified* in the *Prophetick Scripture*; *Why do the Heathen Rage, and the People imagine a Vain thing? The Kings of the Earth set themselves, and the Rulers take Counsel together, against the Lord, and against his Christ, &c. He that sitteth in the Heavens shall laugh, the Lord shall have them in Derision. Then shall he speak unto them in his Wrath, &c. Yet have I set my King upon my Holy Hill of Sion. I will give thee the Heathen for thine Inheritance, and the Uttermost Parts of the Earth for thy Possession. Be wise now therefore, O ye Kings, &c.*

But that *Theism*, or Religion, is no *Gullery* or *Imposture*, will be yet further made unquestionably Evident. That the generality of Mankind have agreed in the acknowledgment of one *Supreme Deity*, as a Being *Eternal* and *Necessarily Existent*, *Absolutely Perfect*, and *Omnipotent*, and the *Maker of the whole World*, hath been already largely proved in the foregoing Discourse. To which purpose is this of *Sextus* the Philosopher, *Κονὴν γὰρ πρὸς ἅπαντας ἔχει πάντες ἀνθρώποι ὡς εἰ θεός, καὶ ἵν' μακάριόν τι ἔστι ζῶον καὶ ἀφθάρτον καὶ τέλειον ἐν δαιμονίᾳ, καὶ παντός καὶς ἀνεπίδευτον.* *All men have this common Prolepsis, concerning God, that he is a Living Being Incorruptible, Perfectly Happy, and Uncapable of all manner of Evil.* And the Notion of that God, which *Epicurus* opposed, was no other than this, *An Understanding Being, having all Happiness, with Incorruptibility, that Framed the whole World.* Now, I say, that if there be no such thing

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as this Existing, and this *Idea of God*, be a meer *Fiditious Thing*, then was it altogether *Arbitrarians*. But it is unconceivable, how the Generality of Mankind, (a few Atheists only excepted) should universally agree, in one and the same *Arbitrarians Figment*. This Argumentation hath been formerly used, by some Theists, as appeareth from the forementioned *Sextus*, *τελέως δὲ ὅτιν ἄλογον, τὸ* *Adv. Math.*
τὸ πᾶσι πάντας τοῖς αὐτοῖς ὑπιδάμεν ἰδιόμασιν, ἀλλὰ μὴ φυσικῶς ἑστὸς ^{314.}
ἐκκενῆσθαι. It is altogether Irrational to think, that all men should by Chance, light upon the same Properties (in the *Idea of God*) without being Naturally mov'd thereunto. Neither is that any sufficient account which the Atheists would here give, that *Statesmen* and *Politicians*, every where thus possessed the Minds of men with One and the same *Idea*; the Difficulty still remaining, how Civil Sovereigns and Law-makers, in all the distant parts of the world, and such as had no Communication nor Entercourse with one another; should universally jump, in one and the same *Fiditious* and *Arbitrarians Idea*.

Moreover, were there no God, it is Not Conceivable, how that forementioned *Idea* should ever have Entred into the Minds of men, or how it could have been Formed in them. And here the Atheists again, think it enough, to say that this *Notion* or *Idea* was Put into the Minds of the Generality of mankind, by *Law-makers* and *Politicians*, Telling them, of such a Being, and perswading them to believe his Existence; or that it was from the first *Feigner* or *Inventor* of it, propagated all along and conveyed down, by *Oral Tradition*. But this argues their great Ignorance in Philosophy to think that any *Notion* or *Idea*, is put into mens Minds from without, meerly by Telling, or by Words; we being Passive to nothing else from words, but their Sounds and the Phantasms thereof; they only occasioning the Soul to excite such *Notions*, as it had before within it self (whether *Innate* or *Adventitious*) which those words by the Compact and Agreement of men were made to be Signs of; or else to reflect also further, upon those *Ideas* of their own, Consider them more Distinctly, and Compare them with one another. And though all Learning be not the Remembrance of what the Soul once before actually understood, in a *Pre-existent State*, as *Plato* somewhere would have it, according to that of *Boetius*,

Quod si Platonis Musa personat Verrum,
Quod quisque Discit, Immemor Recordatur;

Yet is all Humane Teaching, but *Maientical*, or *Obstetricious*; and not the filling of the Soul as a *Vessel*, meerly by Pouring into it from Without, but the *Kindling* of it from Within; or helping it so to excite and awaken, compare, and compound its own *Notions*, as whereby to arrive at the Knowledge, of that which it was before Ignorant of; as the thing was better expressed by the forementioned Philosophick Poet, in these words,

Heret profecto Semen introrsum Veri,
Quod excitatur Ventilante Doctrina.

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Wherefore the meer *Telling* of men, There is a *God*, could not infuse any *Idea* of him into their Minds; nor yet the further giving this Definition of him, that he is a *Being Absolutely Perfect*, *Eternal* and *Self-Existent*, make them understand any thing of his Nature, were they not able to Excite *Notions* or *Ideas* from within themselves, correspondent to those several words. However the Difficulty still remains, How those *Civil Sovereigns* and *Law-makers*, or how *Critias*, his very first Inventor of that Cheat of a God, could Form that *Idea*, within themselves, since upon supposition of his Non-Existence, it is the *Idea of Nothing*, or of a *Non-Entity*. And this was Judiciously Hinted also by the same *Sextus*; οἱ δὲ διαμφοδουμένους, φαίνον ὅτι νομοῦνται τινες ἐν. πείσαν τῆς ἀνθρώπων, τὴν περὶ θεῶν δόξαν, μὴ εἰδότες ὅτι τὸ ἀρχαῖον ἔτοπον αὐτῶν περιμένει, ζητῆσαι αὐτὴν πῶς, πῶς δὲ οἱ νομοῦνται, μὴ δύνανται περὶ τῆς παρὰ φύσιν, ἡλθον εἰς ἑπαινοῦσαν θεῶν; *The Atheists affirming, that certain Law-makers first put this Notion of a God, into the minds of men, do not consider, that they still remain intangled in the Difficulty, if any one further demand of them, how those Law-makers themselves could first form that Idea? From whence it is afterward concluded, ὅτι τοῖνυν ἡ ἀρχαία κατὰ τινὰ νομοθεσίαν, παρεδόξατο οἱ πολλοὶ ὥς ἀνθρώπων ἔκκασις θεῶν. That therefore the Notion of a God, sprung not from the Arbitrary Fiction, of Law-makers and Politicians.*

But some *Atheists* will yet further Reply, That there is a *Feigning Power* in the Humane Soul, whereby it can Frame *Ideas* or *Conceptions* of such things, as actually never were nor will be; as of a *Centaur*, or of a *Golden Mountain*; and that by such a *Feigning Power* as this, the *Idea* of God, though there be no such thing Existing, might be Framed. And here we deny not, but that the Humane Soul hath a Power of *Compounding* Ideas and Things, together, which Exist Severally, and Apart, in Nature, but never were, nor will be, in that Conjunction: and this indeed is all the *Feigning Power* that it hath. For the Mind cannot make any *New Cogitation*, which was not before, but only *Compound* that which *Is*. As the *Painter* cannot *Feign Colours*, but must use such as exist in Nature, only he can *Variouly Compound* them together, and by his *Pencil*, draw the Figures and Lineaments of such things as no where are; as he can add to the Head and Face of a Man, the Neck, Shoulders, and Body of a Horse. In like manner that more Subtle *Painter* or *Limmer*, the *Mind* and *Imagination* of man, can frame *Compounded Ideas* of things, which no where Exist, but yet His Simple Colours notwithstanding, must be Real; He cannot Feign any *Cogitation*, which was not in Nature, nor make a *Positive Conception* of that which is *Absolutely Nothing*; which were no less than to make, *Nothing* to be *Something*, or Create *Something out of Nothing*. And though the whole of these *Fictitious Ideas* (as of a *Golden Mountain*) does not any where actually Exist, yet for as much as it doth not *Absolutely Imply* a Contradiction, for it so to do, therefore hath it also a *Possible Entity* too, and otherwise it could not be Conceivable. As a *Triangular Square*, for example, being a *Contradictory* Thing, hath not so much as a *Possible Entity*, and therefore is not *Conceivable* as such; (though both a Triangle and a Square severally be Conceivable) it being meer Non-Sence, Nothing, and no *Idea*

Idea at all. Nay we Conceive, that a Theist may presume with Reverence to say, that God Almighty himself, though he can Create More or Fewer Really Existent things, as he pleaseth, and could make a whole world out of *Nothing*, yet can he not make more *Cogitation* or *Conception*, then *Is*; or was before contained in his own *Infinite Mind* and *Eternal Wisdom*; nor have a *Positive Idea* of any thing, which hath neither *Actual* nor *Possible Entity*.

But the *Idea* of God, is not a *Complement* or *Aggregation* of things, which Exist Scatteredly and Apart in the World; for then would it be a meer *Arbitrarious* thing; and it might be what every one pleased; one Adding more things together, and another Fewer; but each of them writing, the *Name* or *Title* of God, as bungling Painters did, under these there several *Figments*. Whereas we have already proved, that the *Idea* of God, is One most Simple *Idea*, of an *Absolutely Perfect Being*, though having several *Partial* and *Inadequate Conceptions*; so that nothing can be Added to it, nor Detracted from it, there being nothing included therein, but what is *Demonstrable* of a *Perfect Being*, and therefore nothing at all *Arbitrarious*.

Moreover, many of those *Partial Conceptions* contained in the entire *Idea* of God, are no where else to be found in the whole world, Existing Singly and Apart; and therefore, if there be no God, they must needs be *Absolute Non-Entities*; as *Immutability*, *Necessary Existence*, *Infinity*, and *Perfection*, &c. so that the *Painter* that makes this *Idea*, must here *Feign Colours* themselves, or Create *New Cogitation* and *Conception* out of *Nothing*, upon the *Atheistick Supposition*.

Lastly, If there be no God now Existing, it is Impossible that ever there should be any, and so the Whole *Idea* of God, would be the *Idea* of that, which hath no *Possible Entity* neither; whereas those other *Fictitious Ideas*, made by the Mind of man, though they be of such things, as have no *Actual Existence*, yet have they all a *Possible Entity* as was said before.

But that we may Conceal nothing of the Atheists Strength, we must here acknowledge, that some of them have yet pretended further, that besides this *Power* of *Compounding* things together, the human Soul hath also another *Ampliating*, or *Increasing* and *Improving Power*, by both which together, though there be no God Existing, nor yet *Possible*; the *Idea* of him, may be *Fictitiously* made: those *Partial Ideas* which are no where else to be found, arising, as they say, from a μεταβασις ἀπὸ τῶν ἀνθρώπων, a *Transition and Gradual Procession* from men; in way of *Amplification*, *Augmentation* and *Improvement*. Thus do we read in *Sextus*, τὸ αἰδὼν εἶναι ἢ θεὸν, ἢ ἀφθαρτὸν, ἢ τέλειον ἐν ἐνδοαίμοניה, παρήλθε καὶ τὴν ἀπὸ τῶν ἀνθρώπων μεταβασις ὡς γὰρ ἡ κοινὴν ἀνθρώπων αὐξήσαντες τῇ φαντασίᾳ, νόησιν ἔχομεν κύκλωτον, ἕως ἀνθρώπων ἐνδοαίμονα νοήσαντες ἢ μακρότερον ἢ συμπληρωμένον τὰς τοῖς ἀρχαίοις, εἴτα ταῦτα ὑπερέβαιναν, ἢ ἐν αὐτοῖς ἐκείνοις ἀκρὸν ἐνοήσαμεν θεόν· ἢ πάλιν πολυχρόνιον τινα φαντασιώζοντες ἀνθρώπων οἱ παλαιοί, ἐπέβησαν ἢ χρόνον εἰς ἀπείρον, εἴτα εἰσέβησαν εἰς ἐννοίαν αἰδὼν παραγνόμε-

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νοι, ἔφασαν ἐν ἀίδιον εἶναι τὸ θεόν. The Ideas, of the Eternity, Incorruptibility, and Perfect Happiness of the Deity, were Fictionally made, by way of Transition from men. For as by encreasing a man of an ordinary Stature in our Imagination, we Fictionally make the Phantasm of a Cyclops; so when beholding a Happy Man that aboundeth with all good things, we Amplify, Intend, and as it were Swell the same in our Minds higher and higher, we then arrive at length to the Idea of a Being Absolutely Happy, that is, a God. So did the Ancients, taking notice of a very Longeve man, and encreasing this length of Age, further and further Infinitely, by that means Frame the Notion or Idea of Eternity, and attribute the same to God.

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But to this we Reply; First, that according to the Principles of the Atheists themselves, there could not possibly be any such Amplifying and Feigning Power of the Soul, as whereby it could Make More than Is; because they suppose it to have no Active Power at all; but all our Conceptions to be nothing but meer Passions, from the Objects without; according to that of Protagoras in Plato's *Thaetetus*, ὅτι γὰρ τὰ μὴ ὄντα δυνατόν δοξάζειν, ὅτι ἅμα παρὰ ἃ ἂν πάσῃ, It is neither possible; for a man to conceive that which is not; nor any more or otherwise, than he Suffers. Again as *Sextus* the Philosopher also intimates, the Atheists are here plainly guilty, of that Fallacy or Error in Ratiocination, which is commonly called a Circle, or *διὰ κύκλου*. For whereas they could not otherwise Judge, the greatest Perfection and Happiness which ever they had experience of in men, to be Imperfect, then by an Anticipated Idea of Perfection, and Happiness, with which it was in their minds compared; (by virtue of which Idea also, it comes to pass, that they are able to Amplify those lesser Perfections of men further and further, and can take occasion from Imperfect Things, to think of that which is Absolutely Perfect:) that is, whereas these Atheists themselves first make the Idea of Imperfection, from Perfection; they not attending to this, do again go about, to make up the Notion or Idea, of that which is Absolutely Perfect (by way of Amplification) from that which is Imperfect. But that men have a Notion of Absolute Perfection in them, by which as the Rule or Measure, they (comparing other things therewith) Judge them to be Imperfect; and which is therefore in Order of Nature First; may appear from hence, because all Theologers as well Pagan as Christian, give this Direction, for the Conceiving of God, that it should principally be done, *Per Viam Remotionis*, by way of Remotion of all Imperfection from him. Thus *Alcinous*, πρῶτον μὲν αὐτῷ νόμῳ ἢ ἔξ ἀφαίρεσιν, The first way of Conceiving of God, is by Remotion or Abstraction. We add in the last place, That Finite things put together can never make up Infinite, as may appear from that Instance of Humane Longevity proposed, for if one should Amplify that never so much, by adding of more and more Past Time or years to it; yet would he never thereby be able, to arrive at Eternity without beginning. God differs not from these Imperfect Created things, in Degrees only, but in the Whole Kind. And though Infinite Space may perhaps be here Objected, as a thing taken for granted, which being nothing but Extension or Magnitude, must therefore consist or be made up of Finite Parts, yet as was it before declared, we have

have no certainty of any more than this ; that the *Finite World* might have been made Bigger and Bigger *Ininitely* or *Without End*, which *Infinity of Magnitude*, is but like that of *Number, Potential* ; from whence it may be inferred as well of the one, as the other, that it can never be *Actually Infinite*. Wherefore were there no *Ininitely Perfect Being* in Nature, the *Idea* thereof could never be made up by any *Amplifying Power* of the Soul, or by the *Addition of Finites*. Neither is that of any moment, which *Gassendus* so much objecteth here to the contrary, that though there were no God or *Infinite Being*, yet might the *Idea* of him as well be Feigned, by the Mind, as that of *Infinite Worlds*, or of *Infinite Matter*, was by some Philosophers. For *Infinite Worlds* and *Infinite Matter*, are but words *Ill Put-together* ; *Infinity* being a *Real thing* in Nature, (and no *Fiction* of the Mind) as well as the *World* or *Matter* ; but yet proper to the Deity only. But it is no wonder, if they who denied a God, yet retaining this *Notion of Infinity*, should misapply the same, as they did also other Properties of the Deity, to *Matter*.

To conclude this ; Our humane Soul cannot Feign or Create any New *Cogitation* or *Conception*, that was not before, but only variously compound that which Is : nor can it ever make a *Positive Idea* of an *Absolute Non-Entity*, that is, such as hath neither *Actual* nor *Possible Existence*. Much less could our Imperfect Beings, Create the *Entity* of so *Vast a Thought*, as that of an *Ininitely Perfect Being*, out of *Nothing* ; this being indeed more then for God *Almighty*, or a *Perfect Being*, to Create a *Real World* out of *Nothing* : because there is no *Repugnancy* at all in the *Latter*, as there is in the *Former*. We affirm therefore, that Were there no God, the *Idea* of an *Absolutely* or *Ininitely Perfect Being*, could never have been Made or Feigned, neither by Politicians, nor by Poets, nor Philosophers, nor any other. Which may be accounted another Argument for a Deity.

But that *Religion* is no *Figment of Politicians*, will further unquestionably appear, from that which now shall follow. As the *Religion* of an Oath, is a *Necessary Vinculum* of *Civil Society* ; so *Obligation in Conscience*, respecting the Deity as its Original, and as the Punisher of the Violation thereof, is the very Foundation of all *Civil Sovereignty*. For *Pacts and Covenants* (into which some would resolve all *Civil Power*) without this *Obligation in Conscience*, are nothing but meer Words and Breath : and the *Laws and Commands* of *Civil Sovereigns*, do not make *Obligation*, but presuppose it, as a thing in *Order* of Nature Before them, and without which they would be *Invalid*. Which is a Truth so Evident, that the Writer *De Cive*, could not dissemble it, (though he did not rightly understand this *Natural Obligation*) but acknowledgeth it in these words, *Obligatio ad Obedientiam Civilem, cuius vi Leges Civiles Valide sunt, Omni Lege Civili prior est.* — *Quid si quis Princeps Summus, Legem Civilem in hanc Formulam conciperet, Non Rebellabis, nihil efficeret. Nam nisi prius Obligentur Cives ad Obediendum, hoc est, ad Non Rebellandum, Omnis Lex Invalida est ; & si prius Obligentur est superflua.* The *Obligation to Civil*

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Civil Obedience, by the force of which all the Civil Laws become Valid, is before those Civil Laws. And if any Prince should make a Law to this purpose, That no man should Rebel against him, this would signifie nothing, because unless they to whom it is made, were before Obligated to Obey, or not to Rebel, the Law is Invalid; and if they were, then is it Superfluous. Now this Previous Obligation to Civil Obedience, cannot be derived (as the forementioned Writer *De Cive*, and of the Leviathan, supposes) from mens *Private Utility* only, because every man being Judge of this for himself, it would then be Lawful for any Subject, to Rebel against his Sovereign Prince, and to Poison or Stab him, whensoever he could reasonably perswade himself, that it would tend to his own Advantage; or that he should thereby procure the Sovereignty. Were the Obligation to Civil Obedience, Made only by mens *Private Utility*, it would as easily be Dissolved by the same. It remaineth therefore, that *Conscience* and *Religious Obligation* to Duty, is the only Basis, and Essential Foundation of a Polity or Common-Wealth; without which there could be no Right or Authority of Commanding in any Sovereign, nor Validity in any Laws. Wherefore *Religious Obligation* cannot be thought to be the Fiction or Imposition of Civil Sovereigns, unless Civil Sovereignty it self, be accounted a Fiction and Imposition; or a thing which hath no Foundation in Nature, but is either wholly Artificial, or Violent.

Moreover had a *Religious Regard* to the Deity, been a meer Figment or Invention of Politicians, to promote their own Ends, and keep men in Obedience and Subjection under them, then would they doubtless, have so framed and contrived it, as that it should have been every way Flexible and Compliant: namely by perswading the world, that whatsoever was Commanded by themselves, was agreeable to the *Divine Will*, and whatever was Forbidden by their Laws, was displeasing to God Almighty, and would be Punished by him: God ruling over the World, no otherwise, than by and in, these Civil Sovereigns, as his Vicegerents; and as the only Prophets and Interpreters of his will to men. So that the Civil Law of every Country, and the Arbitrary will of Sovereigns, should be acknowledged to be the only Measure of Just and Unjust (there being nothing Naturally such) the only Rule of Conscience and Religion. For from Religion thus Modelled, Civil Sovereigns might think to have an Absolute Power, or an Infinite Right, of Doing or Commanding whatsoever they pleased, without exception, nothing being Unlawful to them, and their Subjects being always Obligated, in Conscience, without the least Scruple, to Obey.

But this is but a meer Larva of Religion, and would be but a Mocketory of God Almighty; and indeed this is the only Religion that can be called, a Political Figment. Neither could the generality of mankind, be ever yet thus perswaded, that the Arbitrary Will of Civil Sovereigns, was the only Rule of Justice & Conscience; and that God Almighty could Command nothing, nor Reveal his will concerning Religion, to mankind otherwise than by these, as his Prophets and Interpreters. True Religion & Conscience, are no such Waxen things, Servilely Addicted, to
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the Arbitrary Wills of men; but *Immorigerous, Stiff, and Inflexible*: they respecting the Deity only, his *Eternal or Everlasting Laws*; and his *Revealed Will*; with which whensoever Humane Laws clash (a thing not impossible) they conclude, that then *God ought to be Obeyed, and not Men*. For which Cause the *Prophane Politicians*, declare open war against this *Religion*, as a thing utterly *Inconsistent* with *Civil Sovereignty*; because it introduces a *Fear* greater than the *Fear of the Leviathan*; namely that of Him, who can inflict *Eternal Punishments* after Death; as also because it clashes with that monstrous, *Infinite and Unlimited Power* of theirs, which is such a Thing, as is not attributed by *Genuine Theists*, to God Almighty himself; a Power of making their meer Arbitrary Will the Rule of Justice, and not Justice the Rule of their Will. Thus does a Modern Writer of *Politicks*, condemn it, for *Seditious Doctrine*, tending to the Dissolution of a *Commonwealth*, That Subjects may make a Judgment of Good and Evil, Just and Unjust; or have any other Conscience besides the Law of the Land. As also this, That Subjects may Sin in obeying the Commands of their Sovereign. He likewise adds, That it is Impossible, a Commonwealth should stand, where any other than the Sovereign, hath a Power of giving greater rewards than Life, and of inflicting greater punishments than Death. Now *Eternal Life* is a greater reward than the Life present, and *Eternal torment* than the Death of Nature. Wherefore God Almighty being the Dispenser of *Eternal Rewards and Punishments*; this is all one as if he should have said, It is impossible a Common Wealth should stand, where the Belief of a God, who can Punish with *Eternal Torments* after this Life, is entertained. Thus does the same Writer declare, That if the *Superstitious Fear of Spirits* (whereof God is the Chief) and things depending thereupon, were taken away, men would be much more fitted than they are, for *Civil Obedience*: And that they who assert the *Immortality of Souls*, or their capability of receiving punishments after Death; fright men from obeying the Laws of their Country, with Empty names, as men fright Birds from the Corn, with an Empty Dublet, a Hat, and a Crooked Stick. And accordingly He concludes, that *Civil Sovereigns* do not only make Justice, but Religion also; and that no Scripture or Divine Revelation can Oblige, unless it be first made Law, or stamped with their Authority. Now since that which can make Religion and Gods, must it self needs be greater than all Gods, it follows according to the Tenour of this Doctrine, that the *Civil Sovereign* is in Reality, the *Supreme Numen*: Or else at least, that the *Leviathan* (the King over all the Children of Pride) is the *Highest Deity*, next to *Senseless Omnipotent Matter*; the One of these being the *Atheists Natural*, the Other their *Artificial God*. Nevertheless we shall here observe by the way, that whilst these *Atheistick Politicians*, thus endeavour, to Swell up the *Civil Sovereign*, and to bestow upon him, an *Infinite Right*, by removing to that end out of his way; *Natural Justice, Conscience, Religion*, and *God himself*; they do indeed thereby absolutely devest him of all Right and Authority; since the Subject is now no longer Obligated in Conscience to Obey him, and so in stead of *True Right and Authority*, they leave him nothing but meer *Brutish Force*. Wherefore since *Theism* and *True Religion* are thus plainly disowned and

disclaimed by these Politicians, as altogether Inconsistent with their Designs, they cannot be supposed to have been the *Figments* of *Civil Sovereigns*, or the meer *Creatures* of *Political Art*. And thus have we abundantly confuted, those *three Atheistick Pretences*, to salve the *Phænomenon of Religion*; from *Fear*, and the *Ignorance of Causes*; and the *Fiction of Politicians*.

But since besides those *Ordinary Phænomena* before mentioned, which are no way *Salvable* by *Atheists*, there are certain other *Phænomena Extraordinary*, that either immediatly prove a *God* and *Providence*, or else that there is a *Rank of Understanding Beings Invisible*, Superiour to men, from whence a *Deity* may be afterwards inferred; namely these *Three* Especially, *Apparitions*, *Miracles*, and *Prophecies*: (Where the *Atheists* Obstinatly denying *Matter of Fact* and *History*, will needs impute these things, either to *Jugling Fraud* and *Knavery*; or else to mens own *Fear* and *Phancy*, and their *Ignorance* how to distinguish *Dreams*, and other strong *Imaginations* from *Vision* and *Sense*; or Lastly to certain *Religious Tales* or *Legends*, allowed by the *Publick Authority* of *Civil Sovereigns*, for *Political Ends*;) we shall here Suggest something briefly, to vindicate the *Historick Truth* of those *Phænomena*, against *Atheists*.

First therefore, as for *Apparitions*, Though there be much of *Fabulosity* in these Relations, yet can it not reasonably be concluded, that there is nothing at all of *Truth* in them: since something of this kind, hath been averred in all Ages, and many times attested by persons of Unquestionable Prudence, and Unsuspected Veracity. And whereas the *Atheists* impute the *Original* of these things, to mens Mistaking both their *Dreams*, and their *Waking Phancies*, for *Real Visions* and *Sensations*; they do hereby plainly contradict one Main Fundamental Principle of their own *Philosophy*, that *Sense* is the only *Ground of Certainty*, and the *Criterion* of all *Truth*: for if Prudent and Intelligent persons may be so frequently mistaken, in confounding their own *Dreams* and *Phancies* with *Sensations*, how can there be any *Certainty* of knowledge at all from *Sense*? However, they here derogate so much both from *Sense*, and from *Humane Testimonies*, as that if the like were done in other Cases, it would plainly overthrow all *Humane Life*.

Wherefore other *Atheists*, being apprehensive of this Inconvenience, of denying so many *Sensible Appearances*, and *Testimonies*, or *Relations of Fact*; have chose rather to acknowledge the *Reality* of *Apparitions*; nevertheless concluding them to be things Caused and Created, by the *Power of Imagination* only; as if the strength of *Imagination* were such, that it could not only *Create Phancies*, but also *Real Sensible Objects*, and that at a distance too from the *Imaginers*, such as whereby the *Sense* of others shall be for the time affected, though they quickly vanish away again. From which *Prodigious Paradox*, we may take notice of the *Fanaticism* of some *Atheists*, and that there is nothing so monstrously *Aburd*, which men infected with *Atheistick Incredulity*, will not rather entertain into their Belief,

Belief, than admit of any thing that shall the least hazard or endanger, the *Existence of a God*. For if there be once any *Invisible Ghosts* or *Spirits* acknowledged, as *Things Permanent*, it will not be easie for any to give a reason, why there might not be one *Supreme Ghost* also, presiding over them all, and the whole world.

In the last place therefore, we shall observe, that *Democritus* was yet further convinced, by these Relations of *Apparitions*; so as to grant that there was a certain kind of *Permanent Beings* and Independent upon Imagination, *Superiour* to men, which could Appear in different Forms, and again disappear at pleasure, called by him *Idols* or *Images*; he supposing them to be of the same nature, with those *Exuvius Effluxes*, that stream continually from the surface of Bodies: only he would not allow them to have any thing Immortal at all in them, but their *Concretions* to be at length all Dissolvable, and their Personalities then to vanish into nothing. Thus *Sextus* the Phil.
 Ado. Math. P. 311.
 Διμύνησθαι εἰδῶν τινα φύσιν ἀκταλῶν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις, καὶ τῶν
 τῶν τὰ μὲν εἶναι ἀγαθοποιῶν, τὰ δὲ κακοποιῶν. ἐνθεν καὶ εὐχεῖται εὐλόγων τυχεῖν
 εἰδῶν. εἶναι δὲ ταῦτα μεγάλα τε καὶ ὑπερμεγέθη, καὶ δυνάμει μὲν, καὶ
 ἀφθαρταὶ δὲ, προσμαίνοντα τε τὰ μέλλοντα τοῖς ἀνθρώποις, διαγόμενα καὶ φω-
 νὰς ἀφίεντα. *Democritus affirmeth, that there are certain Idols or Spectres, that do often approach to men, some of which are Beneficent and some Maleficent. Upon which account, he wisheth, that it might be his good hap, to meet with fortunate Idols. And he addeth, that these are of a vast bigness, and very Longeve, but not Incorruptible, and that they sometimes do fore-signifie unto men future events, both Visibly appearing to them and sending forth audible voyces.* Now though *Democritus* were much blamed for this Concession of his by his Fellow-Atheists, as giving thereby, too great an advantage to Theists; yet in his own opinion, did he sufficiently secure himself against the Danger of a God from hence, by supposing all these *Idols* of his, to be Corruptible, they being indeed nothing but certain *Finer Concretions of Atoms*, a kind of *Aereal and Æthereal Animals*; that were all Body, and without any Immortal Soul, as he supposed men also to be: so that a God could be no more proved from them, than from the *Existence* of men. For thus he adds in *Sextus*, ὅθεν τῶν αὐτῶν φαντασίων λαβόντες οἱ παλαιοὶ, ὑπενόησαν εἶναι θεόν, μηδενὸς ἄλλου παρὰ ταῦτα ὄντος θεοῦ, τῷ ἀφθάρτου φύσιν ἔχοντος. *Men in ancient times, having a sense of these Apparitions or Idols, fell from thence into the opinion of a God; although there be besides these Idols, no other God, that hath an Incorruptible Nature.* However, though *Democritus* continued thus grossly Atheistical, yet was he further convinced, than our Modern Atheists will be, that the Stories of *Apparitions* were not all *Fabulous*; and that there are not only *Terrestrial*, but also *Aerial* and *Æthereal Animals*; nor this Earth of ours alone Peopled and Inhabited, whilst all those other vast Regions above, lie Desert, Solitary, and Waste. Where it may be observed again, that divers of the Ancient Fathers, though they agreed not so far with *Democritus*, as to make the *Angeli-cal Beings* to be altogether *Corporeal*, yet did they likewise suppose them to have their certain *Subtile Æthereal or Aerial Bodies*. In which respect *St. Anstin* in his 115. Epistle, calleth Angels *Æthereos*, and De-

Page 29.

vils, *Aereos Animantes*. Thus *Pfellus* in his Dialogue, *Ἐπεὶ ἐπεργείας δαιμόνων; ἀλλ' ἐν σώματι, ὡς γυναι, τὸ δαιμόνιον ὅτι φύλον, μετὰ σώματι δέχεται, καὶ ἀμφὶ σώματι διατέτυφε. Καὶ τὸτό ὅτι μὲν καὶ παρ' αὐτῶν μαθεῖναι τῶν σεμνῶν πατέρων. Καὶ βασιλεῖς ὁ δὲ θεός, ὁ δαιμόσι μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς ἀχρεῖστοις ἀγγέλοις, ἐνείναι σώματα διατείνεσθαι, οἷά τινα πνεύματα λεπτά καὶ ἀερῶδη καὶ ἀχρεῖντα, καὶ ἐξῆς. But you are to know, that Demons or Devils, are not altogether Incorporeal, but that they are Joyned to Bodies, and so Converse with Bodies, which may be learn'd also from the Fathers, the Divine Basil contending, that there are Bodies, not only in Devils, but also in the pure Angels themselves, as certain Subtile, Airy, Defecate Spirits. Where afterwards he shows, how the σύμφυτες ἀγγέλοις σώμα, that Body which is Connate with Angels, differs from that which Devils are united to, in respect of the Radiant Splendour of the one, and the Dark Fuliginous Obscurity of the other. Moreover that Devils are not without Bodies, he endeavours further to confirm, from the words of our Saviour, that they shall be Punished with Fire, which (saith he) were a thing impossible, were they All of them Incorporeal. And some perhaps will attempt to prove the same concerning Angels too, from those other words of our Saviour, where speaking of the Resurrection State, he affirmeth, that they who shall be accounted worthy thereof, shall neither marry nor be given in marriage, but be ἰσάγγελοι, Equal to the Angels: which Comparative Expression of men, as to their Bodies, with Angels; would be thought not so proper, were the Angels absolutely devoid of all Body. But of this we determine not.*

To this *Phænomenon* of Apparitions, might be added those Two others of *Magicians* or *Wizards*, *Demoniacks* or *Energumeni*; both of these proving also, the Real Existence of Spirits, and that they are not meer *Phancies*, and Imaginary Inhabitants of mens Brains only, but Real Inhabitants of the World. As also, that among those Spirits there are some Foul, Unclean, and Wicked Ones; (though not made such by God, but by their own Apostacy) which is some confirmation of the Truth of Christianity, the Scripture insisting so much upon these Evil Demons or Devils, and declaring it to be one design of our Saviour Christ's coming into the World, to oppose these Confederate Powers of the Kingdom of Darkness, and to rescue mankind from the Thralldom and Bondage thereof. As for *Wizards* and *Magicians*, Persons who associate and confederate themselves in a peculiar manner with these Evil Spirits, for the gratification of their own Revenge, Lust, Ambition, and other Passions; besides the Scriptures, there hath been so full an attestation given to them, by persons unconcerned in all Ages, that those our so confident Exploders of them, in this present Age, can hardly escape the suspicion, of having some Hankring towards Atheism. But as for the *Demoniacks* and *Energumeni*; It hath been much wondred, that there should be so many of them in our Saviour's time, and hardly any or none, in this present Age of ours. Certain it is from the Writings of *Josephus*, in sundry places, that the *Pharisaick Jews*, were then generally possessed with an Opinion of these δαιμονιζόμενοι, *Demoniacks*; men Possessed with Devils, or Infested by them. And that this was not a meer Phrase or Form of Speech only amongst them, for persons very Ill-affected

affected in their Bodies, may appear from hence, that *Josephus* declares it as his opinion, concerning the *Demons* or *Devils*, that they were *πονηρῶν ἀνθρώπων πνύματα τοῖς ζῶσιν εἰσδύμενα*, the *Spirits* or *Souls* of *wicked men* deceased, getting into the *Bodies* of the *Living*. From hence it was that the *Jews* in our *Saviour's* time were not at all Surprised with his casting out of *Devils*, it being usual for them also then to Exorcise the same, an Art which they pretended to have learn'd from *Solomon*. Of whom thus *Josephus*, παρέχε δ' αὐτῷ μαθεῖν ὁ θεὸς, καὶ τὴν κατὰ τῶν δαιμόνων τέχνην, εἰς ἀφέλκην καὶ θεραπεῖαν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις· ἐπαύδας τε συνταξάμενος αἷς παρηγορεῖται τὰ νοσήματα, καὶ τρέψας ἰσχυρώσεων κατέλκπειν, οἷς ἐνδύμενοι, τὰ δαιμόνια ὡς μικτὰ ἐπανελθεῖν, ἐκδιώκει. καὶ αὕτη μέχρι νῦν ἡ θεραπεῖα πλείεον ἰσχύει. *God also taught Solomon, an Art against Demons and Devils, for the benefit and Cure of men. Who composed certain Incantations, by which diseases are cured, and left forms of exorcisms, whereby Devils are expelled and driven away. Which Method of curing, prevails much amongst us, at this very day.* Notwithstanding which, we think it not at all probable, what a late *Atheistick Writer* hath asserted, that the heads of the *Jews* were then all of them so full of *Demons* and *Devils*, that they generally took all manner of Bodily Diseases, such as Feavers and Agues, and Dumbness and Deafness, for *Devils*. Though we grant that this very thing, was imputed by *Plotinus* afterward to the *Gnosticks*, that they supposed all Diseases to be *Devils*, and therefore not to be cured by *Physick*, but expelled by *Words* or *Charms*. Thus he, *En. 2. Lib. 9. c. 14.* νῦν ὃ ὑποτιθέμενοι τοῖς νόσους δαιμόνια εἶναι, καὶ ταῦτα ἔξαιρειν λόγῳ φάσκοντες δύνασθαι, καὶ ἐπαγγελόμενοι, σπουδῇ μὲν ἂν εἶναι δόξαιεν ὡς τοῖς πολλοῖς, οἱ τοῖς ὡς τοῖς μάγαις δυνάμεις θαυμάζουσιν, τὸς μάλιστα ἀφροσύνας ἐκ ἂν πέποιεν, ὡς ἐκ αἱ νόσοι τοῖς αἰτίας ἔχουσιν, ἢ πλινζιμοναῖς, ἢ ἐνδύσεως δε. δηλοῖ δὲ καὶ αἱ θεραπεῖαι αὐτῶν, γαστρίδος γὰρ εὐερίως ἢ φαρμάκων δεδέναι, διεχρήσασθαι κατὰ τὴν νόσον· καὶ αἱματὶ ἀφαιρεμένῳ καὶ ἐνδύσεως ἰάσασθαι· ἢ πρήναι τὸ δαιμόνιον, καὶ τὸ φαρμάκον ποιῆσαι τίκτεσθαι. Now when they affirm Diseases to be Demons or Devils, and pretend that they can expel them by words, undertaking to do the same; they hereby indeed render themselves considerable to the vulgar, who are wont not a little to admire the powers of Magicians. But they will not be able to persuade wise men, that Diseases have no natural Causes, as from Repletion, or Inanition, or Putrefaction, or the like: Which is a thing manifest from their cure, they being oftentimes removed by purgation, and bleeding, and abstinence. Unless perhaps these men will say, that the Devil is by this means Starved, and made to Pine away. Nor can we think that the *Jews* in our *Saviour's* time, either supposed all Mad-men to be Demoniacs, or all Demoniacs Mad-men (though this latter seems to be asserted by an Eminent Writer of our own) we reading of *Devils* cast out from others besides Mad-men; and of a woman which had a Spirit of Infirmary only, and was bowed together, and could not lift up her self, which is said by our *Saviour Christ* to have been Bound by Satan. Wherefore the sense of the *Jews* formerly seems to have been this, that when there was any unusual and extraordinary Symptoms, in any bodily Distemper, but especially that of Madneß, this being look'd upon as something more than Natural, was imputed by them to the Possession or Infestation of

of some *Devil*. Neither was this proper to the Jews only at that time, to suppose Evil Demons to be the Causes of such bodily diseases, as had extraordinary *Symptoms*, and especially *Madness*; but the Greeks and other Gentiles also were embued with the same Perswasion; as appeareth from *Apollonius Tyanæus* his curing a *Laughing Demoniack* at *Athens*, he ejecting that Evil Spirit, by threats and menaces, who is said at his departure, to have tumbled down a Royal Porch in the City with great noise. As also, from his freeing the City of *Ephesus* from the Plague, by stoning an old Ragged Beggar, said by *Apollonius* to have been the *Plague*, which appeared to be a Demon, by his changing himself, into the form of a *Shagged Dog*.

But that there is some Truth in this Opinion, and that at this very day, *Evil Spirits* or *Demons*, do sometimes really Act upon the Bodies of men, and either Inflict or Augment bodily Distempers and Diseases, hath been the Judgment of two very experienced Physicians, *Sennertus* and *Fernelius*. The Former in his Book, *De Mania. Lib. 1. cap. 15.* writing thus, *Etsi sine ulla Corporis Morbosa Dispositione, Deo permittente, hominem Obsidere & Occupare Dæmon possit, tamen quandoque Morbis, & præcipuè Melancholicis, sese immiscet Dæmon; & forsân frequentius hoc accidit, quam sæpè creditur.* Although the Devil may, by Divine permission, Possess men without any Morbid Disposition, yet doth he usually intermingle himself with Bodily Diseases, and especially those of Melancholy; and perhaps this cometh to pass oftner, than is commonly believed or suspected. The other in his, *De Abditis rerum Causis*, where having attributed real Effects upon the bodies of men, to Witchcraft and Enchantment, he addeth; *Neque solum morbos, verum etiam Dæmonas, scelerati homines in corpora immittunt. Hi quidem visuntur Furoris quadam specie distorti; hoc uno tamen à Simplici Furore distant, quod summè ardua obloquantur, præterita & occulta renuntiant, assidentiūmque arcana referent.* Neither do these wicked Magicians, only inflict Diseases upon mens Bodies; but also send Devils into them; By means whereof they appear distorted with a kind of fury and madness, which yet differs from a Simple Madness (or the Disease so called) in this, that they speak of very high and difficult matters, declare things past unknown, and discover the Secrets of those that sit by. Of which he subjoyns two Notable Instances, of Persons well known to himself, that were plainly *Demoniacal*, Possessed, or Acted by an *Evil Demon*; one whereof shall be afterwards mentioned. But when *Maniacal Persons*, do not only discover Secrets, and declare things Past, but Future also, and besides this, speak in Languages, which they had never learnt, this puts it out of all doubt and question, that they are not meer Mad men or Maniaci, but *Demoniacks* or *Energumeni*. And that since the time of our Saviour Christ, there have been often such, may be made evident from the Records of credible Writers. *Psellus* in his Book *Περὶ Ἑνεργίας Δαιμόνων*, *De Operat. Dæm.* avers it, of a certain *Maniacal Woman*, That though she knew nothing but her own Mother tongue, yet when a Stranger who was an *Armenian* was brought into the Room to her, she spake to him presently in the *Armenian Language*, *ἡμεῖς ὃ παθόντες ἡμεν, ὅτι καὶ Ἀρμενίων ἐφ' ἑαυτοῖς, γυνὴ μὴδέποτε μὴδ' ἐς ὅσον ἀφισμένη τούτοις, μὴδ' κεκλιδ' εἰς ἡα πλέον ἔδδεν*, *We all stood amazed*

mazed, when we heard, a woman that had never seen an Armenian before in all her life, nor had learnt any thing, but the use of her Distaff, to speak the Armenian Language readily. Where the Relater also affirmeth the same Maniacal Person, to have foretold certain Future Events, which happened shortly after to himself, *Σὺ ὁ, σαρφεὶς πρὸς ἐμὲ, μεγάλων ἐν χρεῶν συμφορῶν ὑποστήσῃ· ὅλῳ γὰρ σοὶ δεινὰς τὰ δαιμόνια ἐδουλοῦντι τὰς αὐτῆς λαλῆσας· ἀμέλῃ τοι καὶ χαλεπὰς ἐπιτέροιται καὶ σαρφεὶς κινδύνους, ὅς ἐν αὐτῇ διαφύεσθαι δύνηθῃς, εἰ μήτις δύναμις κρείττων, ἢ καὶ δαίμονας ἀπ' αὐτῆς ῥείλῃ.* Then looking upon me, she (or rather the Demon) said, thou shalt suffer wonderful pains and torments in thy Body, For the Demons are extremely angry with thee, for opposing their Services and Worship; and they will inflict great evils upon thee, out of which thou shalt not be able to escape, unless a Power greater than that of Demons, exempt thee from them. All which things (saith he) happened shortly after to me, and I was brought very low even near to Death by them; but was by my saviour wonderfully delivered. Whereupon Psellus concludes, *Τίς ἐν ἐκείνῳ καὶ χρησμὸν ἐωρακώς, ἐπεὶ τὰς μανίας πόζας, ὕλης πλημμελὲς κινήσῃς, ἀλλὰ πόθῃ τετραχὺ δαιμόνων, Who is there therefore, that considering this Oracle or Prediction, will conclude (as some Physicians do) all kind of Madneses, to be nothing but the Exorbitant Motions of the Matter or Humours, and not the Tragick Passions of the Demons.* But because this Instance is remoter from our present Times, we shall set down another remarkable one of a later Date, out of the forementioned Fernelius, who was an eye-witness thereof. A young man of a Noble Family, who was strangely Convulsed in his Body, having sometimes one member, and sometimes another, violently agitated, inso-much that four several persons were scarcely able to hold them; and this at first without any distemper at all in his head, or crazedness in brain. To whom Fernelius with other skilful Physicians being called, applied all manner of remedies; Blisters, Purgations, Cupping-Glasses, Fomentations, Unctions, Plaisters, and Strengthening Medicines; but all in vain. The reason whereof is thus given by the thesame Fernelius. *Quoniam omnes longe aberamus à cognitione veri. Nam Mense Tertio, primum deprehensus Demon quidam totius Mali Author: Voce, insuetisque verbis ac sententiis tum Latinis tum Græcis, (quanquam ignarus Linguae Græcæ Laborans esset) se prodens. Is multa assidentium maximâque medicorum Secreta detegebat, ridens quod irrisiis Pharmacis corpus hoc penè jugulassent.* Because we were all far from the Knowledge of the truth. For in the Third Month it was first plainly discovered to us, that it was a certain Demon who was the Author of all this mischief. He manifesting himself by his Speech, and by unusual Words and Sentences, both in Greek and Latin (though the Patient were altogether ignorant of the Greek Tongue) and by his revealing many of the Secrets of those who stood by, especially of the Physicians, whom also he derided for tormenting the Patient in that manner, with their frustraneous remedies. Here therefore have we an unquestionable Instance, of a Demoniack in these Latter times of ours, and such a one who at first for two Moneths together, had no manner of Madnes or Mania at all upon him, though afterward the Demon possessing his Whole Body, used his tongue and spake therewith. Fernelius concludes his whole Discourse, in this manner, *These things do I produce, to make it manifest,*

fest, that Evil Demons (or Devils) do sometimes enter into the very Bodies of men, afflicting and tormenting them after an unheard of manner; but that at other times, though they do not enter into, and possess their whole body, yet partly by exagitating and disturbing the profitable humours thereof, partly by traducing the noxious into the principal parts, or else by obstructing the Veins and other Passages with them, or disordering the structure of the Members, they cause innumerable Diseases. There are many other Instances of this kind, recorded by Modern Writers unexceptionable, of Persons either wholly *Demoniacal* and Possessed by Evil Demons (this appearing from their discovering Secrets, and speaking Languages, which they had never learnt) or else otherwise so Affected and Infested by them, as to have certain Unusual and Super-Natural Symptoms; which for brevities sake, we shall here omit. However we thought it necessary, thus much to insist upon this Argument of *Demoniacks*, as well for the Vindication of Christianity, as for the Conviction of Atheists; we finding some so staggering in their Religion, that from this one thing alone of *Demoniacks* (they being so strongly possessed, that there neither is, nor ever was any such) they are ready enough to suspect, the whole Gospel or New Testament it self, of *Fabulosity* and *Imposture*.

We come now to the *Second Head* proposed, of *Miracles* and *Effects Supernatural*. That there hath been some thing *Miraculow* or *Above Nature*, sometimes done even among the *Pagans*, (whether by *Good* or *Evil Spirits*;) appears not only from their own *Records*, but also from the *Scripture* it self. And it is well known, that they pretended (besides *Oracles*) to *Miracles* also, even after the times of Christianity; and that not only in *Apollonius Tyanæus*, and *Apuleius*, but also in the Roman Emperours themselves; as *Vespasian* and *Adrian*; but especially in the Temple of *Æsculapius*; thus much appearing from that Greek Table therein hung up at Rome, in which amongst other things this is Recorded, That a blind man being commanded by the Oracle, to kneel before the Altar, and then passing from the Right side thereof, to the Left, to lay five fingers upon the Altar, and afterwards lifting up his hand, to touch his eyes therewith; all this being done accordingly, he recovered his sight, the people all applauding, that great Miracles were done, under the Emperour *Antoninus*, &c. But we have in the *Scripture* an account of *Miracles* both greater in Number, and of a higher Nature; done especially by *Moses*, and our Saviour *Christ* and his *Apostles*.

Wherefore it seems, that there are Two Sorts of *Miracles* or *Effects Supernatural*. First, such as though they could not be done by any Ordinary and Natural Causes here amongst us, and in that respect may be called *Supernatural*, yet might notwithstanding be done, God Permitting only, by the Ordinary and Natural Power of other Invisible Created Spirits, Angels or Demons. As for example, If a Stone or other Heavy body, should first ascend upwards, and then hang in the Air, without any Visible either Mover or Supporter, this would be to us a *Miracle* or *Effect Supernatural*; and yet according to Vulgar Opinion, might this be done, by the Natural Power of
Created

Created Invisible Beings, Angels or Demons; God only permitting, without whose special Providence it is conceived, they cannot, thus intermeddle, with our humane affairs. Again, If a perfectly Illiterate Person, should readily speak *Greek*, or *Latine*, this also would be to us a *Miracle* or *Effect Supernatural*, for so is the Apostles speaking with Tongues accounted; and yet in *Demoniacks*, is this sometimes done, by *Evil Demons*, God only Permitting. Such also amongst the *Pagans*, was that *Miraculum Cois*, (as *Apuleius* calls it) that *Miracle* of the *Whetstone*, done by *Accius Navius*, when at his command, it was divided into Two, with a *Razor*. But Secondly there is another sort of *Miracles*, or *Effects Supernatural*, such as are above the *Power* of all *Second Causes*, or any *Natural Created Being* whatsoever, and so can be attributed to none, but *God Almighty* himself, the *Author of Nature*, who therefore can Controul it at pleasure.

As for that late *Theological Politician*, who writing against *Miracles*, denies as well those of the Former, as of this Latter Kind, contending that a *Miracle* is nothing but a Name, which the Ignorant Vulgar gives, to *Opus Naturæ Insolitum*, any *Unwonted work of Nature*, or to what themselves can assign no Cause off; as also that if there were any such thing done, Contrary to *Nature* or *Above* it, it would rather Weaken than Confirm, Our Belief of the Divine Existence; We find his Discourse every way so Weak, Groundless, and Inconsiderable; that we could not think it here to deserve a Confutation.

But of the Former Sort of those *Miracles*, is that to be understood, *Deuter. the 13.* If there arise among you a Prophet or dreamer of Dreams, and giveth thee a Sign or a Wonder, and the Sign or Wonder come to pass, whereof he spake unto thee saying; Let us go after other Gods; and serve them; thou shalt not hearken to the words of that Prophet or Dreamer of Dreams, for the Lord your God Proveth you, to know whether you love the Lord your God with all your heart, and with all your Soul. For it cannot be Supposed, that God Almighty would himself, purposely Inspire any man to exhort others to Idolatry, and immediately assist such a one, with his own *Supernatural Power*, of doing *Miracles*, in Confirmation of such Doctrine. But the meaning is, that by the suggestion of Evil Spirits, some False Prophets might be raised up, to tempt the Jews to Idolatry; or at least, that by Assistance of them, such *Miracles* might be wrought, in Confirmation thereof, as those sometimes done by the Egyptian Sorcerers or Magicians, God himself not interposing in this case, to hinder them, for this reason, that he might hereby, Prove and Try their Faithfulness towards him. For as much as both by the Pure Light of Nature, and God's Revealed Will, before confirmed by *Miracles*, *Idolatry*, or the Religious Worship of any but God Almighty, had been sufficiently condemned. From whence it is evident, that *Miracles* alone, (at least such *Miracles* as these,) are no sufficient Confirmation of a *True Prophet*, without consideration had of the Doctrine taught by him. For though a man should have done never so many true and real *Miracles*, amongst the Jews, and yet should persuade to Idolatry, he was by them confidently to be condemned to death, for a false Prophet.

Accordingly in the New Testament, do we read, that our Saviour Christ forewarned his Disciples, That *False Prophets and False Christs* should arise, and show great Signs or Wonders, in so much that if it were possible, they should seduce the very Elect. And St. Paul foretelleth, concerning the *Man of Sin*, or *Anti-Christ*, That his coming should be after the working of Satan, with all Power, and Signs, and Wonders (or Miracles) of a Lye. For we conceive that by *τῶν αἰδῶν* in this place, are not properly meant, Feigned and Counterfeit Miracles, that is, meer Cheating and Juggling tricks; but True Wonders and Real Miracles (viz. of the Former Sort mentioned) done for the Confirmation of a Lye, as the Doctrine of this *Man of Sin*, is there afterwards called; For otherwise how could his coming be said to be, According to the Working of Satan, with all Power? In like manner also in St. John's Apocalypse, where the coming of the same *Man of Sin* and the Mystery of Iniquity, is again described, we read Chapter 13. of a Two Horned Beast like a Lamb, That he shall do great wonders and deceive those that dwell on the Earth, by means of those Miracles, which he hath power to do, in the sight of the Beast. And again Chapter 16. Of certain unclean Spirits like Frogs, coming out of the mouth of the Dragon, and of the Beast, and of the False Prophet; which are the Spirits of Devils working Miracles, that go forth to the Kings of the Earth. And Lastly Chapter 19. Of the False Prophet, that wrought Miracles before the Beast. All which seem to be understood, not of Feigned and Counterfeit Miracles only, but of True and Real also, Effected by the Working of Satan, in Confirmation of a Lye, that is, of Idolatry, False Religion and Imposture; God Almighty permitting it, partly in way of Probation or Tryal of the faithfulness of his own servants; and partly in way of Just Judgment and Punishment upon those, who receive not the Love of the Truth, that they might be saved; as the Apostle declareth. Wherefore those Miracles pretended for divers Ages past, to have been done, before the Relicks of Saints, and Images, &c. were they all True, could by no means justify or warrant, that Religious Worship, by many given to them; because True and Real Miracles, done in order to the promoting of Idolatry, are so far from justifying that Idolatry, that they are themselves Condemned by it, to be *τῶν αἰδῶν*, the Miracles of a Lye, done by the Working of Satan.

But as for the Miracles of our Saviour Christ, had they been all of them only of the Former Kind, such as might have been done, God permitting, by the Natural Power of Created Spirits, and their Assistance, yet for as much as he came in the Name of the Lord, teaching neither Idolatry, nor any thing contrary to the clear Light and Law of Nature, therefore ought he by reason of those Miracles, to have been received by the Jews themselves, and owned for a True Prophet, according to the Doctrine of Moses himself. Who both in the 13. and 18. Chapter of Deuter. plainly supposeth, that God would in no other Case, permit any False Prophet, to do Miracles, by the assistance of Evil Spirits, save only in that of Idolatry, and, (which is always understood, of what is plainly Discoverable by the Light of Nature

to be *False*, or *Evil*.) The reason whereof is manifest, because if he should, this would be an *Invincible Temptation*; which it is inconsistent with the *Divine Goodness*, to expose men unto. And our Saviour Christ, was unquestionably, that *One Eximious Prophet*, which God Almighty by *Moses* promised to send unto the Israelites, upon occasion of their own desire made to him at *Horeb*. *Let me not hear again, the voice of the Lord my God, nor let me see this great Fire any more, that I die not.* Whereupon the Lord said, *They have well spoken that which they have spoken, I will raise them up a Prophet from among their Brethren, like unto thee, and put my words in his mouth, and he shall speak unto them all that I shall command him; and whosoever will not hearken to the words, which he shall speak in my name, I will require it of him.* Which is all one as if he should have said; I will no more speak to them with Thunder and Lightning, nor reveal my will with a Terrible Voice out of Flaming Fire, but the next great Manifestation of my self, or further *Revelation of my Will*, shall be, by a Prophet, from amongst their own Brethren, I putting my words into his mouth, and speaking to them by him. Whose words they shall be as much obliged to hearken to, as if I had spoken them (as before) from the top of the Fiery Mount. And that they may have no Colour for their Disbelieving this great Prophet especially, or their disobeying of him, I plainly declare, that whosoever cometh in *my Name*, and does *True and Real Miracles*, shall be acknowledged undoubtedly for a *True Prophet* sent by me, and accordingly Believed and Obeyed; and none rejected under the Notion of *False Prophets*, but only such, as either, do not *Real Miracles*, or else if they do, come in the name of *Other Gods*, or Exhort to *Idolatry*. Nevertheless, our Saviour Christ, wrought other *Miracles* also, of a higher Nature, by the Immediate Power of *God Almighty* himself; as for example, when before himself, he raised *Lazarus*, who had been dead four days, to life; since it cannot be conceived, to be in the Power of *Created Spirits* (whether Bad or Good) when ever they please, to bring back the Souls of men deceased to their Bodies again, or change the *Laws of Nature and Fate*. However it must not be thought, that God will ever set this *Seal* of his to a Lye, or that which is plainly contrary to the *Light and Law of Nature*.

Deut. 18.

The conclusion is, that though all *Miracles* promiscuously, do not immediatly prove the *Existence of a God*, nor Confirm a *Prophet*, or whatsoever *Doctrine*; yet do they all of them evince, that there is a Rank of *Invisible Understanding Beings*, Superiour to men, which the Atheists commonly deny. And we read of some such *Miracles* also, as could not be wrought, but by a Power *Perfectly Super-Natural*, or by *God Almighty* himself. But to deny and disbelieve all *Miracles*, is either to deny all Certainty of *Sense*, which would be indeed to make *Sensation* it self *Miraculous*; or else monstrously and unreasonably to derogate from *Humane Testimonies and History*. The Jews would never have so stiffly and pertinaciously adhered to the Ceremonial Law of *Moses*, had they not all along believed it, to have been unquestionably confirmed by *Miracles*; and that the Gentiles should at first have entertained the Faith of Christ without *Miracles*, would it self have been The *Greatest of Miracles*.

The Last Extraordinary Phenomenon proposed, was that of *Divination, Oracles, Prophecies, or Predictions* of Future Events, otherwise Unforeknowable to men : which either Evince a God, or at least that there are *Understanding Beings Superiour* to men. For if there be *Presention* or *Foreknowledge* of such Future Events, as are to Humane Understanding alone, altogether Unforeknowable, then is it certain, that there is some more *Perfect Understanding*, or *Knowledge*, in the World, than that of men. And thus is that Maxim of the Ancient *Pagan Theists*, in the Genuine and proper sense thereof, unquestionably true, *Si Divinatio est Dii sunt, If there be Divination, or Presention of Future Events, (Undiscoverable by men) then are there Gods* : which in their Language, was no more than to say, *Understanding Beings Superiour* to men.

Wherefore we must here distinguish of *Oracles* and *Predictions*, after the same manner as we did before of *Miracles*, that they may be of Two Kinds. First, such as might proceed, only from the *Natural Presaging Power* of *Created Spirits* Superiour to men, whether called *Angels* or *Demons*. For these being supposed to have not only clearer understandings than men, and a greater insight into Nature, but also by reason of their *Agility* and *Invisibilty*, opportunity of knowing things remotely distant, and of being privy to mens *Secret Machinations* and *Consultations*; it is easily conceivable, that many *Future Events* nigh at hand, which cannot be foreknown by men, may be (probably at least) foreseen by them; and that without any *Miraculous Divine Revelation*, their Causes being already in Being. As men learned in Astronomy, can foretel Eclipses of the Sun and Moon, which to the Vulgar are altogether Unforeknowable. And as Princes or States-men, that are furnished with great Intelligence, Foreign and Domestick, can presage more of War and Peace, either at home or abroad, and of the Events of Kingdoms, than Ignorant Plebeians. And such were those Predictions, which *Democritus*, though otherwise much addicted to *Atheism*, allowed of; *Cicero* Writing thus of him, *Plurimis Locis, gravis auctor Democritus, Praesensionem rerum futurarum comprobat*; *Democritus a grave Writer, doth in many places approve of the Presention of Future Events*. The reason whereof was, because he supposed certain *Understanding Beings* Superiour to men, called by him *Idols*, which having a larger Comprehension of things, and other advantages of Knowledge, could therefore foretel many Future Events that men were ignorant of. And though perhaps it may be thought, that *Democritus* would not have entertained this Opinion, of the *Foreknowledge* of *Humane Events*, had he not asserted the *Necessity* of all humane Actions and Volitions, but held *Liberty of Will*, as *Epicurus* afterwards did; (as if this were Inconsistent with all manner of Presage and Probable or Conjectural Foreknowledge;) yet is it certain, that there is not so much *Contingency* in all Humane Actions, by reason of this *Liberty of Will*, as heretofore was by *Epicurus*, and still is by many supposed; it being plain, that men act according to an *Appearance of Good*, and that in many cases and circumstances, it may be Foreknown, without any

any Divine Revelation, what such or such persons would do. As for example, that a voluptuous Person, having a strong Temptation to satisfy his Sensual Appetite, and that without incurring any inconvenience of shame or punishment, would readily close with the same. Besides which, such *Invisible Spirits*, as *Angels* or *Demons*, may sometimes Predict also, what themselves Cause and Effect.

Secondly, there is another Sort of Predictions of Future Events, which cannot be imputed to the Natural Presaging Faculty of any such Created Spirits, but only to the Supernatural Prescience of God Almighty, or a Being Infinitely Perfect. As when Events remotely distant in time, and of which there are yet no immediate Causes actually in Being; which also depend upon many circumstances and a long Series of things, any one of which being otherwise, would alter the case; as likewise upon much Uncertainty of Humane Volitions, which are not always necessarily linked and concatenated with what goes before, but often loose and free; and upon that Contingency, that arises from the Indifferency or Equality of Eligibility in Objects; Lastly, such things as do not at all depend upon External Circumstances neither, nor are caused by things Natural Antecedent, but by some Supernatural Power; I say, when such Future Events as these, are foretold, and accordingly come to pass, this can be ascribed to no other but such a Being, as Comprehends, Sways, and Governs all; and is by a peculiar Privilege or Prerogative of its own Nature, Omniscient. Epicurus, though really, he therefore rejected Divination, and Prediction of Future Events, because he denied Providence; yet did he pretend this further reason also against it, because it was a thing Absolutely Inconsistent with Liberty of Will, and Destructive of the same; ἡ μαντικὴ ἀνύπαρκτος· εἰ γὰρ ὑπαρχούσα, ἔδειν παρὰ ἡμᾶς ἵδμεν τὰ γινόμενα. Divination is a thing which hath no Existence, nor possibility in nature: and if there were such a thing, it would take away all Liberty of Will, and leave nothing in mens own Power. Thus also Carneades in Cicero maintained, Ne Apollinem quidem futura posse dicere, nisi ea quorum Causas Natura ita contineret, ut ea fieri necesse esset. That Apollo himself, was not able to foretel, any future Events, other than such as had Necessary Causes in Nature antecedent. And some Christian Theists of latter times, have in like manner, denied to God Almighty, all Foreknowledge of Humane Actions, upon the same pretence, as being both Inconsistent with mens Liberty of Will, and Destructive thereof. For say they, If mens Actions be Free then are they Unforeknowable, they having no Necessary Causes; and again, if there be any Foreknowledge of them, then can they not be Free, they being ipso facto Necessitated thereby. But as it is certain, that Prescience does not destroy the Liberty of mans Will, or impose any Necessity upon it; mens Actions being not therefore Future, because they are Foreknown; but therefore Foreknown because Future: and were a thing never so Contingent, yet upon supposition that it will be Done, it must needs have been Future from all Eternity: So is it extreme Arrogance for men, because themselves can Natrally Foreknow nothing, but by some Causes Antecedent, as an Eclipse of the Sun or Moon; therefore to presume to measure the knowledge of God Almighty, according to the

Diog. Laert. iii
V. Epic.

the same Scantling, and to deny him the *Prescience* of Humane Actions; not considering that as his Nature is Incomprehensible, so his Knowledge may well be looked upon, by us, as such too; that which is *Past our finding out, and Too Wonderful for us*. However it must be acknowledged for an Undoubted Truth, that no Created Being, can Naturally and Of it self, Foreknow any *Future Events*, otherwise, than in and by their Causes Antecedent. If therefore we shall find, that there have been *Predictions* of such Future Events, as had no *Necessary Antecedent Causes*; as we cannot but grant, such Things therefore to be *Foreknowable*; So must we needs from thence infer, the *Existence of a God*, that is, a Being *Supernatural, Infinitely Perfect, and Omniscient*; since such Predictions as these could have proceeded from no other Cause.

That there is *Foreknowledge of Future Events*, to men Naturally Unforeknowable, hath been all along the Perswasion of the Generality of Mankind. Thus Cicero, *Vetus opinio est, jam usque ab Heroicis ducta temporibus, eaque & Populi Romani, & omnium Gentium firmata consensu, Versari quendam inter homines Divinationem, quam Græci μαντινὴν appellant, id est Præsentionem & Scientiam rerum Futurarum.* This is an Old opinion derived down all along from the Heroick times (or the Mythical Age) and not only entertained amongst the Romans, but also confirmed by the consent of all Nations, that there is such a thing as *Divination*, and *Presention* or *Foreknowledge of Future Events*. And the same Writer elsewhere in the Person of Balbus; *Quamvis nihil tam irridet Epicurus, quàm Prædictionem rerum Futurarum, mihi videtur tamen vel maxime confirmare, Deorum Providentia consuli rebus humanis. Est enim profecto Divinatio: quæ multis locis, rebus, temporibus apparet, cum in privatis tum maxime in publicis. Multa cernunt Aruspices, multa Augures provident, multa Oraculis providentur, multa Vaticinationibus, multa Somniis, multa portentis.* Although Epicurus deride nothing more, then the Prediction of Future things; yet does this seem to me to be a great confirmation of the Providence of the Gods over humane affairs. Because there is certainly *Divination*, it appearing in many Places, Things, and Times; and that not only Private but especially Publick. Soothsayers foresee many things, the Augurs many: many things are declared by Oracles, many by Prophecies, many by Dreams, and many by Portents. And indeed that there were even amongst the Pagans, *Predictions of Future Events*, not discoverable by any Humane Sagacity, which accordingly came to pass, and therefore argue a Knowledge superiour to that of men, or that there are certain *Invisible understanding Beings or Spirits*; seems to be undeniable from History. And that the Augurs themselves were sometimes not Unassisted by these *Officious Genii*, is plain from that of *Attius Navius* before mentioned, as the circumstances thereof are related by Historians; that *Tarquinius Priscus* having a mind to try what there was in this skill of Augury, *Dixit ei se cogitare quiddam: id posséne fieri consuluit. Ille augurio actó, posse respondet. Tarquinius autem dixit se cogitasse cotem novaculâ posse præcidi; tum Attium jussisse experiri: ita Cotem in Comitium illatam, inspectante & Rege & Populo, novaculâ esse discissam*; Told Navius, that he Thought of something, and he would know

would know of him, Whether it could be done or no. Navius having performed his Augurating Ceremonies, replied, that the thing might be done. Whereupon Priscus declared, what his Thought was, namely, that a Whetstone might be cut in two with a Razor. Navius willed them to make trial: wherefore a Whetstone being brought immediatly into the Court; it was in the sight of the King and all the People, divided with a Razor. But the Predictions amongst those Pagans, were for the most part only of the Former Kind, such as proceeded meerly from the Natural Presaging Faculty of these Demons; this appearing from hence, because their Oracles were often expressed *Ambiguously*, so as that they might be taken either way; those Demons themselves, it seems, being then not confident of the Event: as also because they were sometimes plainly mistaken in the Events. And from hence it was, that they seldom Ventured to foretel, any Events remotely distant, but only what were nigh at hand, and shortly to come to pass; and therefore might be Probably Conjectured of, from things then in being. Notwithstanding which, we acknowledge, that there are some Few Instances of Predictions amongst the Pagans, of the other Kind. Such as that intimated by Cicero in his Book of Divination, where he declareth the Doctrine of Diodorus concerning Necessity and Contingency; *non necesse fuisse Cypselum regnare Corinthi, quanquam id Millesimo ante anno, Apollinis Oraculo editum esset, that it was not Necessary, Cypselus the Tyrant, should reign at Corinth, though that were a thing Predicted by Apollo's Oracle, a thousand years before.* As also this recorded by Varro, of Vettius Valens, an Augur in the Time of Romulus, who when Rome was a building, from the flying of Twelve Vultures, presaged that the continuance of that City would be for Twelve Hundred years: which seems to have been accordingly fulfilled, in the year of our Lord Four hundred fifty and five, immediatly after the death of the Third Valentinian (whom some make to be the last Real Emperour of the West or Rome) when Gensericus the Vandal, took the City the second time, and fired it. But above all, that of the Sibyls; of whose Prophecies such things are recorded by Pagan Writers, as makes it very suspicious, that they did foretel the coming of our Saviour Christ, and the times of Christianity; but were these and the like Pagan Prophecies, Real, then must they needs have had some higher Original, than the Natural Presaging Faculty of their Demons, especially those of the Sibyls; who for ought we know, might be as well assisted Super-Naturally, to predict our Saviour Christ, amongst the Pagans in the West; as Balaam was in the East.

But here the Scripture triumpheth over Paganism, and all its Oracles and Divinations; there being contained in it so many unquestionable Predictions of Events to follow a long time after, and such as can be imputed to nothing but the Supernatural Foreknowledge and Omniscience of God Almighty. As for example, those concerning the Messiah, or our Saviour Christ, delivered by Jacob, Moses, David, Isaias, Jeremy, Daniel, and most of the Prophets; foretelling sundry particular circumstances of his coming, and that grand Event which followed after; of the Gentiles or Pagans so general Reception and
Entertainment

Entertainment of Christianity; that is, the *Belief of the Messiah*, promised to the Jews; together with the shaking off of their *Gods and Idols*. Amongst which Scripture Prophecies, concerning our Saviour Christ, we must needs reckon for one, and none of the least considerable neither, that of *Daniel's Weeks*, or of Four hundred and ninety years, to commence from the *Going forth of the Word*, or the Decree made by *Artaxerxes* the Son of *Xerxes*, in the seventh year of his Reign, for the return of the People of Israel, Priests and Levites to Jerusalem; and to terminate in the Death of the *Messiah*, and the Preaching of the Gospel to the Jews only: though we are not ignorant, how some learned men, both of former and latter times, have stretched their wits, they sometimes using no small violence, to divert this Prophecy another way. For that these *Prophecies* concerning our Saviour Christ, could have no other Original, than the immediate *Supernatural Revelation* of God Almighty, is Evident from the thing it self; it being such as depended on no Natural Causes, much less upon those *Constellations*, of the *Astrological Atheists*, but only upon his own Secret Will, and Counsel.

But besides these Prophecies concerning our Saviour Christ, there are others contained in the Scripture, concerning the *Fates and Successions* of the chief Kingdoms, Empires, and Politics of the World; as of the Rise of the *Persian Monarchy*; of its *Fall and Conquest* by the *Macedonean Alexander*; of the *Quadripartite Division* of this Greekish Empire after *Alexander's* death; of the *Succession* of the *Seleucide* and *Lagide*, a Prophetick History, so agreeable with the Events, that it was by *Porphyrus* pretended to have been written after them; and lastly of the Rise and Continuance of the *Roman Empire*. For notwithstanding the endeavours of some, to pervert all those Scripture Prophecies, that extend to the present times, it is clearly demonstrable, that this was *Daniel's Fourth*, Ten horned Beast; or the Legs and Toes of *Nebuchadnezar's* Statue, that *Fourth Empire strong as Iron*, which came at length to be broken or divided, into Ten or many Principalities, called in the Prophetick Language and according to the *Eichon*, *Hornes*; amongst whom was to start up, another *Horn with Eyes*, speaking great words against the most High, and making War with the Saints and prevailing against them, for a Time, Times, and Half a Time. Which Prophecy of *Daniels*, is the Ground-work of *St. John's Apocalypse*, it being there further insisted upon, filled up, and enlarged, with the addition of several particulars; so that both *Daniel* and *John*, have each of them from their respective ages, set down a *Prophetick Calendar* of Times, in a continued Series, (the former more *Compendiously* and *Generally*, the latter more *Copiously* and *Particularly*) to the very end of the World.

And thus do we see plainly, that the *Scripture-Prophecies* Evince a Deity; neither can these possibly be imputed by Atheists, as other things, to mens *Fear and Fancy*, nor yet to the *Fiction of Politicians*. Nor do they only Evince a Deity, but confirm Christianity also; partly as predicted by them in its several circumstances, a grand one whereof was the *Gentiles Reception* of it; and partly as it self predicting

dicting Future Events, this *Spirit of Prophecy* being the *Testimony of Jesus*. Both which Scripture-Prophecies, of Christ in the Old Testament; and From him in the New, are of equal, if not greater force to us in this present Age, for the Confirmation of our Faith, than the *Miracles* themselves recorded in the Scripture, we having now certain knowledge our selves, of many of those Events; and being no way able to suspect, but that the *Prophecies* were written long before.

To conclude, all these *Extraordinary Phenomena*, of *Apparitions*, *Witchcraft*, *Possessions*, *Miracles*, and *Prophecies*, do Evince that *Spirits*, *Angels* or *Demons*, though *Invisible* to us, are no *Phancies*, but *Real and Substantial* Inhabitants of the World; which favours not the *Atheistick Hypothesis*; but some of them, as the Higher kind of *Miracles*, and *Predictions*, do also immediatly enforce the acknowledgment of a *Deity*: a Being superiour to *Nature*, which therefore can check and controul it; and which comprehending the whole, fore-knows the most *Remotely distant*, and *Contingent Events*.

And now have we not only fully Answered and Confuted, all the *Atheistick Pretences* against the *Idea of God*, tending to disprove his *Existence*; but also occasionally proposed, several *Solid and Substantial* Arguments for a *Deity*: as, That all *Successive things*, the *World*, *Motion*, and *Time*, are in their own Nature absolutely incapable of an *Ante-Eternity*, and therefore there must of necessity, be something else of a *Permanent Duration*, that was *Eternal* without *Beginning*; That no *Atheist* according to his Principles, can possibly give any account of the *Original* of his own *Soul* or *Mind*; That the *Phenomenon* of *Motion* cannot be *Salved* without an *Incorporeal Principle*, presiding over the whole; That the τὸ εὖ καλῶς, *The Artificial, Regular, and Orderly Frame of things*, together with the *Harmony* of the whole, *Demonstrate an Understanding and Intending Cause* of the World, that *Ordered things* for *Ends* and *Good*. Besides, that there are several other *Phenomena*, both *Ordinary* and *Extraordinary*, which *Atheists* being no way able to *Salve*, are forced to deny.

True indeed, some of the ancient Theists, have themselves affirmed, that there could be no *Demonstration of a God*, which Assertion of theirs, hath been by others misunderstood into this sense, as if there were therefore no *Certainty* at all to be had of *God's Existence*, but only a *Conjectural Probability*; no *Knowledge* or *Science*, but only *Faith* and *Opinion*. Whereas the true meaning of those ancient Theists, who denied that there could be any *Demonstration of a God*, was only this, that the *Existence of a God* could not be *Demonstrated A Priori*, himself being the *First Cause* of all things. Thus doth *Alexander Aphrodisius*, in his *Physical Doubts and Solutions*, after he had propounded an Argument for a God, according to *Aristotelick Principles*, from *Motion*, declare himself; ἡ δὲ εἰς καὶ ἀνάλυσις, ἡ γὰρ διόντι τὴν πρώτης ἀρχῆς ἀπὸ-
 δέξιν εἶναι, ἀλλὰ δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς ὑστερώς τε καὶ φανερώς ἀρχαίης, καὶ τὴν περὶ
 πάντων συμφωνίαν ἀναλύσθαι χωρὶς συζῆσαι τὴν ἐκείνης φύσιν. That this
 Argument or Proof of his was in way of *Analysis* only: it being not Pos-

Strum. L. 5.
p. 388.

sible that there should be a Demonstration of the First Principle of all. Wherefore (saith he) we must here fetch our Beginning from things that are After it, and manifest; and thence by way of Analysis, Ascend to the Proof of that First Nature which was Before them. And to the same purpose Clemens Alexandrinus, having first affirmed, ὡς δὲ μεταχειρίσεται ὁ Θεὸς τοὺς λόγους· ἐπεὶ γὰρ ἀρχὴ παντὸς περὶ γινώσκοντος δὲ Θεοῦ, πάντας πρὶν ἢ πρῶτον καὶ προσεχόντων ἀρχὴν δὲ Θεοῦ, ὥς καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀπασι αἰτία τῷ γενέσθαι, καὶ γινώσκοντος ἑαυτοῦ. That God is the most difficult thing of all to be discoursed of. Because since the Principle of every thing is hard to find out, the First and most antient Principle of all, which was the Cause to all other things, of their being made, must needs be the hardest of all to be declared or manifested; he afterwards subjoyns, ἀλλὰ οὐδὲ ὁπσιμὴ λαμβάνεται τῇ ἀποφύτικῃ· αὐτὴ γὰρ οὐκ ἐκ προτέρων καὶ γνωσιματέρων συνίσταται· τῷ δὲ ἀγνώστῳ οὐδὲν προὔπεται. But neither can God be apprehended by any Demonstrative Science. For such Science is from things Before in order of Nature, and More Knowable; whereas nothing can exist Before that which is altogether Unmade. And certain it is, that it implies a Contradiction, that God or a Perfect Being should be thus Demonstrated, by any thing before him as his Cause. Nevertheless it doth not therefore follow, that there can be no Certainty at all had of the Existence of a God, but only a Conjectural Probability; no Knowledge, but Faith and Opinion only. For we may have a Certain Knowledge of things, the δότι whereof cannot be Demonstrated A Priori, or from Antecedent Necessary Causes; As for example, That there was something Eternal of it Self, without Beginning; is not at all Demonstrable by any Antecedent Cause, it being Contradictory to such a thing to have a Cause. Nevertheless upon supposition only, that something doth Exist, which no man can possibly make anydoubt of, we may not only have an Opinion, but also certain Knowledge, from the Necessity of Irrefragable Reason, That there was never Nothing, but something or other did Always Exist from Eternity, and without Beginning. In like manner, though the Existence of a God or Perfect Being, cannot be Demonstrated A Priori, yet may we notwithstanding, from Our very Selves (whose Existence we cannot doubt of) and from what is contained in our own Minds, or otherwise consequent from him; by undeniable Principles of Reason, Necessarily infer His Existence. And whensoever any thing is thus necessarily inferred, from what is undeniable and indubitable, this is a Demonstration, though not of the δότι, yet of the ὅτι of it; That the thing is, though not Why it is. And many of the Geometrical Demonstrations are no other.

It hath been asserted by a late Eminent Philosopher, that there is no possible Certainty to be had of any thing, before we be Certain of the Existence of a God Essentially Good: because we can never otherwise free our minds from the Importunity of that Suspicion, which with irresistable force may assault them; That our selves might possibly be so made, either by Chance, or Fate, or by the pleasure of some Evil Demon, or at least of an Arbitrary Omnipotent Deity, as that we should be Deceived in all our most Clear and Evident Perceptions; and therefore in Geometrical Theorems themselves, and even in our
Common

Common Notions. But when we are once assured of the Existence of such a God as is *Essentially Good*, who therefore neither will nor can Deceive; then and not before, will this *Suspicion* utterly vanish, and Our selves become *Certain*, that our *Faculties* of *Reason* and *Understanding* are not *False* and *Imposturows*, but *Rightly Made*. From which Hypothesis it plainly follows, that all those Theists who suppose, God to be a meer Arbitrary Being, whose Will is not determined by any *Nature of Goodness* or *Rule of Justice*, but it self is the first *Rule* of both, (they thinking this to be the Highest *Perfection*, *Liberty*, and *Power*) can never be reasonably *Certain*, of the Truth of any thing, not so much as that Two and Two are Four; because so long as they adhere to that persuasion; they can never be assured, but that such an *Arbitrary Omnipotent Deity*, might designedly make them such, as should be deceived in all their *Clearest Perceptions*.

Now though there be a *Plausibility* of *Piety*, in this Doctrine, as making the knowledge of a *God Essentially Good*, so necessary a *Præcognitum* to all other Science, that there can be no *Certainty* of Truth at all without it, yet does that very *Supposition*, that our *Understanding Faculties* might possibly be so made, as to deceive us in all our *Clearest Perceptions*, (where soever it is admitted) render it utterly impossible, ever to arrive to any *Certainty* concerning the *Existence* of a *God Essentially Good*; for as much as this cannot be any otherwise proved, then by the use of our *Faculties* of *Understanding*, *Reason*, and *Discourse*. For to say, that the *Truth* of our *Understanding Faculties*, is put out of all Doubt and Question, as soon as ever we are assured of the *Existence* of a *God Essentially Good*, who therefore cannot deceive; whilst this Existence of a God, is in the mean time it self no otherwise proved, than by by our *Understanding Faculties*; that is, at once to prove the *Truth* of God's *Existence* from our *Faculties* of *Reason* and *Understanding*, and again to prove the *Truth* of those *Faculties*, from the *Existence* of a *God Essentially Good*; this I say is plainly to move round in a *Circle*; and to prove nothing at all: a gross oversight, which the forementioned Philosopher seems plainly guilty of.

Wherefore according to this Hypothesis, we are of necessity condemned, to *Eternal Scepticism*, both concerning the *Existence* of a *God*, when after all our *Arguments* and *Demonstrations* for the same, we must at length gratifie the Atheists with this *Confession*, in the Conclusion, That it is *Possible* notwithstanding, there may be None; but also concerning all other things, the *Certainty* whereof is supposed to depend, upon the *Certainty* of the *Existence* of such a God as cannot Deceive.

So that if we will pretend to any *Certainty* at all, concerning the *Existence* of a *God*, we must of necessity explode this *New Sceptical Hypothesis*, of the *Possibility* of our *Understandings* being so made, as to Deceive us in all our *Clearest Perceptions*, by means whereof, we can be *Certain* of the *Truth* of nothing, and to use our utmost endeavour to remove the same. In the First place therefore we affirm, That no *Power* how great soever, and therefore not *Omnipotence* it self,

self, can make any thing to be indifferently either *True* or *False*, this being plainly to take away the *Nature* both of *Truth* and *Falshood*, or to make them nothing but *Words* without any Signification. *Truth* is not *Faſtious*; it is a thing which cannot be Arbitrarily *Made*, but *Is*. The *Divine Will* and *Omnipotence* it ſelf (now ſuppoſed by us) hath no *Imperium* upon the *Divine Underſtanding*, for if *God* underſtood only by *Will*, he would not underſtand at all. In the next place we add, that though the *Truth* of *Singular Contingent Propoſitions*, depends upon the *Things* themſelves Exiſting without, as the *Measure* and *Archetype* thereof; yet as to the *Universal* and *Abſtraſt Theorems* of *Science*, the *Terms* whereof are thoſe *Reasons* of *Things*, which Exiſt no where but only in the *Mind* it ſelf (whoſe *Noemata* and *Ideas* they are) the *Measure* and *Rule* of *Truth* concerning them, can be no *Foreign* or *Extraneous* thing, Without the mind, but muſt be *Native* and *Domieſtick* to it, or contained Within the mind it ſelf; and therefore can be nothing but its *Clear and Diſtinſt Perception*. In theſe *Intelligible Ideas* of the *Mind*, whatſoever is *Clearly Perceived* to *Be*, *Is*; or which is all one, is *True*. Every *Clear and Diſtinſt Perception* is an *Entity*, or *Truth*; as that which is *Repugnant* to *Conception* is a *Non-Entity* or *Falshood*. Nay, The very *Effence* of *Truth* here, is this *Clear Perceptibility* or *Intelligibility*; and therefore can there not be any *Clear or Diſtinſt Perception* of *Falshood*. Which muſt be acknowledged by all thoſe who though granting *False Opinions*, yet agree in this, that there can be no *False Knowledge*. For the *Knowledge* of theſe *Universal Abſtraſt Truths*, is nothing but the *Clear and Diſtinſt Perception* of the ſeveral *Ideas* of the mind, and their *Necceſſary Relations* to one another; Wherefore to ſay that there can be no *False Knowledge*, is all one as to ſay that there can be no *Clear and Diſtinſt Perceptions* of the *Ideas* of the mind, *False*. In *False Opinions*, the *Perception* of the *Underſtanding Power* it ſelf, is not *False*, but only *Obscure*. It is not the *Underſtanding Power* or *Nature* in us that Erreth, but it is *We Our Selves* who Err, when we raſhly and unwarily aſſent to things, not *Clearly Perceived* by it. The upſhot of all is this, that ſince no *Power* how great ſoever, can make any thing indifferently to be *True*; and ſince the *Effence* of *Truth* in *Universal Abſtraſt things*, is nothing but *Clear Perceptibility*; it follows, that *Omnipotence* cannot make any thing that is *False* to be *clearly Perceived* to *Be*; or Create ſuch *Minds* and *Underſtanding Faculties*, as ſhall have as *Clear Conceptions* of *Falshoods*, that is, of *Non-Entities*, as they have of *Truths* or *Entities*. For example, no *Rational Underſtanding Being* that knows what a *Part* is, and what a *Whole*, What a *Cauſe* and what an *Effect*, could poſſibly be ſo made, as *clearly* to *Conceive* the *Part* to be greater than the *Whole*, or the *Effect* to be before the *Cauſe*, or the like. Wherefore we may preſume with Reverence to Say, that there could not poſſibly be a world of *Rational Creatures* made by *God*, either in the *Moon*, or in ſome other *Planet*, or elſe where, that ſhould *Clearly and Diſtinſtly Conceive*, all things contrary to what are *clearly Perceived* by us; nor could our *Humane Faculties* have been ſo made, as that we ſhould have as *clear Conceptions* of *Falshoods* as of *Truths*. *Mind* or *Underſtanding Faculties*, in *Creatures* may be made more or leſs,

Phantastical and Relative only; the Former reacheth beyond *Phancy and Appearance* to the *Absoluteness of Truth*. For as it hath been already declared, whatsoever is clearly and distinctly Perceived in things *Abstract* and *Universal*, by any one *Rational Being* in the whole world, is not a *Private* thing, and *True* to Himself only that perceived it, but it is, as some *Stoicks* have called it, ἀληθὴς καθολικόν, a *Publick, Catholick, and Universal Truth*: it obtains every where, and as *Empedocles* sang of *Natural Justice*;

Διὰ τ' ἀεὶ μένει
ἀλγεῖς ἡμετέρως τεταῖαι, διὰ τ' ἀπλέτῃ ἀνὰ ἡμῶν.

It is extended throughout the *Vast Æther*, and through *Infinite Light or Space*; and were there indeed *Infinite Worlds*, all thickly peopled with *Rational Animals*; it would be alike *True*, to every one of them. Nor is it *Conceivable*, that *Omnipotence* it self, could create any such *Understanding Beings*, as could have *Clear and Distinct Perceptions* of the contrary, to all that is Perceived by us, no more than it could *Do things Contradictions*. But in all *Probability*, because *Sense* is indeed, but *Seeming, Phantastical, and Relative*, this is the Reason that some have been so prone and inclinable, to suspect the like, of *Understanding*, and all *Mental Perception*, too, that this also is but *Seeming and Relative*; and that therefore mens *Minds or Understandings* might have been so made, by an *Arbitrary Omnipotent Deity*, as clearly and distinctly to Perceive, every thing that is *False*. But if notwithstanding all that hath been said, any will still sing over, the *Old Song* again; That all this, which hath been hitherto declared by us, is indeed *True*, If our *Humane Faculties* be *True*, or *Rightly Made*; but we can go no further than our *Faculties*; and whether these be *True* or no no man can ever be certain; We have no other Reply to make, but that this is an over *Stiff and Heavy Adherence* to a *Prejudice* of their own *Minds*; that not only *Sense*, but also *Reason and Understanding*, and all *Humane Perception*, is merely *Seeming, or Phantastical, and Relative to Faculties* only, but not reaching to the *Absoluteness* of any *Truth*; and that the *Humane Mind*, hath no *Criterion of Truth* at all within it self.

Nevertheless it will probably be here further Objected; That this is too great an *Arrogance*, for *Created Beings*, to pretend to an *Absolute-Certainty* of any thing, it being the *Sole Priviledge and Prerogative of God Almighty*, to be *Infallible*, who is therefore Styled in Scripture, ὁ μόνος σοφός, *The Only Wise*; To which we briefly answer; that the *Deity* is the first *Original Fountain*, of *Truth and Wisdom*, which is said to be, *The Brightness of the Everlasting Light*, the *Unspotted Mirrour of the Power of God*, and the *Image of his Goodness*. The *Divine Word*, is the *Archetypal Pattern* of all *Truth*; it is *Ignorant of Nothing*, and knoweth all things *Infallibly*. But *Created Beings*, have but a *Derivative Participation* hereof, their *Understandings* being *Obscure*, and they *Erring* in many things, and being *Ignorant of more*. And it seems to be no *Derogation* from *Almighty God* to suppose, that *Created Minds* by a *Participation of the Divine Mind*,

Mind, should be able to know Certainly; that Two and Two make Four; that Equals added to Equals will make Equals; that a Whole is greater than the Part; and the Cause before the Effect; and that nothing can be Made without a Cause; and such like other *Common Notions*, which are the *Principles* from whence all their knowledge is derived. And indeed were Rational Creatures, never able to be *Certain* of any such thing as this at all; what would their Life be but a meer *Dream* or *Shadow*? and themselves but a *Ridiculous* and *Pompous Piece* of Phantastick *Vanity*? Besides it is no way Congruous to think, that God Almighty should make *Rational Creatures* so as to be in an utter *Impossibility*, of ever attaining to any *Certainty* of his *own Existence*; or of having more than an *Hypothetical Assurance* thereof. If our *Faculties* be *True* (which possibly may be otherwise,) then is there a God. We shall conclude this Discourse against the *Cartesian Scepticism*, with that of *Origen*s, ΜΟΝΟΝ ΤΟ ΕΥΤΕΡΟΝ ΠΕΡΙΟΧΟΝ *Brishan*, Knowledge is the only thing in the World, which Creatures have, that is in its own Nature firm; they having here something of *Certainty*, but no where else.

Wherefore we having now, that which *Archimedes* required, Some Firm Ground and Footing to stand upon, such a *Certainty of Truth* in our *Common Notions*, as that they cannot *Possibly* be False; without which nothing at all could be proved by *Reason*; we shall in the next place endeavour, not to shake or disettle any thing thereby; (which was the Undertaking of that *Geometrician*) but to Confirm and Establish the *Truth* of God's *Existence*, and that from the very *Idea* of him; hitherto made good and defended, against all the Assaults of *Atheists*.

It is well known, that *Cartesius* hath lately made a Pretence to do this, with *Mathematical Evidence* and *Certainty*, and he dispatches the business briefly after this manner; God or a *Perfect Being*, includeth *Necessary Existence* in his very *Idea*; and therefore he is. But though the *Inventor* of this Argument, or rather the *Reviver* of that which had been before used by some *Scholasticks*, affirmeth it to be as Good a *Demonstration*, for the *Existence* of a God, from His *Idea*, as that in *Geometry*, for a *Triangles* having Three Angles equal to Two right, is from the *Idea* of a *Triangle*; yet nevertheless it is certain, that by one means or other, this Argument hath not hitherto proved so Fortunate and Successful, there being many who cannot be made sensible of any Efficacy therein, and not a few who Condemn it for a meer *Sophism*. As for our selves, we neither have any mind, to quarrel with other mens Arguments *Pro Deo*, nor yet would we be thought, to lay stress in this Cause, upon any thing which is not every way Solid and Substantial. Wherefore we shall here endeavour, to set down the Utmost that Possibly we can, both *Against* this Argument, and *For it*, Impartially and Candidly; and then when we have done, leave the Intelligent Readers, to make their own Judgement concerning the Same.

Against it in this manner; First: Because we can Frame an *Idea* in

in our own minds, of an *Absolutely Perfect Being*, including Necessary Existence in it, it will not at all follow from thence, that therefore there is such a *Perfect Being* Really Existing without our minds; we being able to frame in our minds the *Ideas* of many other things, that never were, nor will be. All that can be certainly inferred from the *Idea* of a *Perfect Being* seems to be this, that if it contain nothing which is *Contradictory* to it, then it is *Not Impossible* but that there might be such a Being actually Existing. But the strength of this Argument, not lying merely in this, that because we have an *Idea* of a *Perfect Being*, therefore it is; but because we have such an *Idea* of it, as includeth *Necessary Existence* in it, which the *Idea* of Nothing else besides doth; therefore may it be here further Objected in this manner. That though it be very true, that a *Perfect Being* doth include *Necessary Existence* in it, because that cannot be every way *Perfect*, whose *Existence* is not *Necessary* but *Contingent*; yet will it not follow from hence, that therefore there is such a *Perfect Being* Actually Existing; but all that can be deduced from it, will be no more than this, That whatsoever hath no *Necessary* and *Eternal Existence*, is no *Absolutely Perfect Being*; and again, That If there be any *Absolutely Perfect Being*, then was its *Existence* always *Necessary* and will be always such; that is, it did both Exist Of *it self*, from all Eternity without Beginning, and must needs Exist to Eternity *Incorruptibly*; it being never able to cease to be. It seems indeed no more to follow, That because a *Perfect Being* includes necessary Existence in its *Idea*, therefore there is such a *Perfect Being* Actually Existing; than because a *Perfect Being* includes *Necessary Omniscience* and *Omnipotence* in it, that therefore there is such a *Perfect Omniscient* and *Omnipotent Being*: all that follows in both cases, being only this; that If there be any Being *Absolutely Perfect*, then it is both Omniscient and Omipotent, and it did Exist of *It self* necessarily, and can never Cease to be. Wherefore here lies a Fallacy in this *Argumentation*, when from the *Necessity* of *Existence* affirmed only *Hypothetically* or upon a *Supposition* of a *Perfect Being*, the Conclusion is made concerning it *Absolutely*. As some would prove the *Necessity* of all humane Events, as for example of *Adam's Sinning*, in this manner, that it always was True before, that either *Adam* would eat the forbidden fruit, or not eat it, and If he would eat it, he would Certainly eat it, and not Contingently; and again, If he would not eat it, then would he Certainly and Necessarily not Eat it; wherefore whether he will eat it or not eat it, he will do either, Necessarily and not Contingently. Where it is plain, that an *Absolute Necessity*, is wrongly inferred in the *Conclusion*, from an *Hypothetical* one in the *Premises*. In like manner, when upon supposition of an *Absolutely Perfect Being*, it is affirmed of it, that its *Existence* must not be *Contingent* but *Necessary*, and from thence the Conclusion is made *Absolutely*, that there Is such a *Perfect Being*, this seems to be the very same Fallacy. From the *Idea* of a *Perfect Being*, including *Necessary Existence* in it, it follows undeniably, that If there be any Thing *Absolutely Perfect*, it *Must Exist* Necessarily, and not Contingently, but it doth not follow, that there *Must of Necessity Be* such a *Perfect Being* Existing; these two Propositions carrying a very different sense from one

one another. And the Latter of them, that there must of Necessity be a *God, or Perfect Being Existing* seems to be a thing altogether *Indemonstrable*, it implying that the *Existence of God or a Perfect Being* may be proved *A Priori*, or from some *Antecedent Necessary Cause*; which was before declared to be a thing *Contradictory and Impossible*.

And now in *Justice* are we *obliged*, to plead the best we can also on the *Defensive* side. Thus therefore; the *Idea of God or an Absolutely Perfect Being* including in it, not an *Impossible*, nor a *Contingent*, but a *Necessary Schesis or Relation to Existence*, it follows from thence, *Absolutely* and without any *Is* and *And*s, that he doth *Exist*. For as of things *Contradictory*, having therefore in the *Idea of them*, an *Impossible Schesis* to *Existence*, we can confidently conclude that they never were nor will be; And as of other things *not Contradictory or Impossible*, but *Imperfect* only, which therefore have a *Contingent Schesis* to *Existence*, we can Pronounce also that *Possibly* they *Might Be* or *might not be*: in like manner, a *Perfect Being* including in the *Idea of it* a *Necessary Schesis* to *Existence* or an *Impossible* one to *Non-Existence*, or containing *Existence* in its very *Essence*; we may by *Parity of reason* conclude concerning it, that it is neither *Impossible to Be*; nor yet *Contingent to Be or not to Be*; but that it *Certainly Is*, and *Cannot but Be*; or that it is *Impossible* it should *Not Be*. And indeed when we say of *Imperfect Beings*, *Implying no Contradiction* in them, that they may *Possibly* either *Be* or *not Be*, we herein tacitly suppose the *Existence of a Perfect Being*, because nothing which is *Not*, could be *Possible to be*, were there not something actually in *Being*, that hath sufficient *Power to Cause or Produce* it. True indeed, we have the *Ideas* of many things in our minds, that never were, nor will be; but these are only such as include no *Necessary* but *Contingent Existence* in their *Nature*; and it does not therefore follow, that a *Perfect Being* which includes *Necessity of Existence* in its *Idea*, may notwithstanding *Not Be*. Wherefore this *Necessity of Existence* or *Impossibility of Non-Existence* contained in the *Idea of a Perfect Being*, must not be taken *Hypothetically* only or *Consequentially*, after this manner, that *If there be any Thing Absolutely Perfect*, then its *Existence* both was and will be *Necessary*; but *Absolutely*; that though *Contradictory things* cannot *Possibly Be*, and things *Imperfect* may *Possibly* either *Be* or *Not Be*, yet a *Perfect Being* cannot *But Be*; or it is *Impossible* that it should *Not Be*. For otherwise were the force of the *Argumentation* merely *Hypothetical*, in this manner, *If there be a Perfect Being*, then its *Existence* both was and will be *Necessary*; this would plainly imply that a *Perfect Being*, notwithstanding that *Necessity of Existence* included in its *Nature*, might either *Be* or *Not Be*; or were *Contingent to Existence*, which is a manifest *Contradiction*, that the same thing should *Exist* both *Contingently* and *Necessarily*. And this *Hypothetical Absurdity*, will more plainly appear, if the *Argument* be expressed in other words, as that *Necessity of Existence*, and *Impossibility of Non-Existence*, and *Actual Existence*, belong to the very *Essence* of a *Perfect Being*, since it would be then ridiculous to go about, to evade in this manner, That *If there be a Perfect Being*, then it *Is*, and cannot *But Be*. Which *Identical Proposition*, is true of every thing, else,

but Absurd. Wherefore there is something more to be Inferred from the *Necessity of Existence* included in the Idea of A Perfect Being than so, which can be nothing else but this, that it *Absolutely and Actually Is*. Moreover no Theists can be able to prove that God or a Perfect Being (supposed by them to Exist) might not Happen by Chance only to Be; if from the *Necessity of Existence* included in the Idea of God; it cannot be inferred that he could not But Be. Notwithstanding which, here is no endeavour, (as is pretended) to prove the Existence of a God or Perfect Being, *A Priori* neither, or from any *Necessary Cause Antecedent*; but only from that *Necessity* which is included within it self, or is *Concomitant and Concurrent* with it; the *Necessity* of its own Perfect Nature. And now we shall leave the Intelligent and Impartial Reader, to make his own Judgment concerning the forementioned Cartesian Argument for a Deity, drawn from its Idea, as including *Necessity of Existence* in it, that therefore It Is; Whether it be merely *Sophistical*, or hath something of *Solidity and Reality* in it. However it is not very Probable, that many *Atheists*, will be convinced thereby, but that they will rather be ready to say, that this is no *Probation* at all of a Deity, but only an *Affirmation* of the thing in Dispute, and a meer *Begging* of the *Question*; that therefore God Is, because he Is, or Cannot But be.

Wherefore we shall endeavour, to make out an *Argument, or Demonstration*, for the *Existence of a God*, from his Idea, as including *Necessary Existence* in it, some other ways. And First, we shall make an Offer towards it in this manner. Though it will not follow from hence, because we can *Frame an Idea* of any thing in our minds, that therefore such a thing Really Existeth; yet nevertheless, whatsoever we can *Frame an Idea* of, *Implying* no manner of *Contradiction* in its Conception, we may certainly conclude thus much of it, that such a thing was not *Impossible to be*; there being nothing to us *Impossible*, but what is *Contradictory* and *Repugnant* to Conception. Now the Idea of God or a Perfect Being, can *Imply* no manner of *Contradiction* in it, because it is only the Idea of such a thing as hath all *Possible* and *Conceivable* Perfections in it; that is, all *Perfections* which are neither *Contradictory* in themselves, nor to one another. And they who will not allow of this Consequence, from the Idea of a Perfect Being, including *Necessity of Existence* in it, that it doth therefore *Actually Exist*, yet cannot deny, but that this at least will follow, from its *Implying* no manner of *Contradiction* in it, that it is therefore a thing *Possible*, or not *Impossible to be*. For thus much being true of all other *Contingent things*, whose Idea implieth no *Contradiction*, that they are therefore *Possible*; it must needs be granted of that, whose very Idea and *Essence* containeth a *Necessity of Existence* in it, as the *Essence* of nothing else but a Perfect Being doth. And this is the First Step, that we now make in way of Argumentation, from the Idea of God or a Perfect Being, having nothing *Contradictory* in it, That therefore God is at least *Possible*, or no way *Impossible* to have been. In the next place as this particular Idea of that which is *Possible*, includeth *Necessity of Existence* in it; from these Two things put together at least, the *Possibility* of such a Being, and its *Necessary Existence*

istence (if not from the Latter alone) will it according to Reason follow, that He *Actually Is*. If God or a *Perfect Being*, in whose *Essence* is contained *Necessary Existence*, be *Possible*, or no way *Impossible* to have been; then He *is*; because upon supposition of his *Non-Existence*, it would be *Absolutely Impossible*, that he should ever have been. It does not thus follow, concerning *Imperfect Beings*, that are *Contingently Possible*, that if they be *Not*, it was therefore *Impossible* for them ever to have been; for that which is *Contingent*, though it be *Not*, yet might it for all that, *Possibly Have been*. But a *Perfect Necessarily Existent Being*, upon the bare supposition of its *Non-Existence*, could no more *Possibly Have been*, than it could *Possibly Hereafter be*: because if it might Have been, though it be not, then would it not be a *Necessary Existent Being*. The sum of all is this, A *Necessary Existent Being*, if it be *Possible*, it *Is*; because upon supposition of its *Non-Existence*, it would be *Impossible* for it ever to have been. Wherefore God is either *Impossible* to have been, or else He *Is*. For if God were *Possible*, and yet be *Not*, then is he not a *Necessary*, but *Contingent Being*, which is contrary to the *Hypothesis*.

But because this *Argumentation* may perhaps run the same Fate also with the former, and by reason of its Subtlety, do but little Execution neither, if not be accounted Sophistical too; men being generally prone to Distrust, the *Firmness* and *Solidity*, of such *Thin and Subtle Cobwebs*, (as these and the like may seem to be) or their Ability to Support the Weight of so Great a Truth; and to suspect themselves to be *Illaqueated* and *Circumvented* in them; therefore shall we lay no stress upon this neither, but proceed to something which is yet more *Plain* and *Downright*, after this manner. Whatsoever we can frame an *Idea* of in our minds, implying no manner of *Contradiction*, this either *Actually Is*, or else If it be *Not*, it is *Possible* for it to *Be*. But If *God be Not*, He *Is not Possible* hereafter to *Be*, therefore He *Is*. The Reason and Necessity of the *Minor* is evident, because if *God be not*, and yet *Possible* hereafter to be, then would he not be an *Eternal and Necessarily Existent Being*, which is *Contradictory* to his *Idea*. And the Ground of the *Major*, upon which all the weight lies, hath been already declared, where we proved before, That If there were no *God* or *Perfect Being*, we could never have had any *Conception* or *Idea* of him in our Minds, because there can be no *Positive Conception* of an *Absolute Nothing*, that which hath neither *Actual* nor *Possible Existence*. Here the Posture of the Argument is only inverted; Because we have an *Idea of God*, or a *Perfect Being*, implying no manner of *Contradiction* in it, therefore must it needs have some kind of *Entity* or other, either an *Actual* or *Possible One*; but God if he be *Not*, is not *Possible* to *Be*, therefore He doth *Actually Exist*.

But perhaps this *Argumentation* also how firm and solid soever, may prove less Convictive of the *Existence* of a God to the Generality: because whatever is *Received*, is *Received* according to the *Capacity* of the *Recipient*: and though a *Demonstration* be never so good in it self, yet is it more or less such to Particular Persons, according to their ability to comprehend it; Therefore shall we in the next place Form

yet a Plainer Demonstration, for a God from the *Idea* of him, including *Necessary Existence* in it. It being First Premised, That unquestionably *Something or other*, did Exist from all Eternity without beginning. For it is certain that Every thing could not be *Made*, because *Nothing* could come from *Nothing*, or be *Made* by It self, and therefore if once there had been *Nothing*, there could never have been *Any thing*. Whence it is undeniable, that there was always *Something*, and consequently that there was *Something Unmade*, which Existed of *It self* from all Eternity. Now all the Question is, and indeed this is the only Question betwixt *Theists* and *Atheists*; since *Something* did certainly Exist of *It self* from all Eternity, What that thing is, whether it be a *Perfect* or an *Imperfect* Being? We say therefore, that whatsoever Existed of *It self*, from Eternity, and without Beginning; did so Exist *Naturally* and *Necessarily*, or by the *Necessity* of its own *Nature*. Now nothing could Exist of *It self* from Eternity, *Naturally* and *Necessarily*, but that which containeth *Necessary* and *Eternal Self Existence*, in its own *Nature*. But there is nothing which containeth *Necessary Eternal Existence*, in its own *Nature* or *Essence*, but only an *Absolutely Perfect* Being; all other *Imperfect* things, being in their *Nature*, *Contingently Possible*, either to *Be* or *Not be*. Wherefore since something or other, must and doth Exist of it self *Naturally* and *Necessarily* from Eternity *Unmade*, and nothing could do this but what included *Necessary Self Existence* in its *Nature* or *Essence*, it is certain that it was a *Perfect Being*, or *God*, who did Exist of Himself from Eternity, and nothing else, all other *Imperfect* things which have no *Necessary Self-Existence* in their *Nature*, deriving their Being from Him. Here therefore are the *Atheists* infinitely *Absurd* and *Unreasonable*, when they will not acknowledge, that which containeth *Independent Self-Existence*, or *Necessity* of *Existence* (which indeed is the same with an *Impossibility* of *Non-Existence*) in its *Nature* and *Essence*, that is, a *Perfect Being*, so much as to Exist at all; and yet in the mean time assert, that which hath no *Necessity* of *Existence* in its *Nature*, the most *Imperfect* of all *Beings*, *Inanimate Body* and *Matter*, to have Existed of *It self* *Necessarily* from all Eternity.

We might here add, as a farther Confirmation of this *Argument*, what hath been already proved, that no *Temporary Successive Being* (whose *Duration* is in a *Continual Flux*, as if it were every moment *Generated* a new) and therefore neither our *Own Souls*, nor the *World*, nor *Matter Moving*, could possibly have Existed from Eternity, and Independently upon any other thing, but must have had a *Beginning*, and been Caused by something else, namely by an *Absolutely Perfect Being*, whose *Duration* therefore is *Permanent*, and without any *Successive Generation*, or *Flux*.

But besides all these *Arguments*, we may otherwise from the *Idea* of *God* (already declared) be able both exactly to state the *Controversie* betwixt *Theists* and *Atheists*, and satisfactorily to decide the same. In order whereunto, there is yet something again to be Premised; namely this, that as it is certain *Every thing was not Made*, but *Something* Existed of it Self from Eternity *Unmade*; so is it

it likewise certain, That Every thing was not *Unmade* neither, nor Existed of *It self* from *Eternity*, but something was *Made*, and had a *Beginning*. Where there is a full Agreement betwixt *Theists* and *Atheists*, as to this one Point, no *Atheist* asserting every thing to have been *Unmade*, but they all acknowledging themselves to have been Generated, and to have had a *Beginning*; that is, their own *Souls* and *Personalities*, as likewise the *Lives* and *Souls* of all other Men and Animals. Wherefore since *Something* certainly Existed of *It self* from *Eternity*, but other things were *Made*, and had a *Beginning*, (which therefore must needs derive their being from that which Existed of *It self* *Unmade*,) here is the *State* of the *Controversie* betwixt *Theists* and *Atheists*, Whether that which Existed of *It self* from all *Eternity*, and was the *Cause* of all other things, were a *Perfect Being* and *God*, or the most *Imperfect* of all things whatsoever, *Inanimate* and *Senseless* matter. The Former is the Doctrine of *Theists*, as *Aristotle* affirmeth of those Ancients, who did not write *Fabulously* Concerning the First Principles, οἷον φερεκύδης, καὶ ἐπερίπνευς, τὸ γέννησαν πρῶτον τὸ ἄρχον πᾶσι, καὶ οἱ μάγοι· καὶ ἄλλοι ὑπερῶν ἢ σοφῶν, οἷον ἐμπεδοκλῆς καὶ ἄναξαγόρας, As namely, *Pherecydes*, and the *Magi*, and *Empedocles* and *Anaxagoras*, and many others; that they agreed in this, That the first Original of all things was the *Best*, and *Most Perfect*. Where by the way we may observe also, that according to *Aristotle*, the *Ancient Magi* did not acknowledge a *Substantial Evil Principle*, they making that which is the *Best* and *Most Perfect Being*, alone by it self, to be the First Beggetter of all. This I say is the *Hypothesis* of *Theists*, that there is *One Absolutely Perfect Being*, Existing of *It self* from all *Eternity*, from whence all other lesser *Perfections*, or *Imperfect Beings* did gradually *Descend*, till at last they end in *Senseless Matter* or *Inanimate Body*. But the *Atheistical Hypothesis* on the contrary, makes *Senseless Matter* the most *Imperfect* thing, to be the *First Principle* or the only *Self-Existent Being*, and the *Cause* of all other things, and Consequently all *Higher Degrees* of *Perfections*, that are in the world, to have *Clombed up*, or *Emerged* by way of *Ascent* from thence; as *Life*, *Sense*, *Understanding*, and *Reason*, from that which is altogether *Dead* and *Senseless*. Nay, as it was before observed, there hath been amongst the ancient Pagans, a certain kind of *Religious Atheists*, such as acknowledging Verbally a *God*, or *Soul* of the world, presiding over the whole, supposed this notwithstanding to have first *Emerged* also, out of *Senseless Matter*, *Night* and *Chaos*; and therefore doubtless to be likewise *Disolvable* again into the same. And of these is that place in *Aristotle* to be understood, βασιλεύει καὶ ἄρχον φασιν ὅτι τὰς πρώτας οἷον νύκτα, καὶ οὐρανόν, ἢ χάος, ἢ ὠκεανόν, ἀλλὰ τὴν Δία. They suppose, not the First things, as *Night*, and the *Heaven*, and *Chaos*, and the *Ocean*, but *Jupiter* (or *God*) to *Rule* and *Govern* all. Where it is intimated, that the *Heaven*, *Night*, *Chaos*, and the *Ocean*, according to these, were *Seniors* to *Jupiter*, or in *Order* of *Nature* before him; they apprehending, that things did *Ascend* upward, from that which was most *Imperfect*, as *Night* and *Chaos*, to the more *Perfect*, and at length to *Jupiter* himself; the *Mundane Soul*, who governeth the whole world, as our *Soul* doth our *Body*. Which same Opinion is afterwards again taken notice of and reprehended by *Aristotle* in these words, οὐκ ὁρθῶς δ' ὑπολαμβάνειν ὅτι ἐκ τῆς παλαιᾶς τῆς

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ὁ δὲ εἰς Du Vall.

ὅλα ὅρατος, ἢ τῇ τῷ ζῶον καὶ φυτῶν· ὅτι καὶ ἀπορίαν ἢ αἰετὶ τοῖς τελειότεροι.
 ἀνθρώπου καὶ τοῦ ἀνθρώπου γυναικός, καὶ ἐκ ἐστὶ σπέρμα πρῶτον. Nor would he
 think rightly, who should resemble the Principles of the Universe, to that
 of Animals and Plants : wherefrom Indeterminate and Imperfect things
 (as Seeds) do always arise the more Perfect. For even here also is the
 case otherwise, then they suppose ; For it is a man, that generates a man ;
 nor is the Seed the First.

The Controversie being thus clearly Stated betwixt Theists and Atheists, it may now with great ease, and to the full Conviction of all Minds Unprejudiced, and Unprepossessed with false Principles, be determined. It being on the one hand, undenyably evident, that Lesser Perfections may Naturally Descend from Greater, or at least from that which is Absolutely Perfect, and which Virtually containeth all : but on the other hand utterly Impossible, that Greater Perfections and Higher Degrees of Being, should Rise and Ascend out of Lesser and Lower, so as that which is the most Absolutely Imperfect of all things, should be the First Fountain and Original of All. Since no Effect can possibly transcend the Power of its Cause. Wherefore it is certain that in the Universe, things did not thus Ascend and Mount, or Climb up from Lower Perfection to Higher, but on the contrary, Descend and Slide down from Higher to Lower, so that the first Original of all things, was not the most Imperfect, but the most Perfect Being. But to speak more particularly, it is certain, notwithstanding all the vain pretences of Lucretius and other Atheists, or Semi-Atheists, to the contrary ; that Life and Sense could never possibly spring, out of Dead and Senseless Matter, as its only Original, either in the way of Atoms, (no Composition of Magnitudes, Figures, Sites and Motions, being ever able to produce Cogitation) or in the way of Qualities, since Life and Perception can no more result from any Mixture of Elements, or Combinations of Qualities of Heat and Cold, Moist and Dry, &c. than from Unqualified Atoms. This being undeniably Demonstrable, from that very Principle of Reason, which the Atheists are so fond of, but, misunderstanding abuse, (as shall be manifested afterward) that Nothing can come from Nothing. Much less could Understanding and Reason in men, ever have Emerged out of Stupid Matter, devoid of all manner of Life. Wherefore we must needs here freely declare, against the Darknes of that Philosophy, which hath been Sometimes unwarily entertained by such as were no Atheists, That Sense may Rise from a certain Modification, Mixture, or Organization, of Dead and Senseless Matter ; as also that Understanding and Reason, may result from Sense : the plain consequence of both which is, that Senseless Matter may prove the Original of all things, and the only Numen. Which Doctrine therefore is doubtless, a main piece of the Philosophy of the Kingdom of Darknes. But this Darknes hath been of late in great measure dispelled, by the Light of the Atomick Philosophy restored, as it was in its first Genuine and Virgin State, Undeveloped as yet by Atheists, this clearly Showing how far Body and Mechanism can go, and that Life and Cogitation can never Emerge out from thence ; it being built upon that Fundamental Principle, as we have made it evident in the first Chapter, that Nothing can come from Nothing. And Strato
 and

and the Hylozoick Atheists, were so well aware and so sensible of this, that all Life and *Understanding* could not possibly be *Generated* or *Made*, but that there must be some *Fundamental* and *Substantial* or *Eternal Unmade Life and Knowledge*; that they therefore have thought necessary, to attribute *Life*, and *Perception*, (or *Understanding*,) with *Appetite*, and *Self-moving Power*, to all Matter as such, that so it might be thereby fitly *Qualified* to be the *Original* of all things, Than which Opinion as nothing can be more *Monstrous*; so shall we else where *Evince* the *Impossibility* thereof. In the mean time, we doubt not to averr, that the *Argument* proposed, is a *Sufficient Demonstration* of the *Impossibility* of *Atheism*; which will be further manifested in our Answer to the *Second Atheistick Objection* against a *Divine Creation*, because *Nothing can come from Nothing*.

But this *Controversie* betwixt Theists and Atheists, may be yet more *Particularly Stated*, from the *Idea* of *God*, as including *Mind* or *Understanding* in it *Essentially*, *Viz.* Whether *Mind* be *Eternal* and *Unmade*, as being the *Maker* of all; or else Whether all *Mind* were it self *Made* or *Generated*, and that out of *Senseless Matter*? For according to the *Doctrine* of the *Pagan Theists*, *Mind*, was $\pi\epsilon\rho\gamma\omega\iota\sigma\tau\omicron\varsigma$, η $\kappa\lambda\epsilon\iota\sigma\tau\omicron\varsigma$ $\tau\omicron$ $\phi\lambda\omega\nu$, *The Oldest of all things, Senior to the World and Elements*; and by *Nature* hath a *Princely and Lordly Dominion* over all. But according to those *Atheists*, who make *Matter* or *Body* devoid of all *Life* and *Understanding*, to be the *First Principle*, *Mind* must be $\upsilon\pi\epsilon\rho\gamma\omega\iota\sigma\tau\omicron\varsigma$, *A Post-Nate thing*, *Younger* than the world; a *Weak, Umbratil, and Evanid Image*, and next to *Nothing*.

And the *Controversie* as thus *Stated*, may be also *Clearly and Satisfactorily decided*. For *First*, we say, That as it is certainly *True*, That If there had been once *Nothing* at all, there could never have been *Any thing*; So is it true likewise, that If once there had been no *Life*, in the whole *Universe*, but all had been *Dead*, then could there never have been any *Life* or *Motion* in it; and If once there had been no *Mind*, *Understanding* or *Knowledge*, then could there never have been any *Mind* or *Understanding* produced. Because, to suppose *Life* and *Understanding*, to rise and spring up, out of that which is altogether *Dead & Senseless*, as its only *Original*, is plainly to Suppose, *Something* to come out of *Nothing*. It cannot be said so of other things, as of the *Corporeal World* and *Matter*, that If once they had not been, they could never Possibly have been; because though there had been no *World* nor *Matter*, yet might these have been produced, from a *Perfect Omnipotent Incorporeal Being*, which in it self *Eminently* containeth all things. *Dead* and *Senseless Matter* could never have *Created* or *Generated* *Mind* and *Understanding*, but a *Perfect Omnipotent Mind*, could *Create Matter*. Wherefore because there is *Mind*, we are certain, that there was some *Mind* or other from *Eternity* without *Beginning*; though not because there is *Body*, that therefore there was *Body* or *Matter* from *Eternity* *Unmade*. Now these *Imperfect Minds* of ours, were by no means *Themselves* *Eternal* or without *Beginning*, but from an *Antecedent Non-Existence* brought forth into *Being*; but since no *Mind* could spring out of *Dead* and *Senseless Matter*, and all *Minds* could

could not Possibly be *Made*, nor one produced from another Infinitely; there must of necessity be an *Eternal Unmade Mind*, from whence those *Imperfect Minds* of ours were derived. Which *Perfect Omnipotent Mind*, was as well the *Cause* of all other things, as of humane *Souls*.

But before we proceed to any further Argumentation, we must needs take notice here, that the Atheists suppose no small part of their strength, to lie in this very thing, namely their disproving a God, from the *Nature of Understanding and Knowledge*; nor do they indeed swagger in any thing more than this. We have already set it for the *Eleventh Atheistick Argument*, That *Knowledge being the Information of the Things themselves Known, and all Conception the Action of that which is Conceived, and the Passion of the Conceiver; the World and all Sensible things, must needs be before there could be any Knowledge or Conception of them; and no Knowledge or Conception before the World as its Cause*. Or more briefly thus, The world could not be made by *Knowledge and Understanding*, because there could be no *Knowledge or Understanding* of the world, or of any thing in it, before it was made. For according to these Atheists, *Things* made *Knowledge*, and not *Knowledge Things*; they meaning by *Things* here, such only as are *Sensible and Corporeal*. So that *Mind and Understanding*, could not be the *Creator* of the world and these *Sensible things*, it self being the meer *Creature* of them; a *Secondary, Derivative, Result* from them, or a *Phantastick Image* of them: the *Youngest* and most *Creaturely* thing in the whole world. Whence it follows, that to Suppose *Mind and Understanding*, to be the *Maker* of all things, would be no better Sense, than if one should suppose, the *Images* in *Ponds and Rivers*, to be the *Makers* of the *Sun, Moon and Stars*, and other things represented in them. And upon such a Ground as this, does a Modern Writer presume to determine, that *Knowledge and Understanding*, are not to be attributed to *God Almighty*, because they imply *Imperfection*, and *Dependence* upon *Corporeal things* without;

De Cive Rel. c. 15. Sect. 14. *Quoniam Scientia & Intellectus in nobis nihil aliud sunt, quàm suscitatus à Rebus Externis Organa prementibus Animi Tumultus, non est putandum aliquid tale accidere Deo. Signum enim est Potentiæ ab alio dependentis.* Which is again Englished thus; *Knowledge and Understanding, being in us nothing else but a Tumult in the Mind, raised by External things, that press the Organical parts of mans Body; there is no such thing in God, nor can they be attributed to him, they being things which depend upon Natural Causes.* Where this Writer thus denying *Knowledge and Understanding* to God, upon pretence that it speaks *Imperfection* and *Dependence* upon *External Corporeal things*, (it being nothing but a *Tumult* raised by the *Motions and Pressures* of them) he must needs Absolutely deny the *First Principle* of all things, to be any *Knowing Understanding Nature*; unless he had asserted some other kind of *Knowledge*, distinct from that of men, and clearly attributed the Same to *God Almighty*. Hitherto the sense of Atheists.

Now we shall for the present, only so far forth concern ourselves in Confuting this *Atheistick Doctrine*, as to lay a Foundation thereby, for

for the *Demonstration* of the Contrary, Namely the *Existence* of a *God*, or a *Mind Before the World*, from the *Nature of Knowledge and Understanding*. First, therefore it is a *Sottish Conceit* of these *Atheists*, proceeding from their not attending to their own *Cogitations*; that not only *Sense* but also *Knowledge and Understanding* in Men, is but a *Tumult*, raised from *Corporeal things without*, pressing upon the *Organs of their Body*; or else as they declare themselves more distinctly, nothing but the *Activity of Sensible Objects* upon them, and their *Passion* from them. For if this were true, then would every thing that *Suffered and Reacted Motion*, especially *Polite Bodies*, as *Looking-Glasses*, have something both of *Sense* and of *Understanding* in them. It is plain that there comes nothing to us, from *Bodies without us*, but only *Local Motion and Pressure*. Neither is *Sense* it self, the meer *Passion* of those *Motions*, but the *Perception* of their *Passions*, in a way of *Phancy*. But *Sensible things themselves* (as for example, *Light and Colours*) are not *Known or Understood* either by the *Passion*, or the *Phancy of Sense*; not by any thing meerly *Forreign and Adventitious*, but by *Intelligible Ideas* Exerted from the *Mind* it self, that is, by something *Native and Domestick* to it: nothing being more true, than this of *Boetius*, that, *Omne quod Scitur, non ex Sua, sed ex Comprehendentium Naturâ, Vi, & Facultate Cognoscitur*, *Whatsoever is Known, is Known not by its own Force and Power, but by the Force and Power, the Vigour and Activity of that thing it self which Knows or Comprehends it*. Wherefore besides the *Phantasms of Singular Bodies*, or of *Sensible things* Existing without us, (which are not meer *Passions* neither) it is plain that our *Humane Mind* hath other *Cogitations or Conceptions* in it, namely the *Ideas* of the *Intelligible Natures and Essences* of things, which are *Universal*, and by and under which it understands *Singulars*. It is a *Ridiculous Conceit* of a *Modern Atheistick Writer*, that *Universals* are nothing else but *Names*, attributed to many *Singular Bodies*, because whatsoever *Is* is *Singular*. For though whatsoever *Exist* without the *Mind*, be *Singular*, yet is it plain, that there are *Conceptions* in our *Minds*, *Objectively Universal*. Which *Universal Objects* of our *Mind*, though they *Exist* not as such any where without it, yet are they not therefore *Nothing*, but have an *Intelligible Entity* for this very reason, because they are *Conceivable*, for since *Non-Entity* is not *Conceivable*, whatsoever is *Conceivable*, and an *Object of the Mind* is therefore *Something*. And as for *Axiomatical Truths*, in which something is affirmed or denied, as these are not all *Passions* from *Bodies without us*, (for what *Local Motions* could Impress this *Common Notion*, upon our *Minds*, That *Things which agree in one Third, agree amongst themselves, or any other?*) so neither are these things only gathered by *Induction* from repeated and reiterated *Sensations*, we clearly apprehending at once, that it is *Impossible* they should be otherwise. Thus *Aristotle Ingeniously*;

ἐπεὶ ὁρίζονται δὲ αἰσθητικῶς ἔσθαι, ὅτι καὶ ἐν αἰσθάνεσθαι, ὅτι τὸ τελευτῶν δυνάμει οὐδεὶς ἐξ τῶν γωνιῶν, ἐκτεταμένον ἀν' ἀπὸ δέξιν, καὶ ἄλλ' ὡς φασὶν οἱ τινες ὁρίζμεθα· αἰσθάνεσθαι μὲν γὰρ ἀνάγκη καὶ ἔχαστον, ἢ ὃ ὁρίζμεν ταῖς καὶ ἄλλαις γωνίαις ἔσθαι. It is evident that there is no knowledge (of the Universal Theorems of Geometry) by Sense. For if we could perceive by Sense, that the Three Angles of a Triangle, were equal to Two Right; yet

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should

should we not rest satisfied in this, as having therefore a sufficient Knowledge hereof; but would seek further after a Demonstration of it: Sense reaching only to Singulars, but Knowledge to Universals. When from the Universal Idea of a Triangle, which is neither here, nor there, nor any where, without our Mind, but yet hath an Intelligible Entity; we see a plain necessity that its Three Angles must be Equal to two Right, then do we know the Truth of this Universal Theorem, and not before: as also we Understand, that every Singular Triangle, (so far as it is true) hath this Property in it. Wherefore the Knowledge of this and the like Truths, is not derived from Singulars, nor do we arrive to them in way of Ascent, from Singulars to Universals, but on the contrary having first found them in the Universals, we afterwards Descending apply them to Singulars: so that our Knowledge here is not After Singular Bodies, and Secundarily or Derivatively From them; but in order of Nature, Before them, and Proleptical to them.

Now these Universal Conceptions, some of which are also Abstract (as Life, Sense, Reason, Knowledge, and the like) many of them are of such things, whose Singulars do not at all fall under Sense, which therefore could never possibly be Impressed upon us, from Singular Bodies by Local Motion: and again some such, as though they belong to Corporeal and Sensible things; yet, as their Accuracy cannot be reached to by Sense, so neither did they ever Exist in that Matter of this lower world which here encompasseth us, and therefore could not be stamped upon us from without; as for example the Ideas of a Perfect Strait Line, and a Plain Superficies, or of an exact Triangle, Circle, Sphere, or Cube; no Material thing here amongst us being terminated in so Strait Lines, but that even by Microscopes there may be discovered much Irregularity and Deformity in them; and very probable it is, that there are no Perfectly Strait Lines, no such Triangles, Circles, Spheres, or Cubes, as answer to the Exactness of our Conceptions, in any part of the whole Material Universe, nor never will be. Notwithstanding which, they are not Absolute Non-Entities, since we can Demonstrate things concerning them, and though they never were nor will be, yet are they Possible to Exist, since nothing can be Conceived, but it either Is, or else is Possible to be. The Humane Mind therefore hath a Power of framing Ideas and Conceptions, not only of what Actually Is, but also of things which never were, nor perhaps will be, they being only Possible to be. But when from our Conceptions, we conclude of some things, that though they are Not, yet they are Possible to be; since nothing that Is not, can be Possible to be, unless there be something Actually in Being, which hath sufficient Power to produce it; we do Implicitely suppose, the Existence of a God or Omnipotent Being thereby, which can make whatsoever is Conceivable, though it yet be not, to Exist; and therefore Material Triangles, Circles, Spheres, Cubes, Mathematically Exact.

The Result of what we have hitherto said is this, that Since Singular Bodies, are not the only Objects of our Mind and Cogitation, it having also Universal and Abstract Ideas, of the Intelligible Natures or Essences of things; (some of which are such, whose Singulars do not

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at all fall under Sense; others though they belong to Bodies, yet *sense* can never reach to them, nor were they ever in Matter) moreover since our Mind can conceive, of things which no where *Actually Exist*, but are only *Possible*; and can have such a *Demonstrative Science* of *Universal Truths*, as Sense can never ascend to: That therefore *Humane Knowledge and Understanding* it self, is not the meer *Image and Creature* of *Singular Bodies* only; and so *Derivative*, or *Edtypal* from them, and in order of Nature *Junior to them*; but that as it were hovering aloft over all the *Corporeal Universe*, it is a thing *Independent upon Singular Bodies*, or *Proleptical* to them, and in Order of Nature, Before them.

But what Account can we then Possibly give, of *Knowledge and Understanding*, their Nature and Original? Since there must be *ΝΟΗΤΩΝ*, That which is *Intelligible*, in order of Nature, before *ΝΟΗΟΙΣ*, or *Intellection*? Certainly no other than this, that the *First Original Knowledge*, is that of a *Perfect Being*, *Ininitely Good and Powerful*, *Comprehending* it self; and the utmost Extent of its own *Fecundity*, and *Power*, that is, the *Possibilities* of all things; their *Ideas*, with their several Relations to one another; all *Necessary and Immutable Truths*. Here therefore is there a *Knowledge before the world*, and all *Sensible things*, that was *Archetypal* and *Paradigmatical* to the same. Of which one *Perfect Mind* and *Knowledge*, all other *Imperfect Minds* (being *Derived* from it) have a certain *Participation*; whereby they are enabled to *Frame Intelligible Ideas*, not only of *Whatsoever* doth actually *Exist*, but also of such things, as never *Were*, nor *Will be*, but are Only *Possible*; or *Objects of Divine Power*.

Wherefore since it is certain, that even *Humane Knowledge and Understanding* it self, is not a meer *Passion* from *Sensible Things* and *Singular Bodies* Existing without (which is the only Foundation of that fore-mentioned *Atheistick Argument*, that *Things Made Knowledge*, and not *Knowledge Things*) and consequently it must needs have some other *Original*: moreover since *Knowledge and Understanding*, apprehend things *Proleptically* to their Existence, (*Mind* being able to frame *Conceptions* of all *Possible Entities*, and *Modifications*) and therefore in their Nature, do plainly Suppose the *Actual Existence* of a *Perfect Being*, which is *Ininitely Fecund and Powerful*, and could produce all things *Possible or Conceivable*; the *First Original Knowledge* or *Mind*, from whence all other *Knowledge*, and *Minds* are derived, being that of an *Absolutely Perfect and Omnipotent Being*, *Comprehending* It Self, and the Extent of its own *Power*, or of its *Communicability*, that is, the *Ideas* of all *Possibilities* of things, that may be Produced by it, together with their *Relations* to one another, and their *Necessary Immutable Truths*; accordingly as *Wisdom and Understanding* are described to be, ἀτμίς ἡ τῆς θεῆς δυνάμεως, ἀπὸ θεοῦ ἡ τῆς παντὸς κτιστοῦ δόξης, ἑστῶσα ἡ τῆς θεῆς ἐκπελάς, καὶ εἰς αὐτὴν ἡ ἀγαθότης αὐτῆς, The Breath (or Vapour) of the Power of God, and an Efflux (or Emanation) from the Glory of the Almighty, a clear Mirror (or Looking Glass) of his Active Energy or Virtue, and the Image of his Goodness: I say, the Result of all is this, that the Nature of Knowledge,

and Understanding, is so far from being a Ground of disproving a Deity (as the Atheists ignorantly pretend) that it affordeth a Firm Demonstration to us on the contrary, of the Existence of a God, a Perfect Omnipotent Being Comprehending It self, and the Extent of its own Power, or all Possibilities of Things: a Mind Before the world, and Senior to All Things, no *Eÿpal*, but *Archeÿpal* thing, which comprehended in it, as a kind of Intellectual World, the *Paradigm* or *Platform*, according to which this *Sensible World* was made.

And this may be Further confirmed, from what is generally acknowledged, and indeed cannot reasonably be denied by any, viz. That there are *Eternal Verities*, such as were never *Made*, and had no *Beginning*, nor can ever be *Destroyed* or *Cease* to be: as for Example, such *Common Notions* as these, That *Equals added to Equals, make Equals*; That the *Cause* is in order of *Nature* before the *Effect*, &c. together with all *Geometrical Theorems*; as *Aristotle* himself declareth, he writing in his *Ethicks* after this manner, *ὅτι αἰδίων ὁδὸς παλαιῶν, ὅτι αἰδίων ἡ διαμέτρος καὶ ἡ διάγωνος ἐν ἀσυνμέτρῳ*. Concerning *Eternal* (and *Immutable*) Things, no man does consult; as for Example, concerning the *Diameter* or *Diagonal* of a *Square*, whether it should be *Incommensurable* to the *Sides* or *no*. Where he plainly affirmeth, this *Geometrical Theorem*, that the *Diameter* or *Diagonal* of a *Square*, is *Incommensurable* to the *Sides*, to be an *Eternal Truth*. Neither are there such *Eternal Truths* as these only in *Mathematicks*, and concerning *Quantity*, but also in *Ethicks* concerning *Morality*; there being here αἰώνια δίκαια, as *Justin Martyr* calls them, Things *Eternally Just*, which were not *Made* such at some certain times, by *Law* and *Arbitrary Command*, but being such in their own *Nature* *Immutably*, were from *Everlasting* to *Everlasting*, and (as it is said of that *Eternal Word* which comprehends all Truth) the *Same Yesterday, to Day, and For ever*. For of these is that famous Passage of *Sophocles* in his *Antigona*,

Ὅτι γὰρ π νῦν καὶ αὔριος, ἀλλ' αἰεὶ νότος
 εἴ τι πάρος, καὶ αἰεὶ ὅδε καὶ ὅτ' ἔστι φάνη.

These are not things of *to Day*, or *Yesterday*, but they ever *Live*, and no man knows their *Date*, or from whence they came. No man can declare the time when all *Common Notions*, and *Geometrical Truths* were first *Made* and *Generated* out of *Nothing*, or brought out of antecedent *Non-Existence* into *Being*. Certain it is, that such Truths as these, that the *Diameter* and *Sides* of a *Square* are *Incommensurable*, or that the *Power* of the *Hypotenuse* in a *Rectangular Triangle* is *Equal* to the *Powers* of both the *Sides*, were not made by any *Man's Thinking*, or by those first *Geometricians* who *Discovered* or *Demonstrated* the same, they *Discovering* and *Demonstrating* only, that which *Was*. Wherefore these *Truths* were before there was any man to *Think* of them, and they would continue still to be, though all the men in the *World* should be *Annihilated*: Nay, though there were no *Material Squares* and *Triangles* any where in the whole world neither, no nor any *Matter* at all: for they were, ever without beginning before the world, and would of necessity be ever after it, should it cease to be.

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Now if there be *Eternal Truths*, which were never Made, and could not But Be, then must the *Rationes Rerum*, the *Simple Reasons* of things also, Or their *Intelligible Natures* and *Essences*, out of which those Truths are compounded, be of Necessity *Eternal* likewise. For how can this be an *Eternal Truth*, that the *Diameter of a Square is Incommensurable* with the Sides, if the *Rationes*, the *Reasons of a Square, Diameter, and Sides*, or their *Intelligible Essences*, were not themselves *Eternal*? These are therefore called by *Plato* (a man of much Meditation, and no Contemptible Philosopher) not only, αὐτὰ ταῦτα ἡ ἀεὶ ὡς αὐτὰς ἔχοντα, *Things which are always the same, and Unchangeable*, but also, τὰ μὴ γινόμενα, ἀλλ' αὐτὰ ὄντα, *Things which were never Made, but always Are*, and sometimes μὴ γινόμενα, μὴ ἀπολλύμενα, *Things that were neither Made nor can be Destroyed*, sometimes τὰ ἀγένετα ἡ ἀνώλεθρα, *Things Ingenerable and Incorruptible*. Of which *Cicero* thus, *Hec Plato negat Gigni, sed Semper Esse, & Ratione & Intelligentiâ Contineri*. These things *Plato* affirmeth to have been never Made, but always to Be, and to be contained in Reason and Understanding. And though perhaps it may seem strange, even *Aristotle* himself also, notwithstanding his so often clashing with *Plato's* Ideas, here Really agreeth in the main, that the *Forms* and *Species*, or the *Universal Intelligible Essences* of Things, which are the proper and immediate Objects of Science, were *Eternal* and never Made. Thus in his *Metaphysics*, τὸ εἶδος οὐδὲ γινώσκειται, *No man makes the Form, or Species of a thing, nor was it ever Generated*; and again, τὸ σφαιρῶδες οὐκ ἐστὶ γένεως, *There is no Generation of the Essence of a Sphere*; and, ἀνευ γένεως ἡ φθορῆς τὰ εἶδη, *The Forms or Species of things are without any Generation or Corruption*. And he sometimes calleth these Objects of Science, ἀκίνητον εἶδος or φύσιν, *An Immutable Essence or Nature*. Lastly, where he writeth against the *Heracliticks*, and those other *Scepticks*, who denied all Certainty of Science; he first discovers the Ground of their Errour herein to have been this, that they supposed *Singular Bodies*, or *Sensibles* existing Without, to be the Only Things or Objects of the Mind, or Knowledge, αἴτιον δ' ὁρῶν τὰ τοιαῦτα, ὅτι οἱ τῶν ὄντων τινὲς ἀληθεῖαν ἐκδέχονται, τὰ δ' ὄντα ὑπελάθον εἶναι τὰ αἰσθητὰ μόνον, ἐν δ' ὅτοις πολλὴ ἢ τὴ ἀόριστος φύσις ἐνυπαρχει — ἐπὶ δ' πᾶσαν ὁρῶντες ταύτῃ κενεμένην τινὲ φύσιν, κατὰ τὴ μεταβάλλοντι, ὁρῶν ἀληθεύμενον, οἷον τὸ πάντως πλὴντα μετέβαλλον, ἢ ἐκδέχεσθαι ἀληθείαν. *The Original of these mens mistake was this, because Truth is to be look'd for in Things, and they conceiv'd the only things to be, Sensibles, in which it is certain there is much of the Indeterminate Nature. Wherefore they perceiving all the Nature of Sensibles, to be Moveable, or in perpetual Flux and Mutation, since nothing can possibly be verified or constantly affirmed concerning that which is not the same, but Changeable, concluded that there could be no Truth at all nor Certainty of Science; those Things which are the only Objects of it, never continuing the same. And then he subjoyns in way of Opposition to this Sceptical Doctrine of theirs, and the forementioned Ground thereof, ἀξιώσωμεν αὐτοὺς υπολαμβάνειν ἡ ἀλλὰ εἶδος εἶναι τῶν ὄντων, ἢ ὅτε κίνησις ὑπάρχει ἐν τῷ φθορῶντι γένεσι τὸ ἀόριστον. We would have these men therefore to know, that there is another kind of Essence of Things, besides that of Sensibles, to which belongeth neither*

neither Motion, nor Corruption, nor any Generation at all. By which Essences of things, that have no Generation nor Corruption, he could understand nothing else, but those Intelligible Natures, Species, and Ideas which are the Standing and Immutable Objects of Science. And certain it is, that there could be no constant and Immutable Science at all, were there no other Objects of the Mind, but Singulars and Sensibles, because these are all Mutable. Wherefore the Proper and Immediate Objects of the Geometrical Science, are no Singular and Material Triangles, Squares, Spheres and Cubes, &c. not only because none of these are found Mathematically Exact, and because Geometricians in all the Several distant ages and places of the world, could not have the same Singular Bodies before them, but also because they do none of them continue Immutably the Same: all Corporeal things, being more or less in perpetual Motion and Mutation; Whereas that of which any Geometrical Theorem is Verified and Demonstrated, must be Immutably and Unalterably the Same. The Triangles and Circles, Spheres and Cubes of Euclid, Archimedes, Pappus, Appollonius, and all other Ancient and Modern Geometricians, in all the distant places and Times of the World, were both Indivisibly One and the Same, and also perfectly Immutable and Incorruptible, the Science of Geometry being such. For which Cause it is affirmed also, of these Mathematical Things, by the forementioned Aristotle, that they are No Where as in a Place; as all Singular Bodies are, ἀτόμῳ ὅπου καὶ ἕκαστον ἰδίῳ. διὸ καὶ οὐκ ἔστι τινα τοῦ μαθηματικοῦ, ὅτι πᾶσι. It is absurd to make Mathematical Things to be in a Place, as Solid Bodies are, for Place belongeth only to Singulars, which are therefore separable from one another by Place: but Mathematical things are not Anywhere. Because they being Universal and Abstract, are only in Minds: nevertheless for the same Reason are they also Every Where, they being in every Mind that apprehends them. Lastly, these Intelligible Essences and Ideas of Things, are called also by Philo, ἀναγκασιόταται οὐσίαι, The Most Necessary Essences, as being not only Eternal, but having likewise Necessary Existence belonging to them: for though there be no Absolute Necessity that there should be Matter or Body, yet is there an Absolute Necessity that there should be Truth.

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If therefore there be Eternal Intelligibles or Ideas, and Eternal Truths; and Necessary Existence do belong to them; then must there be an Eternal Mind Necessarily Existing, since these Truths and Intelligible Essences of Things cannot possibly be any where but in a Mind. For by the Essences of things, when they are said to be Eternal, must not be meant their very Substances, as if every thing were in it self Eternal and Uncreated; or that God in Creation, did only as a Modern Writer abusively Expresseth it, Sartoris instar, vestire Essentias rerum novâ Existentiâ, cloth the antecedent Essences of things, with a new Garment of Existence; but only their Esse Cognitum, their Possible and Intelligible Natures, as they were Objects of Infinite Power, and Understanding, before they were Made. There must be a Mind Senior to the world, and all Sensible Things, and such as at once Comprehends in it, the Ideas of all Intelligibles, their Necessary Scheses and Relations to one another,

ther, and all their *Immutable Truths*: a Mind, which doth not $\delta\tau\epsilon \mu\eta \nu\omicron\epsilon\iota\nu$, $\delta\tau\epsilon \delta' \epsilon \nu\omicron\epsilon\iota\nu$, (as Aristotle writeth of it) *sometimes Understand and sometimes not Understand*, as if it were sometimes *Awake* and sometimes *Asleep*, or like an Eye sometimes *Open* and sometimes *Shut*, but $\epsilon\sigma\omicron\lambda\alpha \epsilon\nu\epsilon\gamma\epsilon\gamma\omicron\lambda\alpha$, Such a Mind as is *Essentially Act and Energy*; and hath no Defect in it. And this as we have already declared, can be no other than the *Mind of an Omnipotent*, and *Infinately Perfect Being*, *Comprehending It Self* and the *Extent of its own Power*, or how far it self is *Communicable*, that is, all the *Possibilities of things*, that may be made by it, and their respective *Truths*; *Mind and Knowledge* in the very *Nature of it*, supposing the *Actual Existence* of an *Omnipotent or Infinitely Powerful Being*, as its $\nu\omicron\omega\tau\omicron\nu$ or *Intelligible*; It being nothing but the *Comprehension of the Extent of Infinite or Divine Power*, and the *Measure of the same*.

And from hence it is Evident also, that there can be but *One only Original Mind*, or no more than *One Understanding Being Self Existent*; all other *Minds* whatsoever *Partaking* of one *Original Mind*; and being as it were *Stamped with the Impression or Signature of one and the same Seal*. From whence it cometh to pass, that all *Minds* in the several *Places and Ages of the World*, have *Ideas or Notions of Things Exactly Alike*, and *Truths Indivisibly the Same*. *Truths* are not multiplied; by the *Diversity of Minds* that apprehend them; because they are all but *Æthyal Participations* of one and the same *Original or Archetypal Mind*, and *Truth*. As the same *Face* may be *Reflected* in several *Glasses*; and the *Image of the same Sun* may be in a thousand *Eyes* at once beholding it; and *One and the same Voyce* may be in a thousand *Eares* listning to it; so when *Innumerable Created Minds*, have the same *Ideas of Things*, and *Understand the Same Truths*; it is but *One and the same Eternal Light*, that is *Reflected* in them all; (*that Light which enlighteneth Every man, that cometh into the World*;) or the same *Voyce* of that *One Everlasting Word*, that is never *Silent*, *Reechoed* by them. Thus was it concluded by *Themistius*, that one man by *Teaching*, could not *Possibly* beget in the *Mind of another*, the very same *Notions, Conceptions and Knowledges*, which himself had in his own *Mind*, $\epsilon\iota \mu\eta \tau\omicron\upsilon\tau\omicron\nu \lambda\omicron \tau\omicron \nu\omicron\mu\alpha \tau\epsilon \delta\iota\delta\alpha\chi\omicron\nu\omicron\tau\omicron \epsilon \tau\epsilon \mu\alpha\nu\tau\omicron\upsilon\tau\omicron\nu$, *Were not the Minds both of the Teacher and of the Learner as it were Printed and Stamped alike*. As also that men could not *Possibly* so confer together as they do, presently apprehending one anothers meaning, and raising up the very *Same* senses in their *Minds*, and that meerly by *Occasion of Words and Sounds*, $\epsilon\iota \mu\eta\tau\iota\varsigma \eta\nu \epsilon\iota\varsigma \nu\omicron\varsigma \epsilon \pi\omicron\lambda\upsilon\tau\epsilon\varsigma \epsilon\kappa\omega\iota\upsilon\omega\varsigma\mu\epsilon\nu$, *Were there not some One Mind which all men did Partake of*. As for that *Anti-Monarchical Opinion*, of *Many Understanding Beings, or Minds, Self Originated, and Independent*, (none of which therefore could be *Omnipotent*) it is neither *Conceivable*, how such should all agree in the same *Truths*, there being no *Common Measure of Truth* betwixt them, no more than any *Common Rule of their Wills*; nor indeed how they should have any *Knowledge or Understanding* at all, properly so called, that being the *Comprehension of the Possibilities of things*, or of the *Extent of Infinite Power*, whereas according to this *Hypothesis*, there is no *Infinite Power* at all, the *Power of each of those Many supposed Principles*

ples or Deities, being Limited and Finite, and therefore indeed not Creative of any thing neither, since that which could Create one thing, could Create all, and consequently would have all depending upon it. We conclude therefore, That from the Nature of *Mind* and *Knowledge*, it is *Demonstrable*, That there can be but *One Original* and *Self-Existent Mind*, or *Understanding Being*, from which all other *Minds* were derived. And now have we, more Copiously than we designed, Confuted the First *Atheistick Argument*, we having not only asserted the *Idea of God*, and fully Answered and refuted all the *Atheistick Pretences* against the same; but also from this very *Idea of God*, or a *Perfect Being*, Demonstrated his *Existence*. We shall dispatch the following *Atheistick Objections* with more brevity.

WE come in the next place, to the *Achilles* of the *Atheists*; their *Invincible Argument*, against a *Divine Creation* and *Omnipotence*; because *Nothing could come from Nothing*. It being concluded from hence, that whatsoever *Substantially* or *Really Is*, was from all Eternity Of It Self, *Unmade* or *Uncreated* by any *Deity*. Or else thus; By *God* is always Understood, a *Creator* of some *Real Entity* or other out of *Nothing*; but it is an *Undoubted Principle* of Reason and Philosophy, an *Undeniable Common Notion*, That *Nothing can be made out of Nothing*, and therefore there can be no such *Creative Power* as this. And here we shall perform these *Three Things*; First, we shall show That in some Senses, this is indeed an *Unquestionable Truth*, and *Common Notion*, That *Nothing can come from Nothing*, and what those Senses are. Secondly, We shall make it evident, that in the Sense of this *Atheistick Objection*, it is *Absolutely False*, That *Nothing can come from Nothing*, or be made out of *Nothing*; and that a *Divine Creation* and *Omnipotence*, can be no way Impugned from the forementioned Principle rightly Understood. Thirdly and Lastly, We shall prove, That as from this Principle or *Common Notion*, *Nothing out of Nothing*, there can be no Execution at all done against *Theism*, or a *Divine Creation*; so from the very Same rightly Understood, the Impossibility of all *Atheism* may be *Demonstratively Proved*, it bringing Something out of *Nothing* in an *Impossible Sense*; as also the *Existence* of a *God* Evinc'd.

We grant therefore in the First place, that this is in some Sense an *Undoubted Principle* of Reason, or an *Undeniable Common Notion*, that *Nothing can come from Nothing*. For First, it is *Unquestionably True*, That *Nothing which once was not*, could ever Of It Self come into Being; or That *Nothing could bring it Self out of Non-Existence into Being*; That *Nothing can take Beginning of Existence from it Self*; or That *Nothing can be Made or Produced without an Efficient Cause*. And from hence, as hath been already Intimated, is it *Demonstratively Certain*, that every thing was not Made, but that there is something Necessarily Self Existent; and which could not But Be. For had every thing been

been Made, then must something of Necessity, have been Made out of Nothing by It Self; which is Impossible.

Again, As Nothing which was Not, could ever Of It self come into Being, or be Made, without an *Efficient Cause*, so is it certain likewise, that Nothing can be *Efficiently Caused* or Produced, by that which hath not in it at least *Equal*, (if not Greater) *Perfection*, as also *Sufficient Power* to Produce the same. We say Nothing which was not, could ever be brought into Being, by that which hath not Formally, *Equal Perfection* in it; because Nothing can Give what it hath not, and therefore so much of the *Perfection* or *Entity* of the Effect, as is greater than that of the supposed Cause; so much thereof must needs come from Nothing, or be made without a Cause. Moreover whatsoever hath *Equal Perfection* to another thing, could not therefore Cause or Produce that other thing; because it might either have no *Active Power* at all, as Matter hath not, it being merely *Passive*, or else no *Sufficient Active* and *Productive Power*. As for Example, though it be not Impossible, That *Motion* which once was not, should be Produced; yet is it Impossible, that it should be ever Produced, without a *Sufficient Cause*. Wherefore if there were once no *Motion* at all in the whole world, nor no *Life* or *Self Active Power* in any thing, but all were Dead; then is it certain, that there could never possibly arise, any *Motion* or *Mutation* in it to all Eternity. There being no *Sufficient Cause*, to Produce the Same; since nothing can produce *Motion*, but that which hath *Life* or *Self-Activity* in it; and if *Motion* or any thing else, should begin to be, without a *Sufficient Cause*, then must it needs be Caused by It Self, or Of It Self come into Being; which is a thing Impossible. Now no Imperfect Being whatsoever, hath a *Sufficient Emanative Power* to Create any other Substance, or Produce it out of Nothing; the utmost that can be done by Imperfect Beings, is only to Produce new *Accidents* and *Modifications*: as Humane Souls can Produce new *Cogitations* in themselves, and new *Local Motion* in Bodies. No Imperfect Being is Substantially *Emanative*, or can Produce another Substance out of *Non-Existence*. Therefore for any Substance, to be brought into Being, by an Imperfect Substance, which hath not *Sufficient Emanative* or *Creative Power*, is a thing plainly Impossible; it being all one as to say, That a Substance might Of It self, come out of Nothing into Being. And thus is it granted, that no Substance could be Created, or brought out of *Non-Existence*, into Being, but by the sole *Efficiency* of an *Absolutely Perfect* Being, which hath both *Greater Perfection*, (it Eminently Containing all things in it) and also a *Sufficient Emanative* or *Creative Power*.

And now have we given an Account, of Two Senses, wherein it is Impossible, For Any thing to come from Nothing; One, For a thing which was not, to bring it Self into Being, or to be Made without an *Efficient Cause*. Another, For a thing to be *Efficiently Caused*, by that which hath not at least *Equal Perfection* in it, or a *Sufficient Emanative* or *Productive Power*. Both which Senses of this Axiom respect the *Efficient Cause*, and thus was it frequent-

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ly understood by divers of the Ancients , and particularly by *Cicero*. We shall now propound a Third Sense , wherein this Axiom is also Verified, *That Nothing can be Made out of Nothing*, respecting chiefly the *Material Cause*. For since no *Imperfect* , *Natural Being* , hath any *Creative Power* , or can Efficiently produce any *New Substance* or *Real Entity*, which was not before, into Being, but only act upon *Pre-existing Matter*, by *Motion*, and *Modifie* the same; and since *Matter*, as such, being meerly *Passive* , cannot Cause anything , that was not before , or will not result from the *Composition* or *Modification* of it ; it follows undeniably, that in all *Natural Generations* and *Productions* out of *Preexistent Matter* , (without a *Divine Creation*) there can never be any *New Substance* or *Real Entity* brought out of *Non-Existence* into Being. And this was that very thing, and no other, which the Ancient *Physiologers* meant, when (as *Aristotle* tells us) they so much insisted upon this Principle, τὸ γινόμενον ἐκ μὴ ὄντων γινεσθαι ἀδύνατον, *That it was Impossible that any Real Entity , should be (Naturally) Made or Generated out of Nothing ; Or* , as it is also otherwise expressed, οὐδὲν ἑδὲ γινεσθαι ἑδὲ φθεγεσθαι ἤρ' ὄντων, *That no Real Entity was either Generated or Corrupted*. That is, That in *Natural Generations*, *Corruptions*, and *Alterations*, (where God is supposed not *Miraculously* to interpose) there is no *Creation* of any *New Substance* or *Real Entity* out of *Nothing*, nor *Annihilation*, or *Destruction* of any into *Nothing*.

We are not ignorant, that the Generality of *Modern Writers*, have interpreted this Doctrine, of the Old *Physiologers* in *Aristotle*, into quite different Sense ; as designing therein to take away all *Divine Creation* out of *Nothing* ; (or *Non-Existence*) they making all things to have sprung out of *Matter* (existing Of it self from Eternity) either *Without a God* ; or else rather (because *Parmenides* and *Empedocles*, and other Asserters of this Doctrine, were undoubted Theists) *With Him*. So that God could not *Create* any *New Entity* out of *Nothing*, but only make things out of *Preexisting Unmade Matter* , as a Carpenter doth a House, or a Weaver a Piece of Cloth. And thus is it Commonly taken for granted , that no Pagan Philosopher ever went so far , as to acknowledge a *Divine Creation* of any thing out of *Nothing*, in the Sense of *Christian Theologers*. And here we grant indeed that besides the *Stoicks*, there have been some other *Philosophick Theists* amongst the Pagans , of this Perswasion ; That *Nothing* was nor could be made by *God* , otherwise , then out of *Something Pre-Existing* : as *Plutarchus Cheronensis* for one , who in a place already Cited positively affirmeth, ὅτι μὲν νόμον ὑπὸ θεῶν γινόμενα, τὴν δὲ σάκην καὶ ἄλλω θεῶν γέγονεν , ἢ γινόμενα, ἀλλὰ ὑποκείμενα αἰετῇ ἀμυσσῶν. *That though the world were indeed made by God , yet the Substance or Matter , out of which it was Made , was not Made*. And then he subjoins this very Reason for it , ὅτι ἐκ τῆς μὴ ὄντος γένεσις, ἀλλ' ἐκ τῆς μὴ καλῆς, μὲν' ἰκανῶς ἐχούσης, ὡς οὐκίας καὶ ἰματίος καὶ ἀνδραγάλου. *Because there can be no Making of any thing out of Nothing, but only out of Something Pre Existing , not rightly Ordered or Sufficiently disposed ; as in a House, Garment, or Statue*. From which conceit of *Plutarch's*, though he were otherwise Ingenious, it may well be supposed , that the

the Dull *Ætærick Air* had too much Effect upon him. However neither *Plutarch* nor the *Stoicks*, as we conceive, are for this to be accounted *Absolute* and *Downright Atheists*, but only *Imperfect, Mungrel, and Spurious Theists*. And therefore were *Atheists* never so much able to prove, that there could be no *Creation* out of *Nothing Præ-Existing*, which they cannot at all do, yet would not this overthrow *Theism* in general, there being a *Latitude* therein. Nevertheless it will undeniably appear; from what shall follow, that those *Ancient Italicks and Pythagoricks*, were so far from intending here any such thing, to deduce all things out of *Matter*, either *Without*, or *With* a *God*; as that they plainly designed the very *Contrary*; namely to prove that no *New Real Entity* could be *Made* out of *Matter*, and particularly that *Souls* could not be *Generated* out of the same; which therefore of necessity, must, according to them, have another *Divine Original*, and be *Made by God*, not out of *Matter*, but out of *Nothing Præ-Existing*: since it could not be supposed by any, that all *Souls* Existed *Of Themselves* from *Eternity Unmade*. And indeed all those *Pagan Philosophers* who asserted the *Incorporiety* of *Souls*, must of necessity in like manner, suppose them not to have been *Made*, out of *Præ-Existing Matter*, but by *God* out of *Nothing*. *Plutarch* being only here to be excepted, by reason of a certain odd *Hypothesis* which he had, that was peculiarly his own; of a *Third Principle*, besides *God* and *Matter*, a *Disorderly Soul*, or *Evil Demon Self-Existent*, who therefore seems to have supposed all *Particular Humane Souls*, to have been made, neither out of *Nothing*, nor yet out of *Matter* or *Body Præ-Existing*, but out of a certain strange *Commixture*, of the *Substance* of that *Evil Soul*, and *God*, blended together: upon which account, does he affirm *Souls* to be, not so much *εργον* as *μερος Θεου*, not so much, *the work of God*, as a *Part of him*. And now let any one Judge, whether upon *Plutarch's* account, there be not yet further reason, to complain of this *Ætærick Air*. Wherefore we conclude, that those old *Physiologers* in *Aristotle*, who insisted so much upon that Principle, That no *Real Entity* could be *Made* or *Generated* out of *Nothing*, acted only as *Physiologers* therein, and not as *Theologers* or *Metaphysicians*, they not opposing a *Divine Creation* out of *Nothing Præ-Existing*, but only contending that no *New Entity* could be made out of *Matter*, and that in *Natural Generations* and *Corruptions* there was no *Creation*, or *Annihilation* of any thing.

But what the true scope and meaning of these *Physiologers* indeed was, will more plainly appear, from that *Use* or *Improvement*, which themselves made of this *Philosophick Principle*, and this was *Twofold*. For *First*, It is certain that upon this *Foundation*, they all of them Endeavoured to Establish, a *Peculiar kind of Physiology*, and some *Atomology* or other, either an *Homœomery*, or an *Anomœomery*, a *Similar* or *Dissimilar Atomology*. For *Anaxagoras* looking upon this *Maxim* of the *Italick Philosophers*, That *Nothing* could be *Physically* made out of *Nothing*, or no *Real Entity* *Generated* or *Corrupted*, as an *Undoubted Principle of Reason*, and being also not able to Conceive otherwise, of the *Forms* and *Qualities* of *Bodies* than that they were *Real Entities*, distinct from the *Substance of Matter*, or its *Modifica-*

tions ; concluded that therefore in *Generations*, *Corruptions* and *Alterations*, these were not created out of *Nothing*, and *Annihilated* into *Nothing*, but that every thing was *Naturally made*, ἐκ πρὸυπαρχόντων, out of *Præ-Existent* and *In-Existent Things*, and consequently that there were in all things, *Diffimilar Atoms* and *Particles* of every Kind, though by reason of their *Parvitude* *Insensible* to us, and every thing seemed to be, only that, which was most *Predominant* and *Conspicuous* in it. To wit, That *Bone* was made out of *Bony Atoms*, and *Flesh* out of *Fleshy*, *Hot* things out of *Hot Atoms*, and *Cold* things out of *Cold*, *Black* out of *Black*, and *White* out of *White*, &c. and *Nothing* out of *Nothing*, but every thing out of *Præ-Existent Similar Atoms*. Thus was the sense of *Anaxagoras* plainly declared by *Aristotle*, That because *Contraries* were made out of one another, they were therefore before *In-Existent*. For since every thing must of necessity be made, either out of *Something*, or out of *Nothing*, and all *Physiologers* agree, That it is *Impossible*, for any thing to be made out of *Nothing*; it follows unavoidably, that whatsoever is *Generated* must be *Generated* out of things *Præ-Existent* and *In-Existent*, though by reason of their *Parvitude* *Insensible* to us; That is, out of *Similar* or *Homogenial Atoms*, of which there are some of all kinds in *Every* thing; every thing being mingled in every thing. Here therefore have we, the *Anaxagorean Homœomery*, or *Similar Atomology*, built upon this *Principle of Reason*, as its *Foundation*, That *Nothing* can *Naturally* be *Made* or *Generated* out of *Nothing*.

But the *Italic*s or *Pythagoricks*, as well before *Anaxagoras* as after him, (with whom also hitherto concurred, *Leucippus*, *Democritus*, and *Epicurus*, those *Atheizers* of the *Italic Physiology*) did with much better Reason, from the same *Fundamental Principle* conclude, that since these *Forms* and *Qualities* of *Bodies*, were unquestionably *Generated* and *Corrupted*, they were therefore no *Entities Really Distinct* from the *Substance* of *Matter*, or its *Modifications*, but only different *Dispositions* or *Modifications* of the *Insensible Parts* thereof, Causing in us *Different Phantasms*: and this was the *First Original* of the *Diffimilar Atomology*. In *Matter* or *Body*, therefore as such, there was nothing else to these *Philosophers* conceivable, but only *Magnitude* of *Parts*, *Figure*, *Site*, and *Motion*, or *Rest*: and these were those few *Elements*, out of which *In-Existent*, and variously *Combined* together, they supposed all those *Forms* and *Qualities* of *Bodies*, (commonly so called) in *Generations* to result, without the *Production* of any *New Real Entity* out of *Nothing*. For as out of a few *Letters* in the *Alphabet* of every *Language*, Differently placed and *Combined*, do Result innumerable *Syllables*, *Words*, and *Sounds*, signifying all the several things, in *Heaven* and *Earth*; and sometimes from all the very same *Letters*, neither more nor fewer, but only *Transposed*, are begotten very *Different Phantasms* of *Sounds* in us; but without the *Production* of any *New Real Entity* out of *Nothing*: in the very same manner, from those *Fewer Letters* in the *Alphabet* of the *Corporeal Nature*, Variously combined, or from the different *Modifications* of *Matter*, in respect of *Magnitude* of *Parts*, *Figure*, *Site*, & *Motion*, are *Made* up and *Spelled* out, all those *Syllables* of *Things* that are in the whole
World,

World, without the Production of any New Real Entity. Many times the very same Numerical Matter, neither more nor less, only differently Modified, Causing very different Phantasms in us, which are therefore vulgarly supposed to be Forms and Qualities in the Things; as when the same water, is successively changed and transformed into Vapour, Snow, Hail, and Ice. And to this very purpose is the forementioned Similitude elegantly pursued by the Epicurean Poet, in these following Verses,

*Quin etiam refert nostris in Versibus ipsis,
Cum quibus & quali sint Ordine quaque locata.
Namque eadem Cælum, Mare, Terras, Flumina, Solem,
Significant, eadem Fruges, Arbusta, Animantes.
Sic ipsis in rebus item jam Materiai
Concursus, Motus, Ordo, Positura, Figura,
Cum permutantur, mutari Res quoque debent.*

L. 2. p. 191.
Lamb.

For were those supposed Forms and Qualities, produced in Generations and Alterations, Entities Really distinct from the Substance of Matter, or its different Modifications, in respect of the Magnitude, Figure, Site, and Motion of Parts; (there being no such things before In-Existing as Anaxagoras supposed,) then would they Materially proceed from Nothing, which is a thing Impossible. And this Dissimilar Atomology of the ancient Italicks, so far as to these Material Forms and Qualities, Seems to be Undoubtedly the only true Physiology, it being built upon this sure Principle of Reason, That because Nothing can give what it hath not, therefore no New Substance or Real Entity, can be Materially produced, in the Generations and Alterations of Nature, as such; but only Modifications. As when an Architect builds a House, or a Weaver makes a piece of Cloth, there is only a different Modification of the Pre-Existent Matter.

This is the First Improvement, which the Ancient Italick Philosophers made, of this Principle, That Nothing can be (Physically and Materially) Generated out of Nothing; or that no Real Entity is Naturally Generated or Corrupted; That therefore the Forms and Qualities of Bodies, were no Real Entities, but only Different Modifications. But besides this, there was also another thing, which these Philosophers principally Aimed at herein, as a Corollary deducible from the same Principle, concerning Souls; that since the Souls of Animals, Especially Humane, are unquestionably Entities Really distinct from Matter, and all its Modifications; (no Magnitudes, Figures, Sites and Motions, being ever able to beget Cogitation or Consciousness, much less a Power of Understanding Eternal Verities) that therefore these could not be Generated out of Matter, nor Corrupted into the same. Because Forms and Qualities are Continually Generated and Corrupted, made out of Nothing, and Reduced to Nothing again; therefore are they no Entities Really distinct from Matter, and its different Modifications: but because Souls, at least Humane, are unquestionably Entities Really distinct from Matter, and all its Modifications; therefore can they not possibly be Generated out of Matter,

ter, nor Corrupted into the same. For if *Humane Souls* were *Generated* out of *Matter*, then must some *Real Entity* be *Materially produced* out of *Nothing*, there being *Nothing* of *Life* and *Cogitation* in *Matter*; which is a *Thing Absolutely Impossible*. Wherefore these *Philosophers* concluded concerning *Souls*, that being not *Generated* out of *Matter*, they were *Insinuated* or *Introduced* into *Bodies*, in *Generations*. And this was always a *Great Controversie*, betwixt *Theists* and *Atheists*, concerning the *Humane Soul*, as *Lucretius* expresseth it;

Nata sit, an contra Nascentibus Insinuetur,

Whether it were Made or Generated out of Matter, (that is indeed out of *Nothing*) or else were *ὑπογεν*, *From Without*, *Insinuated* into *Bodies* in *Generations*? Which latter Opinion of theirs, supposes *Souls* as well to have *Existed Before* the *Generations* of all *Animals*, as to *Exist After* their *Deaths* and *Corruptions*; there being properly *Nothing* of them *Generated* but only their *Union* with those particular *Bodies*. So that the *Generations*, and *Corruptions* or *Deaths* of *Animals*, according to this *Hypothesis*, are nothing but an *Anagrammatical Transposition* of *Things* in the *Universe*, *Præ-* and *Post-Existent Souls*, being sometimes united to one *Body*, and sometimes to another. But it doth not therefore follow, because these *Ancient Philosophers* held *Souls* to be thus *Ingenerable*, and to have *Pre-Existed* before the *Generation* of *Animals*; that therefore they supposed all *Souls* to have *Existed Of Themselves* from *Eternity Unmade*: this being a *Thing* which was never asserted, any more by *Theist* than *Atheist*; since even those *Philosophick Theists*, who maintained *Æternitatem Animorum*, *The Eternity of Humane Minds and Souls*, together with the *Worlds*, did notwithstanding, assert their *Essential Dependence* upon the *Deity*, like that of the *Lights* upon the *Sun*; as if they were a kind of *Eternal Effulgency*, *Emanation* or *Eradiation* from an *Eternal Sun*. Even *Proclus* himself, that *Great Champion* for the *Eternity of the World and Souls*, in this very Case, when he writes against *Plutarch's Self-Existent Evil Soul*, expressly declaring, that *πάντα ψυχὰ γεννᾶται ὑπὸ τοῦ Θεοῦ*, *There is no Self Existent Soul*; but every *Soul whatsoever is the Work Effect and Production of God*. Wherefore when they affirmed *Souls* to be *Ingenerable*, their meaning was no more than this, that they were not meer *Accidental Things* as *Forms* and *Qualities* are, nor any more *Generated* out of *Matter*, than *Matter* it self is *Generated* out of *Something* else; upon which account, as *Aristotle* informs us, *Souls* were called also by them, *ἀρχαί*, *Principles*, as well as *Matter*, they being both of them *Substances* in the *Universe* alike *Original*; that is neither of them *Made* out of the other. But they did not suppose them to be *ἀγενήτως*, *Ingenerate* or *Unmade* in the other Sense, as if they had been *Self-Originated*, and *Independent*, as *Plutarch's Second* and *Third Principles*; his *Evil Soul*, and *Matter* were by him *Imagined* to be: but so doubtless as that if the *World* had had any beginning, they should then have been all *Created together* with it, out of *Nothing Præ-Existing*. But as for the perpetual *Creation of new Souls*, in the *Successive Generations of Animals*, this indeed is a thing

thing which those Philosophers were extremely abhorrent from, as thinking it Incongruous, that *Souls* which are in *Order of Nature*, *Senior to Bodies*, should be in *Order of Time*, *Juniors* to them; as also not Reasonable, that *Divine Creation*, (as it were Prostituted) should without end, perpetually attend and wait upon *Natural Generations*, and be Intermingled with them.

But as for this *Præ-Existence* of *Souls*, we have already declared our own sense concerning it, in the First Chapter. Though we cannot deny, but that besides *Origen*, several others of the Ancient Fathers, before the Fifth Council, seem either to have Espoused it, or at least to have had a favour and kindness for it; insomuch that St. *Austine* himself, is sometimes Staggering in this Point, and thinks it to be a *Great Secret*, whether mens *Souls* Existed before their Generations or no; and some where concludes it to be a matter of *Indifferency*, wherein every one may have, his Liberty of opining, either way, without offence. Wherefore all that can be certainly affirmed in this Case, is, that Humane *Souls* could not possibly be *Generated* out of *Matter*, but were some time or other *Created* by God Almighty, out of *Nothing Præ-Existing*, either In *Generations* or Before them. Lastly, as for Brute Animals, we must confess, that If they be not meer *Machines* or *Automata*, as some seem inclinable to believe, but *Conscious* and *Thinking Beings*, then from the same Principle of Reason, it will likewise follow, that they cannot be *Generated* out of *Matter* neither, and therefore must be *Derived* from the *Fountain of all Life*, and *Created out of Nothing* by him: who since he can, as easily *Annihilate*, as *Create*; and does all for the Best; no man need at all to trouble himself, about their *Permanency*, or *Immortality*.

And now have we given, a Full and Particular Account, of all the *Several Senses*, wherein this *Axiom* must be acknowledged to be Undeniably True, That *Nothing can possibly be Made out of Nothing*, or *Come from Nothing*; namely these Three. First, That *Nothing which was Not, could ever bring it self into Being*, or *Efficiently Produce it self*. Or, That *Nothing can possibly be Made, without an Efficient Cause*. Secondly, that *Nothing which was Not*, could be Produced or brought into Being, by any other *Efficient Cause*, then such, as hath at least, *Equal Perfection in it*, and a *Sufficient Active or Productive Power*. For if any thing were made by that, which hath not *Equal Perfection*, then must so much of the Effect as Transcendeth the Cause, be indeed *Made without a Cause*, (since, *Nothing can Give what it hath not*) or be *Caused* by it self, or by Nothing. Again, to suppose a thing to be Produced by that which hath no *Sufficient Productive Power*, is Really to suppose it also, to be Produced from *It self* without a Cause, or *From Nothing*. Where it is acknowledged by us, That no *Natural, Imperfect, Created Being*, can Create, or *Emanatively Produce*, a *New Substance* which was not Before, and give it, its *Whole Being*. Hitherto, is the *Axiom Verified* in Respect of the *Efficient Cause*. But in the *Third Place*, it is also True, in respect of the *Material* likewise. Not, That *Nothing could Possibly be ever Made*, by any Power whatsoever, but only out of *Præ-Existent Matter*; and Consequently, that *Mat-*

ter it self could be never Made, but was *Self-Existent*. For the falsity of this, is sufficiently evident, from what hath been already declared, concerning *Humane Souls*, their being undoubtedly *Substances Incorporeal*, which therefore could never be *Generated* out of *Matter*; and it will be further manifested afterwards. But the Third and Last Sense is this; That *Nothing which is Materially Made out of things Præ-Existent*, (as some are) can have any other *Real Entity*, then what was either before contained in, or resulteth from the Things themselves so Modified. Or, That there can be no *New Entities* or *Substances*, Naturally *Generated* out of *Matter*; and therefore that all *Natural Generations*, are really *Nothing* else, but *Mixtures* or *New Modifications* of *Things Præ-Existent*.

These, I say, are all the *Senses*, wherein it is *Impossible*, That any thing should be *Made out of Nothing*, or *Come from Nothing*; and they may be all reduced to this *One General Sense*, That *Nothing can be Made out of Nothing, Causally*; Or, That, *Nothing cannot Cause Any thing, either Efficiently or Materially*. Which as it is undeniably *True*; So is it so far from making any thing, against a *Divine Creation*, or the *Existence* of a *God*, that the same may be *Demonstratively Proved*, and *Evinced* from it, as shall be shewed afterward.

But there is another Sense, wherein things may be said to be Made ἐκ οὐ τινος , Or, *Out of Nothing*, when those words are not taken *Causally*, but only so as to signify the *Terminus A quo*, or *Term from which*, they are Made, to wit, an *Antecedent Non-Existence*. And then the Meaning of this *Proposition*, That *Nothing can possibly be Made out of Nothing*, will be this, That *Nothing which once was Not*, could by any *Power whatsoever*, be afterwards brought into *Being*. And this is the Sense insisted on, in this *Second Atheistick Argumentation*, framed according to the Principles, of the *Democritick* or *Epicurean Atheism*. That no *Real Entity* which once was not, could by any *Power whatsoever*, be *Made*, or brought out of *Non-Existence* into *Being*; and consequently, that no *Creative Power* out of *Nothing*, can possibly belong to any thing, though supposed never so Perfect.

In Answer whereunto; we shall perform these *Two Things*. First, we shall make it appear, that *Nothing out of Nothing*, taken in this Sense declared, is so far from being a *Common Notion*, that it is not at all *True*. And Secondly, we shall prove, that If it were *True*, yet would it of the *Two*, make more against *Atheism*, then it doth against *Theism*, and therefore ought by no means to be used by *Atheists*, as an *Argument* against a *Deity*. First therefore, it is unquestionably certain, That this cannot be *Universally True*, That *Nothing which once was not*, could possibly be *Made*, or brought out of *Non-Existence* into *Being*, because If it were, then could there be no such thing as *Making* or *Causing* at all; no *Action* nor *Motion*, and consequently no *Generation* nor *Mutation* in the *Corporeal Universe*, but the whole world would be like a *Stiff Immoveable Adamantine Rock*; and this would doubtless be a better *Argument* against *Motion*, then any of *Zeno's* was. But we have all experience within our selves, of a *Power of Producing New Cogitations*,

Cogitations, in our own Minds, new *Intellectual* and *Moral Habits*, as also *New Local Motion* in our Bodies, or at least *New Determinations* thereof, and of *Causing* thereby *New Modifications* in Bodies without us. And therefore are the *Atheists* forced to Restrain the Sense of this Proposition to *Substantial Things* only, that though there may be *New Accidents*, and *Modifications*, Produced out of *Nothing*, yet there can be no *New Substances Made*; however they be not able in the mean time to give any Reason why One of those should be in it self more Impossible than the other, or why no Substance should be *Makeable*. But that some are so stagger'd with the Seeming Plausibility of this Argument, is chiefly upon these following Accounts. First, by reason of the *Confusion* of their own *Conceptions*; for because it is certain, That *Nothing can possibly be made out of Nothing*, in one Sense, to wit *Causally*; they not distinguishing Senses, nor being aware of the *Equivocation* that is in this ἔκ ἐκ οὐθέν , *Out of Nothing*, inadvertently give their assent, to those Words in a Wrong Sense; that no Substance (as *Matter*) could possibly be brought out of *Non-Existence into Being*. Secondly, by reason of their Unskilful Arguing from *Artificial Things*; When because Nothing can be *Artificially Made but out of Pre-Existing Matter*, as a *House* or *Garment*, and the like, (there being nothing done in the Production of these Things, but only a *New Modification*, of what before *Substantially* was) they over hastily conclude, that no Power whatsoever could produce any thing otherwise, then out of *Pre-Existing Matter*, and that Matter it self therefore could not possibly be Made. In which Conceit they are again further confirmed from hence, because the Old Physiologers maintained the same thing concerning *Natural Generations* likewise, That nothing was in them produced ἔκ ἐκ οὐθέν , *Out of Nothing*, neither; or that there was no *New Substance* or *Entity Made* in them, really distinct from the *Pre-Existing Matter* and its *Modifications*; they Unwarily Extending this, beyond the Bounds of *Physicks* into *Metaphysicks*; and unduly measuring or limiting *Infinite Power* accordingly. Lastly, because it is undeniably certain, concerning Our Selves and all *Imperfect Created Beings*, that none of these can *Create* any *New Substance*, which was not before; men are therefore apt to measure all things by their own scantling, and to suppose it *Universally Impossible*, according to *Humane Reason*, for any Power whatsoever, thus to *Create*; whence it follows that *Theology* must in this be acknowledged to be *Contradictious* to the *Principles of Natural Light* and *Understanding*. But since it is certain, that *Imperfect Created Beings* can themselves Produce *Some Things* out of *Nothing Pre-Existing*, as *New Cogitations*, and *New Local Motion*, *New Modifications* and *Transformations* of things *Corporeal*, it is very reasonable to think, that an *Absolutely Perfect Being* could do something more; that is, *Create New Substances* out of *Nothing*, or give them their Whole Being. And it may well be thought to be as *Easie*, for God, or an *Omnipotent Being*, to Make a Whole World, Matter and all, ἔκ ἐκ οὐθέν , *Out of Nothing*, as it is for us to Create a *Thought*, or to Move a *Finger*, or for the Sun to send out *Rays*, or a *Candle Light*, or lastly, for any *Opake Body*, to produce the Image of it self in *Glasses* or *Water*, or to project a *Shadow*; all these *Imperfect Things* being but the

Energies, Rays, Images, or Shadows, of the Deity. For a Substance which once was not, to be Made by God, or a Being *Infinitely Perfect*; this is not for it to be Made *Out of Nothing*, in the Impossible Sense, it coming from him who is *All*. Nor can it be said to be Impossible, for any thing whatsoever, to be Made by that, which hath not only *Infinitely Greater Perfection*, but also a *Sufficient Active Power* to produce the same, it being *Substantially Emanative*. It is true indeed, that *Infinite Power* it self, cannot do things in their own Nature Impossible; and this is therefore the only thing, which the Atheists have to prove, That it is in it self *Absolutely Impossible*, for a Substance, (though not for an *Accident* or *Modification*) to be produced out of *Non-Existence* into *Being*. Whereas nothing is in it self *Absolutely Impossible*, but what implies a *Contradiction*: and though it be *Contradictious*, for a Thing to Be and Not Be, at the same time; yet is there no manner of *Contradiction* at all in this, for any *Imperfect Contingent Being* which before was not, afterwards to be. Wherefore this being in it self no way Impossible, it must be acknowledged to be a *Due Object* of *Infinite Power*, or that which may be done by a *Perfect Omnipotent Being* existing.

If Nothing could be Made *ἐκ ἐν οὐθέν*, *Out of Nothing*, in this Latter Sense, that is, *Nothing which Before was Not*, Afterwards brought into *Being*; then must the Reason hereof be, because no *Substance* or *Real Entity*, can be *Caused* by any other *Substance*, so as to Receive and Derive its *Whole Being* from it; and Consequently whatsoever *Substance* or *Real Entity*, is in the Whole World, was not only from *Eternity* without *Beginning*, but also Existed *Of It self Necessarily*, and *Independently* upon any thing else. But First, it hath been already declared, that it is repugnant to the Humane Faculties, that any *Temporary Successive Being* whatsoever, or that *Time* it self should be *Eternal* without beginning, because upon that *Hypothesis*, there would always have been an *Infinity of Time Past*; and if so, then would there of necessity have been, *Time Past, which was never Present*. But, to make every *Substantial Thing*, not only to have Existed from *Eternity* without *Beginning* (which yet hath been done by some *Mistaken Theists*) but also to have Existed, *Independently* upon any thing else, as its *Cause*, or *Original*, and therefore *Of it self Necessarily*, this, I say, is it self, to Make *Something to come from Nothing in the Impossible Sense*, to wit, *Causally*. For as when some *Atheists* affirm, That *Nothing could Ever Move It self*, and yet suppose notwithstanding, that there hath been *Motion* from all *Eternity*, they plainly make this *Motion*, (however supposed to be *Eternal*) to *Come from Nothing* in the Impossible Sense: so in like manner, they who suppose *Things* to have Existed *Of themselves Necessarily*, which have no *Self-Existence*, and *Necessary Existence* contained in their Nature, (as *Nothing* but a *Perfect Being* hath) do make this *Necessary Existence* of such things, to have *Come from Nothing*. Wherefore though it be certain, that something did Exist *Of It self Necessarily* from all *Eternity*, namely a *Perfect Being* (whose *Necessary Existence* is therefore not from *Nothing*, because *Essentially* included in its own Nature) yet is it certain likewise, that there can be but *One Such Thing*; *Necessity of Existence* being *Natural* and

See Enchir.
Met. c. 10.

and *Essential* to no more. But as for all other things, which are in their own Nature, *Contingently Possible* to Be or Not to be, Reason pronounces of them, that they could not Exist *Of themselves Necessarily*, but were *Caused* by Something else; and derived their Original, from that One *Absolutely Perfect*, and *Necessarily Existent Being*. So that *Plato's* Distinction must needs be here allowed of, betwixt Two Kinds of Beings, $\tauὸ μὲν αἰὲν ὄν, γένεσιν ἢ ἐκ ἕχον,$ That which always Is, and was never Made, nor had Beginning; and $\tauὸ γινόμενον μὲν ὄν ἢ ἀδύνατον,$ That which was Made, or had Beginning, but never Truly Is. It having not a Permanent but Successive or Flowing Duration. Accordingly whereunto, *Aristotle* also affirmeth; That there is no necessity, all things should be Unmade or Self-Originated; but Somethings might be Made from others Unmade.

Lastly, we shall disprove the Truth of this Assertion, That whatsoever Substantially, and Really Is, did Exist of it self from all Eternity Unmade, after this manner. Because it would follow from thence that not only Matter, and Unqualified Atoms, (as the *Democritick Atheists* suppose) but also Souls, especially Humane, must needs have Existed *Of themselves* too, from Eternity Unmade. For as no man can be so sottish, as to conceive Himself, or That which Thinketh in him, his Own Soul or Mind, and Personality, to be no Real Entity; Whilst every Clod of Earth is such; so is it certain that Mind can never be Generated out of Dead and senseless Matter or Body, nor Result as a Modification thereof, out of Magnitudes, Figures, Sites, and Motions, and therefore must needs be a Thing Really Distinct from it, or Substance Incorporeal: the *Democritick Atheists* being here grossly deceived, in thinking, that because Forms and Qualities of Bodies, may be resolved into those forementioned Elements of Matter, and consequently concluded to be no Entities Really Distinct from the Substance thereof, but only different Modifications of the same, that therefore the like may be said of Souls too, the Rational not excepted. Wherefore if no Substance or Real Entity could ever be brought out of Non-Existence into Being, or be Caused by any thing else, then must all Humane Souls and Personalities, as well as Matter and Atoms, have existed not only from Eternity, without beginning, but also *Of themselves Independently* upon any other thing. But the Atheists are so abhorrent from this Eternity of Humane Souls, that they will by no means admit of their Post-Existence or Immortality; they apprehending, that if any Living Understanding Being, should prove Immortal, they could not sufficiently secure themselves against the Possibility and Danger of a God. Some Theists indeed have asserted *Æternitatem Animorum*, not only the Pre-Existence, but also the Eternity of all Humane Minds, together with the World, as *Cicero* more than once doth; who also in his Book of Divination thus further declares himself concerning it; *Animus quia vixit ab omni Æternitate, Versatusque est cum innumerabilibus Animis, omnia quæ in naturâ rerum sunt videt*; Our Mind, because it hath existed from all Eternity, and conversed with innumerable Minds, seeth all things that are in Nature: and again, *Cum Animi hominum semper fuerint futurique sint*; Since the Minds of Men ever were, and ever will be. Nevertheless none of

these ever maintained, that *Humane Minds* and their distinct *Personalities*, were thus all, *Of Themselves*, Independently upon any thing as their *Cause* or *Original*. And, as it was before Demonstrated, from the Nature of *Knowledge* and *Understanding* (it comprehending the *Possibilities* of all Things, and therefore supposing *Infinite Power*) that there can be but *One Mind*, or *Understanding Being*, Self-Existent, all *Minds* partaking of that *One Mind*; so is it hardly Possible, for any one in good earnest, to Entertain such a Conceit as this, that his Own *Particular Soul*, *Mind*, and *Personality*, and consequently all *Humane Souls*, though subject to such *Laws of Fate* as now they are; did not only *Pre-Exift* before their Respective *Bodies*, and were from *Eternity* without Beginning, but also *Existed Of Themselves Necessarily* and *Independently* upon any thing else. Wherefore if *Humane Souls*, *Minds*, and *Personalities*, being unquestionably *Substantial Things* and Really *Distinct* from *Matter*, (which therefore could not possibly be *Generated* out of it) did not all *Exift* from *Eternity*, *Of Themselves*, *Necessarily*, and *Independently*, it is certain that they must *Derive* their whole Being, from the *Deity*, or be *Created* ἔκ τινος, *Out of Nothing*, or *Non-Existence* by it. And if *Humane Souls* were unquestionably thus *Created*, it cannot reasonably be doubted, but that *Matter* or *Body* it self, was *Created* likewise out of *Nothing*, or *Caused* by the *Deity*: for as much as that which *Created* One thing out of *Nothing*, could *Create* every thing; and there is Really more of *Substance*, that is, a Higher Degree of *Entity*, in *Minds* and *Souls*, *Conscious Self-moving*, and *Understanding Beings*, then in *Senseless Matter*, or *Unactive Bulk*.

But for as much as this Doctrine of a *Divine Creation* out of *Nothing Pre-Exifting*, lies under no small Prejudice upon this Account, because it is so generally taken for granted, that none of the *Pagan Theists*, who are supposed to have kept close to the simple *Light of Nature*, did ever acknowledge in the *Deity*, any such *Creative Power* out of *Nothing*, or that *God* was the *Cause* of any *Substance*, we must of Necessity here declare this, how common soever it be, to be a great *Mistake*. For besides that, *Plato* in his *Sophist* having defined the *Efficient* or *Effective Power* in general, after this manner, ποιητικὴν πᾶσαν ἔφαμεν εἶναι δύναμιν, ἥτις ἀν' αὐτὰ γίνεσθαι τοῖς μὴ πρότερον εἶναι ὕστερον γίνεσθαι, *To be A Power or Causality, whereby that which was Not before, was afterwards Made to Be*; and then dividing this *Efficiency*, into *Divine* and *Humane*, he Immediately Subjoyns concerning the Former, Ζῶα δὲ πάντα, &c. μὲν ἄλλος τις ἢ θεὸς δημιουργεῖν φησόμεν ὕστερον γίνεσθαι πρότερον εἶναι ὄντα; *Shall we not then say, that all Animals and other things, were by the Divine Efficiency alone, After they had Not been, Made to be?* Where thus much at least is certain, that *Plato* did not at all Question the Possibility of a Thing's being *Made* out of *Nothing* in this Sense; that is, brought into Being, *After it had Not been*, by a *Divine Power*. But because it may be thought, that he meant this no further, than of the first compages of *Animals*, in which Notwithstanding every thing, *Souls* and all, might be *Made* out of *Pre-Exifting Matter*; we shall here further add, what in his *Timæus* he declareth concerning the *Soul*, τὴν ψυχὴν ἔκ τινος ὕστερον ἔτιχθεμεν

ἔπιχερῶμεν λέγειν, ὅτις ἐμνησθήσατο καὶ ὁ θεὸς νεώτερον, ἢ τὸ ἂν ἀρξάσθαι, πρὸς αὐτὸν ὑπὸ νεώτερον εἶασι, ὃ καὶ γινέσθαι καὶ ἀρετῇ πρῶτον καὶ πρῶτον ψυχῇ σώματι, ὡς δεσπότην καὶ ἀρξάσαν ἀρξομένην συνεστήσατο, *That God did not Make it, after Body, and Junior to it; since it was not fit, that the Elder should be Ruled or Governed by the Younger; but he made Soul before Body, Older than it, and Superiour to it, as well in respect of Time as Dignity.* Which Notion is further pursued by him in his Tenth De Legibus, ὁρῶντες ἄρα καὶ κρείως ἀληθές τε καὶ τελειώτατον εἰρηκότες ἂν ἦμεν, ψυχῇ μὲν πρῶτον γεγενῆσθαι σώματι ἡμῶν· σώμα δὲ δευτέρον τε καὶ ὕστερον ψυχῆς ἀρχῆς ἀρχόμενον καὶ φύσιν. *Wherefore it was rightly, properly, and most truly affirmed by us; that Soul was made First as that which Ruleth, but Body afterward, as that which is to be Ruled and Governed thereby:* From whence also he draws his Consecutary, ὡς εἰ καὶ ψυχῇ φανεῖν πρῶτον σώματι· ὅσα καὶ τὰ ψυχῆς καὶ τὰ σώματι ἴσους πρῶτον· τρέποι καὶ ἡδὴ καὶ βελήσας καὶ λογισμοὶ καὶ δοξαίαι, ἔπιμελῆσαι τε καὶ μνήμαι, πρῶτον μῆκας σωμάτων καὶ πλάτος καὶ βάθος, εἰ γενοῖται ἂν, ἔπειτα καὶ ψυχῇ σώματι, *That If the Soul be Older than the Body, then must the Things of the Soul also, be Older than those of the Body, and therefore Cogitation, and the several species of it, must be in order of Nature, not only before Local Motion, but also before Longitude, Latitude, and Profundity of Bodies.* From whence it is plain, that Plato's first γένεσις, or Production of Souls by God, could not be out of any Pre-Existing Body or Matter, they being affirmed by him to be before, not only this and that particular Body, but all Body whatsoever, before Longitude, Latitude and Profundity. Which may be further confirmed from hence, because in his Sophist, he plainly condemns that Opinion of some, τὴν ψυχὴν αὐτὴν σῶμα τι κεκτῆσθαι, *That the Soul it Self had something of Body in it;* and he often elsewhere declares the Soul to be Incorporeal. It is certain also that not only Plato; but all those other Pagan Philosophers too, who asserted the Incorporeity and Immortality of Humane Souls, could not possibly conceive Souls, to have been made out of Pre-Existent Matter, but either ἔξ ἐκ οὐτῶν, *Out of Nothing*, they being not *Eternal*, but having a *Newness of Being*, (as Plato himself seemed to suppose) or else if they were conceived to be *Eternal* by them (which was the opinion of most of the Junior Platonists, yet) to have Derived their whole Substance from the Deity, and always to Depend upon it; as *Eternal Light*, would depend upon an *Eternal Sun*. Plutarch and his followers being only here to be excepted, who would neither have Souls made out of Nothing by God, nor yet out of Corporeal Matter Pre-Existing, (they being themselves Incorporeal;) but out of a strange Commixture of the Substance of God himself, with the Substance of a certain Disorderly Soul, Self-Existent and Uncreated; of which we have spoken already. But that the Genuine Platonists, did universally suppose, that One Substance might be Caused by another, and derive its whole Being from it, is undeniably Evident from hence, because their Second Divine Hypostasis or Substance, (though *Eternal*) was according to them, Derived from; or Begotten by their First, and their Third Hypostasis or Substance Produced both from the First and Second; and other Inferiour Orbs of Being, as the Particular Souls of Demons and Men, from that whole Trinity of Divine Hypostases

postases joyntly concurring. And as for Matter or Body it self, it is certain also, that *Plotinus*, *Porphyrus*, *Iamblichus*, *Hierocles*, *Platonists*, expressly denied it to have been ἀγέννητον, *Unmade*, or *Proclus* and other *Self Existent*, and conceived it to have derived its whole *Being* from the Deity; who accordingly is styled by *Proclus*, ἀρρήτου αἰτία τῆς ὕλης, *The Ineffable Cause of Matter*. In like manner have we already showed, that according to the Chalday Oracles, *Matter* it self was also *Caused* or *Produced* by the Deity, to which purpose is this Verse Cited by *Proclus*, ἐνθεν ἄδην θεώσεως γένεσις πομπικῆς ὕλης. *From whence* (that is, *From the Deity*) *abundantly springs forth the Generation of the Multiform Matter*. The Meeter here requiring, that it should be read ἄδην, and not ἀρδην, as it is in *Proclus* his Copy. Moreover *Iamblichus* hath recorded in his *Mysteries*, that *Hermes*, and the old Egyptian *Theologers* likewise, held matter not to be ἀγέννητον, that is, *Self-Existent*, *Unmade*, or *Underived* from the Deity, but to have been *Caused* by it. Whence does *Proclus* conclude it probable, that *Plato* was of the same Perswasion also; as likewise *Orpheus* before had been, he deriving this as is supposed, with other things from the *Egyptians*. It is true indeed, that many of these Philosophers, asserted *Matter*, *Souls*, and the whole *World*, to have been *Eternal* without Beginning, and Consequently not Created, ἐξ ἐκ οὐτῶν, in that stricter Sense, that is, out of an Antecedent Non-Existence in time. Notwithstanding which, they did suppose them to have received their Whole Being from the Deity, and to have Depended on it, every jot as much, as if having once Not been, they had afterward been *Made* by it. And that which gives to any Substance its *Whole Being*, though from *Eternity*, so that it never *was* Not; the same upon Supposition, that it once had not been, could unquestionably have Produced it, ἐξ ἐκ οὐτῶν, *Out of Nothing*, or an Antecedent Non-Existence.

Thus Hierocles in Photius; διμ-
σερον θεον
περὶ φύσιν
ὁ Πλάτων
ποιῶν ἐμ-
φανῆς τε καὶ
ἀφανῆς δια-
κοσμήσεως,
ἐκ μηδενός
περὶ ποσει-
μένους γυ-
νημένους, &c.
Plato censuit
Mundum à
Deo, ex nul-
lâ prius ex-
istente Mate-
riâ, produ-
ctum, &c.

We have now sufficiently disproved The Truth of that Assertion, That *Nothing* could be *Made* out of *Nothing*, in the Atheistick Sense thereof; viz. That *Nothing* which before was Not, could afterwards possibly be *Made* to Be: Though this should not be Extended so far, as to *Accidental Things*, and *Modifications*, but restrained and confined, only to *Substantials*: That no Substance whatsoever, could have a Newness of Being, or be Caused by any other Substance; but whatsoever Substantial Thing any where is in the World, the same did Exist Of It self from Eternity, and Independently upon any thing else; nothing but different *Modifications* being *Made* or *Produced*. Which same Assertion, has been also sometimes, otherwise thus expressed; *Nothing* can be *Made* but out of *Pre-Existing Substance*; the meaning hereof being this, That *Nothing* can be *Made*, but *New Accidental Modifications*, of what before *Substantially* was; no Substance it self being *Makeable* or *Producible* by any other Substance, neither in Time (so as to have a Newness or Beginning of Being) nor yet from Eternity. Where the Atheists and some others taking it for granted, that there is no other Substance besides *Body*, or *Matter*, do further limit and restrain the Sense of that Proposition in this manner: *Nothing* can be *Made* but out of *Pre-Existing Matter*; that is, *Nothing* can be *Made*, but out of

of Corporeal Substance Pre-Existing. An *Idolum Specus*, (if I may use that Language) which in all Probability had its first Original, chiefly from mens Measuring the Extent of all Power, by their own Production of Artificial things. Because forsooth, a Carpenter or Architect cannot make a House, but out of Pre-Existing Timber, Bricks, and Stones, nor a Taylour a Garment, but out of Pre-Existing Cloth; nor a Cook, Puddings or Pyes, but out of Pre-Existing Materials or Ingredients; That therefore no Power whatsoever, no no that of God Almighty, can extend any further, than to the New Modifying of Pre-Existent Matter, but not to the Production or Causing of any Substance. We shall in the next place make it appear, that were this Assertion True, That No Substance or Real Entity which once was Not, could be Caused or Produced, yet would it notwithstanding of the Two, more impugn Atheism, than Theism (it being possible for Falshoods, though not for Truths, to disagree) for as much as the Atheists do really bring More Out of Nothing, or Non-Existence, than the Theists do; and therefore ought not to make this an Objection against Theism. For though according to the True and Genuine Theology, God or a Perfect Being be supposed, to be the Only Necessary Self-Existent Thing, and the Cause of all other Substance, and consequently to have Produced all Imperfect Things, not only Souls, but also Matter it self, ἐξ οὐκ οὐθέν, Out of Nothing, or an Antecedent Non-Existence, yet is there, by reason of the Weakness of Humane Understandings, a Latitude in Theism. Wherefore some there are, who though imposed upon by that *Idolum Specus*, or imprisoned in it, That Nothing can possibly be Made but out of Pre-Existing Matter, by the New Modification thereof; do notwithstanding devoutly worship a Deity, according to their Notion of it, A Perfectly Understanding Being Unmade; though not the Creator of Matter, yet the Maker of the Whole World out of it, and the Supreme Governour of the same; they thus supposing Two Principles in the Universe, an Active and a Passive one, God and Matter. Besides which, it is not impossible for others to think, that though Matter or Body be not the only Substance, but Humane Souls are Incorporeal, yet the Substance of these Souls was not Created out of Nothing no more than that of Body, but they were Made either out of some Pre-Existing Common Soul, (as their Intelligible Matter) or out of the Substance of the Deity it self; or else Existed of themselves, from Eternity Unmade: and yet nevertheless may these acknowledge, One Supreme Understanding Being Self-Existent also, though neither the Creator of Matter, nor of Souls, yet the Supreme Governour and Orderer of all. And it is certain, that Plutarch's God, was no better than this, and yet was that Pagan notwithstanding, a Devout Religionist in his Kind, as well as a Hearty Moralist. And such a Theism or Theology, as either of those forementioned, (though not Genuine and Sincere, but Imperfect and Mongrel things) would perhaps be to the Atheists, little less Troublesome and Uneasie, than the True. Thus have we shewed, that this Principle, That Nothing can come out of Nothing, or be Made, otherwise than out of Pre-Existing Substance or Matter, though it be indeed Contradictious to the True and Genuine Theology, yet is it not absolutely Inconsistent with all manner of Religion; there being certain Spurious or Imperfect Forms of Theism, built upon this Foundation. But now on the

the contrary, we shall make it manifest, That this very Principle, made use of by the *Atheists*, is in Truth and Reality *Contradictory* to all manner of *Atheism*, and destructive of the same; the *Atheists* *Universally Generating and Corrupting Real Entities*, and *Substantial* things, that is, Producing them out of *Nothing* or *Non-Existence*, and reducing them to *Nothing* again: for as much as they make all things whatsoever, the bare *Substance of Matter* only excepted, (which to them is either no *Determinate Thing*, or else nothing but meer *Bulk*, or *Resisting and Divisible Magnitude*) to come out of *Nothing*, and to go to *Nothing*. Thus does *Aristotle* in a place before cited, declare the *Atheistick Sense*, εἰσι γὰρ τινες, οἱ φασιν ὅδ' ἐν ἀγνώστῳ εἶναι τῶν περὶ μὲν ὧν, ἀλλὰ πάντα γίνεσθαι; *There are Certain men, who affirm, that Nothing is Unmade, but All things Generated or Made.* Whose Sense is afterwards more distinctly thus proposed by him, τὰ μὲν ἅλλα γίνεσθαι καὶ εἶναι, εἶναι δὲ παρὸς ὅδ' ἐν δὲ τι μόνον ὑπομένειν, ἐξ ὧν ταῦτα πάντα μεταχρηματίζεσθαι πέφυκεν. *That all other things are Generated and Flow, and none of them firmly Is*, (they being perpetually Educ'd out of *Nothing*, and Reduced to *Nothing*) but that there is only *One thing* which remaineth; namely that, out of which all the other are *Made*, by the *Transformation* thereof. Which *One thing*, (to wit *Matter*) as the same *Aristotle* further adds, they affirmed to be the *Only Substance*, and from *Eternity Unmade*, but all other things whatsoever, being but πάθη καὶ ἐξῆς καὶ διαθεταί, *Passions, Affections, and Dispositions* thereof, γίνεσθαι καὶ φθερεσθαι ἀπὸ τοῦ οὐκ ὄντος, *To be Generated and Corrupted Infinitely*; that is, to be Produced out of *Nothing* or *Non-Existence*, and Reduced again to *Nothing*, without end. And doubtless this is the True meaning of that Passage in *Plato's Tenth De Legibus*, not understood by the *Latine Interpreters*; where being to represent the *Atheistick Hypothesis* of the System of the Universe; he discovereth their Grand Arcanum, and that which they accounted, σφάτalon ἀπάντων λόγων, *The wisest and most mysterious of all Doctrines*; after this manner; λέγουσι πρὸς τινες ὡς πάντα ὅτι τὰ περὶ μὲν ὧν γινόμενα καὶ γινόμενα, καὶ γινόμενα. τὰ μὲν φύσις, τὰ δὲ τέχνη, τὰ δὲ διὰ τύχης. *Certain men affirm, that All things are Made, and Have been Made, and will be Made; some by Nature, and some by Art, and some by Fortune or Chance.* For unquestionably here, *Plato's* λέγουσι πρὸς τινες ὡς πάντα ὅτι τὰ περὶ μὲν ὧν γινόμενα, *Certain men affirm that All things are Generated or Made, &c.* is the very same with *Aristotle's*, εἰσι γὰρ τινες, οἱ φασιν, ὅδ' ἐν ἀγνώστῳ εἶναι τῶν περὶ μὲν ὧν, ἀλλὰ πάντα γίνεσθαι, *Certain men affirm, that there is Nothing Unmade, but that All things are Made or Generated.* And perhaps this of *Aristotle's*, was taken out of that of *Plato's*: Which yet nevertheless is so to be understood, as it is afterwards explained by *Aristotle*; All things whatsoever, the bare *Substance of Matter* only excepted. Wherefore it is certain that either there is no *Real Entity* in the Whole World, besides the *Bare Substance of Matter*; that is, besides *Divisible and Separable Extension*, or *Resisting Magnitude*, and Consequently that *Life and Cogitation, Sense and Consciousness, Reason and Understanding*, all our own *Minds*, and *Personalities*, are no *Real Entities*; or else, that there are, according to the *Atheistick Hypothesis*, *Real Entities* Produced out of *Nothing*, and Reduced to *Nothing* again. Whereas

Theists

Theists suppose, all the *Greatest Perfections* in the Universe, as *Life* and *Understanding*, to have been *Eternal* and *Unmade*, in a *Perfect Being*, the *Deity*, and neither brought out of *Nothing* or *Non-Existence*, nor *Reducible to Nothing*; only *Imperfect Beings* to have been *Made out of Nothing*, or *Produced out of Non-Existence*, by this one *Perfect Being* or *Deity*: the *Atheists* on the contrary, supposing the *Lowest* and most *Imperfect* of all *Beings*, *Matter*, *Bulk*, or *Divisible and Resisting Extension*, to be the *Only Self-Existent* and *Unmade Thing*; conclude all the *Greatest Perfections* in the Universe, *Life*, *Cogitation*, and *Understanding*, to be *Made out of Nothing*, or *Non-Existence*, as also to be reduced to *Nothing again*. Indeed the *Hylozoick Atheists*, being *Sensible* somewhat of this *Inconvenience*, of making all *Life* and *Understanding* Out of *Nothing*, and that there must of *Necessity* be some *Fundamental Life* and *Perception*, which is not *Accidental* but *Substantial*, and which was never *Generated* and cannot be *Corrupted*; have therefore attributed a kind of *Life* and *Perception* to all *Matter* as such. Notwithstanding which, even these also, for as much as they deny to *Matter*, *Animal Sense*, and *Consciousness*, suppose all *Animal Life* or *Sense*, and *Conscious Understanding*, to be *Generated* and *Corrupted*, *Produced* out of *Nothing* and *Reduced to Nothing* again. Neither can *Life*, *Cogitation*, and *Understanding*, be reckoned amongst the *Modes* of *Matter*, that is of *Magnitude* or *Divisible and Antitypous Extension*, since they may be *Conceived* without the same: whereas *Modes* cannot be conceived without their *Substance*. Standing, Sitting, and Walking, cannot be *Conceived* without a *Body*, and that fully *Organized* too; and therefore are they *Nothing* but different *Modes* of such a *Body*. When that *Humane Body*, which before did *Stand* doth afterwards *Sit*, or *Walk*, no man can think that here is the *Miraculous Production* of any *New Real Entity* out of *Nothing*; nor when the same *Matter* which was *Square* or *Cubical*, is made *Spherical* or *Cylindrical*. But when there is *Life* and *Understanding* which was not before, then is there unquestionably a *new Real Entity* *Produced*. But the *Democritick* and *Epicurean Atheists* themselves, according to the *Tenor* of the *Atomick Physiology*, acknowledge no other *Modes* of *Matter* or *Body*, but only more or less *Magnitude of Parts*, *Figure*, *Site*, *Motion* or *Rest*. And upon this very account do they explode *Qualities*, considered as *Entities* really distinct from these *Modes*; because in the *Generation* and *Alteration* of them, there would be *Real Entities* made Out of *Nothing*, or without a *Cause*; whereupon they *Resolve* these *Qualities* into *Mechanism* and *Fancy*. But *Life*, *Cogitation*, and *Understanding*, are things which have more *Real Entity* in them, and can no way be *Salved* by *Mechanism* and *Phancy*; wherefore undoubtedly they are no *Modes* of *Matter* or *Body*, but *Attributes* of another kind of *Substance*, *Incorporeal*. All *Cogitative Beings*, especially *Humane Souls*, and *Personalities*, are unquestionably *Substantial Things*, and yet do the *Atheists* bring these, and consequently *Themselves*, out of *Nothing* or *Non-Existence*, and *Reduce* them to *Nothing* again. The *Conclusion* is; that these very *Atheists*, who contend against *Theists*, that *Nothing* can be *Made out of Nothing*, do themselves bring *All things* out of *Nothing* or *Non-Existence*, and perpetually *Reduce* them to *Nothing* again; according to whose *Principles*, as once there was

no *Life*, nor *Understanding* at all in the Universe, so may there be none again. They who deny a God, because there can be no *Creative Power* belonging to *Any Thing*, do themselves notwithstanding attribute to *Matter* (though a meer *Passive*, *Sluggish*, and *Unactive* thing) a *Creative Power* of Things Substantial, (as *Humane Souls* and *Persona-ities*) out of *Nothing*. And thus is that Formidable Argument of the *Atheists*, that there can be no God, because *Nothing* can be made out of *Nothing*; not only proved to be *False*, but also Retorted upon these *Atheists* themselves, they bringing all things besides *Sensless* and *Unqualified Matter*, out of *Nothing*.

We have now declared, First, in what sense this Proposition is unquestionably True, that *Nothing* can be Made out of *Nothing*, or Come from *Nothing*, viz. *Causally*, That *Nothing* which before was Not, could afterward be Made, without a *Cause*, and a *Sufficient Cause*. Or more particularly, these Three ways; First, that *Nothing* which before was Not, could afterward be brought into *Being* by *Itself*, or without an *Efficient Cause*. Secondly, that *Nothing* which once was Not, could be Made or Produced *Efficiently* by any thing, which had not at least *Equal Perfection* in it, and a *Sufficient Active* or *Productive Power*; and Consequently that no *New Substance* can be Made, but by a *Perfect Being*, which only is Substantially *Emanative*. Thirdly and Lastly, that when things are Made out of *Pre-Existing Matter*, as in *Artificial Productions*, and *Natural Generations*, there can be no new *Real Entity* Produced, but only different *Modifications*, of what before *Substantially* was; the *Material Cause* as such, *Efficiently* Producing *Nothing*. And thus was this Axiom Understood by *Cicero*, That *Nothing* could be Made out of *Nothing*, viz. *Causally*; in his Book *De Fato*, where he reprehendeth *Epicurus* for endeavouring to avoid *Fate* and to Establish *Liberty of Will*, by that Absurd Figment, of *Atoms Declining Uncertainly* from the *Perpendicular*. *Nec cum hac ita sint, est causa, cur Epicurus Fatum extimescat, & ab Atomis petat presidium, easque De Via deducat; & uno tempore suscipiat res duas inenodabiles, Unam ut sine Causâ fiat aliquid, ex quo existet, ut De Nihilo quippiam fiat; quod nec ipsi, nec cuiquam Physico placet.* Nor is there for all that, any Reason, why *Epicurus* should be so much afraid of *Fate*, and seek Refuge in *Atoms*, he supposing them in their *Infinite Descents*, to Decline Uncertainly from the *Perpendicular*, and laying this as a Foundation for *Liberty of Will*; whereby he plunged himself at once, into Two inextricable difficulties, the First whereof was, the supposing of Something to be made without a *Cause*, or which is all one, out of *Nothing*; a thing that will neither be allowed by any *Physiologer*, nor could *Epicurus* himself be Pleased or Satisfied therewith. The reason whereof is, because it was a *Fundamental Principle* of the *Atomick Philosophy*, That *Nothing*, (in this sense) could be Made out of *Nothing*. Moreover we have in the next place declared, in what other sense, this Proposition, that *Nothing* can be Made out of *Nothing*, is *False*, namely when this Out of *Nothing*, is not taken *Causally*, but so as to signify the *Terminus* From which; that *Nothing* can be Made; out of an *Antecedent Non-Existence*: that no *Real Entity* or *Substance* which before was not, could by any *Power* whatsoever be afterwards brought into being: Or That *No-thing*

thing can possibly be *Made*, but out of *Something Pre-Existing*, by the new *Modification* thereof. And it appears from that of *Cicero*, that the True and Genuine Sense of this Proposition, *De Nihilo nihil fit*; (according to the Mind of those Ancient Physiologers, who laid so great stress thereupon) was not, that Nothing could by any Power whatsoever, be brought out of *Non-Existence* into *Being*; but only that *Nothing could be made without a Cause*. Nor did they here by *Cause* mean, the *Material* only; in this sense, as if *Nothing could Possibly be Made*, but out of *Pre-Existing Matter*; *Epicurus* being taxed by *Cicero*, for introducing that his *Third Motion of Atoms*, or *Clinamen Principiorum*, out of *Nothing*, or *Without an Efficient Cause*; as indeed all Motion also was, to those *Atomick Atheists*, in this Sense, from *Nothing*. Nevertheless, we have also shewed, That if this Proposition, *Nothing out of Nothing*, in that *Atheistick Sense*, (as level'd against a *Deity*) were, True; yet would it of the Two more impugn *Atheism* it self, than it does *Theism*, the *Atheists Generating and Corrupting All Things*, the Substance of Matter only excepted; all *Life*, *Sense*, and *Understanding*, *Humane Souls*, *Minds* and *Personalities*, they Producing these, and consequently Themselves, out of *Nothing*, and resolving them all to *Nothing* again. We shall now in the *Third and Last place*, make it manifest, that the *Atheists* do not only bring *Real Entities* and *Substantial things* out of *Nothing* in the *Second sense*, that is out of an *Antecedent Non Existence*, (which yet is a thing Possible only to *God*, or a *Perfect Being*) but also that they bring them out of *Nothing*, in the *Absolutely Impossible Sense*; that is, suppose them to be *Made without a Cause*, or *Nothing to be the Cause of Something*.

But we must prepare the way hereunto, by setting down, First, a Brief and Compendious Sum of the whole *Atheistick Hypothesis*. The *Atheists* therefore who contend, that *Nothing* can be *Made* but only *New Accidents* or *Modifications* of *Pre-Existing Substance*; Taking it for granted, that there is no other Substance besides *Body* or *Matter*, do conclude accordingly, that *Nothing can be Made*, but out of *Pre-Existing Matter* or *Body*. And then they add hereunto, That *Matter* being the only *Substance*, the only *Unmade Self-Existent thing*, whatsoever else is in the world, besides, the bare *Substance* of this *Matter*, was *Made out of it* or *Produced by it*. So that there are these Three Things contained, in the *Atheistick Hypothesis*; First, that No *Substance* can be *Made* or *Caus'd* by any thing else, but only new *Modifications*. Secondly, that *Matter* or *Body* is the *Only Substance*, and therefore whatsoever is made is *Made out of Pre Existing Matter*; Thirdly and Lastly, That whatsoever there is else in the whole world, besides the Substance of *Matter*, it is *Made or Generated out of Matter*. And now we shall demonstrate the *Absolute Impossibility* of this *Atheistick Hypothesis*, from that very Principle of the *Ancient Physiologers*, that *Nothing can be Made out of Nothing*, in the True Sense thereof: it not only bringing *Real Entities* and *Substantial Things*, out of an *Antecedent Non-Existence*, (though nothing but an *Infinitely Perfect Being* neither can thus *Create*) but also Producing them without *A Cause*.

First therefore, when they affirm, *Matter to be the Only Substance*, and all things else whatsoever to be *Made out of that alone*, they hereby plainly Suppose, all things to be *Made*, without an *Efficient Cause*, which is to bring them out of *Nothing*, in an *Impossible Sense*. For though it be not True, that *Nothing can be Made* but out of *Pre-Existing Matter* (and consequently that God himself supposed to Exist, could in this respect do no more, than a Carpenter or Taylor doth;) I say, though it be not Universally True, That every thing that is *Made*, must have a *Material Cause* (so that the *Quaternio of Causes in Logick*, is not to be Extended, to all things *Caused* whatsoever;) yet is it certain, that *Nothing*, which once was not, could Possibly be *Made* without an *Efficient Cause*. Wherefore if there be any thing *Made*, which was not before, there must of Necessity besides *Matter*, be some other *Substance* Existing, as the *Efficient Cause* thereof; for as much as *Matter* alone, Could not *Make* any thing; as *Marble* cannot make a *Statue*, nor *Timber* and *Stones* a *House*, nor *Cloth* a *Garment*. This is our First *Demonstration* of the *Impossibility* of the *Atheistick Hypothesis*: it supposing all things besides the bare Substance of *Matter*, to be *Made* out of *Matter* alone, without any other *Active Principle* or *Deity*, or to be *Made* without an *Efficient Cause*, which is to bring them from *Nothing*, in an *Impossible Sense*. To which may be added by way of Appendix, that whereas the *Democritick* and *Epicurean Atheists*, admit of no other *Efficient Causality* in Nature, then only *Local Motion*, and allow to *Matter* or *Body*, their only Substance, no *Self-Moving Power*, they hereby make all the *Motion*, that is in the whole world, to be without a *Cause*, and from *Nothing*; *Action* without any Subject, or *Agent*, and the *Efficiency* of all things, without an *Efficient*.

In the next place, should we be so liberal, as to grant to the *Atomick Atheists*, *Motion without a Cause*, or permit *Strato* and the *Hylozoick Atheists*, to attribute to *Matter* a *Self-Moving Power*, yet do we affirm, that this *Matter* and *Motion* both together, could not Possibly Produce any new *Real Entity*, which was not before; *Matter* as such *Efficiently Causing Nothing*, and *Motion* only changing the *Modifications* of *Matter*, as *Figure*, *Place*, *Site*, and *Disposition* of *Parts*. Wherefore if *Matter* as such, have no *Animal Sense* and *Conscious Understanding*, Essentially belonging to it, (which no *Atheists* as yet have had the *Impudence* to assert) then can no *Motion* or *Modification* of *Matter*, no *Contexture* of *Atoms*, Possibly beget *Sense* and *Understanding*, *Soul* and *Mind*; because this would be to bring *Something out of Nothing* in the *Impossible Sense*, or to suppose *Something* to be *Made* by It self without a *Cause*. Which may Serve also for a *Confutation* of those *Imperfect* and *Spurious Theists*, who will not allow to *God Almighty*, (whether supposed by them to be *Corporeal* or *Incorporeal*) a *Power of Making* any thing, but only out of *Pre-Existent Matter*, by the new *Modifying* thereof: as a *Carpenter* makes a *House* out of *Pre-Existing Timber* and *Stone*, and a *Taylor* a *Garment* out of *Pre-Existing Cloth*. For since *Animal Life*, and *Understanding*, are not by them supposed to belong at all to *Matter* as such, and since they

they cannot result from any *Modifications* or *Contextures* thereof, it would plainly follow from hence, that God could not Possibly make *Animals*, or Produce *Sense* and *Understanding*, *Souls* and *Minds*, which nevertheless these Theists suppose him to have done; and therefore ought in reason to acknowledge him, not only to be the *Maker* of New *Modifications* of Matter, (and one who Built the world only as a Carpenter doth a House) but also of *Real Entities* distinct from the same.

And this was the very Doctrine (as we have already declared) of the most Ancient *Atomick Physiologers*; not That *every thing whatsoever* might be Made out of *Pre-Existing Matter*; but on the contrary, that in all *Natural Generations*, there is no *Real Entity Produced* out of the Matter, which was not before in it, but only *New Modifications*; and Consequently that *Souls* and *Minds*, being not meer *Modifications* of Matter; in respect of *Magnitude*, *Figure*, *Site*, and *Motion*, could never be Produced out of it, because they must then of necessity, Come from *Nothing*; that is, be Made either by *Themselves*, without a Cause, or without a *Sufficient Cause*. It hath also been before noted out of *Aristotle*, how the Old *Atheistick Materialists*, being assaulted by those *Italick Philosophers* after that manner, that *Nothing* which was not before, in Matter, besides its *Modifications*, could Possibly be Produced out of it, because *Nothing* can Come out of *Nothing*, and consequently that in all *Natural Generations* and *Corruptions*, there is no *Real Entity Made* or *Destroyed*; endeavoured without denying the words of that Proposition, to Evade after this manner, διὰ τὸ τοῦτο ἔτι ζῆναι ἔδει οἰοῦναι, ὅτι ἀπόλλυται, ὡς ἂν τοιαύτης φύσεως αἰσθητὸν ὄντος, ὡς περὶ τὸ ζῶν ὄντος, &c. That there is indeed *Nothing Generated* or *Corrupted* (in some Sense) for as much as the same Substance of Matter, always remains, it being never Made nor Destroyed. For as men do not say, that *Socrates* is Made, when he is Made *Musical* or *Handsome*, nor Destroyed, when he looseth these *Dispositions*, because the subject *Socrates*, was before and still remaineth; so neither is any *Substantial thing* or *Real Entity* in the world Made or Destroyed in this sense; because Matter which is the Substance of all, perpetually remains, and all other things whatsoever, are but *πάθη καὶ ἐξῆς καὶ διαδέχεται*, *Passions* and *Affections* and *Dispositions* thereof, as *Musicalness* and *Unmusicalness*, in respect of *Socrates*. Which is all one as if they should say, that all things whatsoever besides Matter, being but *Accidents* thereof, are Generated out of it and Corruptible into it, without the Production of any *Real Entity* out of *Nothing*, or the Reduction of any into *Nothing*, so long as the Substance of Matter which is the only *Real Entity*, remains always the same. Wherefore though *Life*, *Sense*, and *Understanding*, all *Souls* and *Minds*, be Generated out of Matter, yet does it not follow from thence, that therefore there is any *Real Entity Made* or *Produced*, because these are *Nothing* but *Accidents* and *Modifications* of Matter. This was the Subterfuge of the Old *Hylopathian Atheists*.

Now it is true indeed, that whatsoever is in the Universe, is either Substance or Accidents, and that the Accidents of any Substance, may be
Generated

Generated and Corrupted, without the Producing of any *Real Entity* out of *Nothing*, and *Reducing* of any into *Nothing*; for as much as the Substance still remains entirely the same. But the Atheists, taking it for granted, that there is no other *Substance* besides *Body* or *Matter*, do therefore falsely suppose, that which is really *Incorporeal Substance*, or else the *Attributes, Properties, and Modes* thereof, to be the meer *Accidents* of *Matter*, and Consequently conclude these to be *Generable* out of it, without the Production of any *Real Entity* out of *Nothing*. We say therefore, that it does not at all follow, because the same *Numerical Matter*, (as for example a Piece of Wax) may be Successively made *Spherical, Cubical, Cylindrical, Pyramidal*, or of any other Figure; and the same man may Successively, *Stand, Sit, Kneel and Walk*; both, without the Production of Anything out of *Nothing*; or because, a heap of *Stones, Bricks, Morter, and Timber*, lying altogether disorderly and confusedly, may be made into a *Stately Palace*; and that without the *Miraculous Creation* of any *Real Entity* out of *Nothing*; that therefore the same may be affirmed likewise, of every thing else, besides the bare Substance of *Matter*, as namely *Life and Understanding, Soul and Mind*, that though there be No such thing in *Matter* it self, yet the Production of them out of *Matter*, would be no Production; of *Something* out of *Nothing*. One Ground of which mistake hath been, from mens not rightly considering what the *Accidents* of a *Substance* are, and that they are indeed *Nothing* but the *Modes* thereof. Now a *Mode* is such a thing, as cannot *Possibly* be conceived, without that whereof it is a *Mode*; as *Standing, Sitting, Kneeling and Walking*, cannot be conceived without a *Body Organized*, and therefore are but *Modes* thereof; but *Life and Cogitation*, may be clearly apprehended without *Body*, or any thing of *Extension*; nor indeed can a *Thought* Be conceived, to be of such a *Length, Breadth and Thickness*, or to be *Hewed and Sliced* out, into many *Pieces*, all which laid together, as so many *Small Chips* thereof, would make up again, the entireness of that whole *Thought*. From whence it ought to be concluded, that *Cogitation* is no *Accident*, or *Mode* of *Matter*, or *Bulky Extension*, but a *Mode* or *Attribute* of another *Substance*, Really distinct from *Matter*, or *Incorporeal*. There is indeed *Nothing* else clearly conceivable by us in *Body* or *Bulky Extension*, but only more or less *Magnitude of Parts, Figures, Site, Motion, or Rest*; and all the *Different Bodies* that are in the whole *World*, are but several *Combinations* or *Syllables*, made up out of these few *Letters*: but no *Magnitudes, Figures, Sites, and Motions*, can *Possibly Spell* or *Compound, Life and Sense, Cogitation and Understanding*, as the *Syllables* thereof; and therefore to suppose these to be *Generated* out of *Matter*, is plainly to suppose some *Real Entity* to be brought out of *Nothing*, or *Something* to be made without a *Cause*, which is *Impossible*.

But that which hath principally confirmed men in this *Error* is the business of *Sensible Qualities and Forms*, as they are vulgarly conceived, to be distinct *Entities*, from those forementioned *Modifications* of *Matter*, in respect of *Magnitude of Parts, Figure, Site, Motion, or Rest*. For since these *Qualities and Forms*, are unquestionably *Generated*

nerated and Corrupted, there seems to be no Reason, why the same might not be as well acknowledged, of *Life, Sense, Cogitation, and Understanding*, that these are but *Qualities* or *Accidents* of *Matter* also, (though of another Kind) and consequently may be Generated out of it, without the Making of any Real thing out of Nothing. But the *Democritick and Epicurean Atheists* themselves, have from the Principles of the *Atomick Philosophy*, sufficiently Confuted and Rectified this mistake, concerning *Sensible Qualities*, they exploding and banishing them all, as conceived to be *Entities Really distinct* from the forementioned *Modifications* of *Matter*, and that for this very reason; Because the *Generation* of them, would upon this supposition, be the *Production* of *Something out of Nothing, or without a Cause*; and concluding them therefore, to be Really Nothing else, but *Mechanism*, or *different Modifications* of *Matter*, in respect of the *Magnitude of Parts, Figure, Size and Motion or Rest*; they only Causing different *Phancies* and *Apparitions* in us. And in very truth, this vulgar opinion of *Real Qualities of Bodies*, seems to have no other Original at all, than mens mistaking their own *Phancies, Passions, and Affections*, for things Really Existing in the *Objects* without them. For as *Sensible Qualities*, are conceived to be things distinct from the forementioned *Modifications* of *Matter*, so are they Really, Nothing but our own *Phancies, Passions and Affections*; and Consequently no *Accidents* or *Modifications* of *Matter*, but *Accidents and Modifications* of our own *Souls*, which are *Substances Incorporeal*. Now if these *Democritick and Epicurean Atheists* themselves, concluded that *Real Qualities*, considered as distinct from the *Modifications* of *Matter*, could not possibly be Generated out of it, because this would be the *Production* of *Something out of Nothing*; they ought certainly much more to have acknowledged the same, concerning *Life and Cogitation, Sense and Understanding*, that the *Generation* of these out of senseless *Matter* would be an *Impossible Production* of *Something out of Nothing*, and consequently, that these are therefore no *Corporeal Things*, but the *Attributes, Properties, or Modes, of Substance Incorporeal*; since they can no way be Resolved into *Mechanism* and *Phancy*, or the *Modifications* of *Matter*, as the *Vulgar Sensible Qualities* may, and ought to be. For though the *Democriticks* and *Epicureans* did indeed, suppose, all humane *Cogitations* to be Caused or Produced, by the *Incurfion* of *Corporeal Atoms* upon the *Thinker*; yet did never any of them arrive to such a degree, either of *Sottishness* or *Impudence*, as a Modern Writer hath done, to maintain, that *Cogitation, Intellection, and Volition*, are themselves really Nothing else, but *Local Motion* or *Mechanism*, in the inward *Parts* of the *Brain and Heart*, or, that *Mens nihil aliud praterquam Motus, in partibus quibusdam Corporis Organici, that Mind it self, is Nothing but Motion, in some parts of the Organized Body*; who therefore as if *Cartesius* had not been sufficiently *Paradoxical*, in making *Brute Animals*, (though supposed by him to be devoid of all *Cogitation*) Nothing but meer *Machines*; and not contented herewith, hath advanced much further, in making this *Prodigious Conclusion*, that all *Cogitative Beings* and *Men* themselves, are Really Nothing else, but *Machines* and *Automata*; whereas he might as well have affirmed *Heaven* to be *Earth*, *Colour* to be *Sound*, *Number* to be *Figure*, or any thing

thing else in the world to be any thing, as Cogitation and *Local Motion* to be the very self same thing. Nevertheless, so strong was the *Atheistick Intoxication*, in those Old *Democriticks* and *Epicureans*, that though denying *Real Qualities* of Bodies, for this very reason, because *Nothing could be Produced out of Nothing*, they Notwithstanding contradicting themselves, would make *Sense, Life, and Understanding*, to be *Qualities of Matter*, and therefore *Generable* out of it, and so Unquestionably, Produced *Real Entities out of Nothing, or Without a Cause*.

Moreover it is observable, that *Epicurus* having a mind to assert *Contingent Liberty* in men, in way of opposition to that *Necessity* of all *Humane Actions*, which had been before maintained by *Democritus* and his Followers, plainly acknowledges, that he could not Possibly do this, according to the *Grounds of his own Philosophy*, without supposing something of *Contingency*, in the *First Principles*, that is in the *Motion of those Atoms*, out of which men and other Animals are Made,

L. 2. p. 134.
Lamb.

—— Si semper motus connectitur omnis.
Et Vetere exoritur semper Novus Ordine Certo,
Nec Declinando faciunt Primordia Motus
Principium quoddam quod Fati fœdera rumpat,
Ex Infinito ne Causam Causa sequatur;
Libera per Terras unde hæc Animantibus extat,
Unde est hæc, inquam, Fatis Avolsa Voluntas?

The reason for which, is afterwards thus expressed by him, *Quoniam De Nihilo Nil fit*, because *Nothing can be Made out of Nothing*. Upon which account he therefore ridiculously Feigned, besides his *Two* other *Motions* of *Atoms*, from *Pondus* and *Plagæ*, *Weight* and *Strokes*, a *Third Motion* of them, which he calls, *Clinamen Principiorum*, a *Contingent* and *Uncertain Declination*, every way from the *Perpendicular*; out of *Design*, to save this *Phænomenon* of *Free Will* in men; Without bringing Something out of *Nothing*, according as he thus subjoyneth,

Quare in Seminibus quoque idem fateare necesse est,
Esse aliam præter Plagas & Pondera causam
Motibus, unde hæc est nobis Innata Potestas;
De NIHILO quoniam FIERI NIL posse videmus.
Pondus enim prohibet ne Plagis omnia fiant
Externa quasi Vi. Sed ne Mens ipsa Necessum
Intestinum habeat cunctis in rebus agendis,
Et devicta quasi cogatur Ferre Patique,
Id facit Exiguum CLINAMEN PRINCIPIORUM,
Nec ratione loci certa, nec tempore certo.

Now if *Epicurus* himself, conceived, that *Liberty of Will*, could not possibly be *Generated*, in Men out of *Matter* or *Atoms*, they having no such thing at all in them (that is no *Contingent Uncertainty* in their *Motion*)

Motion) without bringing of *Something out of Nothing*; which was contrary to the *Fundamental Principles* of the *Atomick Philosophy*, (though this were intolerably absurd in him, thus to suppose *Contingency*, and a *Kind of Free Will*, in the *Motions* of *Senseless Atoms*, so that indeed he brought his *Liberty of Will*, out of *Nothing*) certainly *Sense*, and *Understanding*, *Soul* and *Mind* in *Animals* and *Men*, could not Possibly be Generated out of *Atoms* or *Matter*, devoid of all *Sense* and *Understanding*: For the very same Reason, *Quoniam De Nihilo Nil fit*, Because *Nothing can be Made out of Nothing*. For unquestionably, were all *Life* and *Understanding*, all *Souls* and *Minds* Generated out of *Dead* and *Senseless Matter*; and were there no *Substantial* or *Essential Life* and *Understanding* in the whole *Universe*; then must it of Necessity, be all *Made out of Nothing*, or *without a Cause*, and consequently *Real Entities* and *Substantial things* be *Made out of Nothing*, which is absolutely *Impossible*. For though we do not say, that *Life* and *Cogitation*, *Sense* and *Understanding*, abstractly considered, are *Substances*; yet do we affirm them to be *Entities Really distinct* from *Matter*; and no *Modifications* or *Accidents* thereof, but either *Accidents* and *Modifications*, or rather *Essential Attributes* of *Substance Incorporal*: as also that *Souls* and *Minds*, which are the *Subjects* of them, are indeed *Substantial Things*. Wherefore We cannot but here again condemn, the *Darkness* of that *Philosophy*, which Educ'd not only species *Visible* and *Audible* (*Entities Perfectly Unintelligible*) and *Real Qualities*, distinct from all the *Modes* of *Body*, and even *Substantial Forms* too, (as they call them) but also *Sensitive Souls* themselves, both in *men* and *brutes*; *Ex Potentia Materiae*, *Out of the Power of the Matter*; that is, indeed *Out of Nothing*. For as much as this prepares a direct way to *Atheism*; because if *Life* and *Sense*, *Cogitation* and *Consciousness*, may be Generated out of *Dead* and *Senseless Matter*, then might this well be supposed the *first Original* of *All things*; nor could there Reasonably be any Stop made, at *Rational Souls*; especially by these men, who also conclude them, to be *Rasa Tabula*, *meer White Sheets of Paper*, that have nothing at all in them, but what is *Scribbled* upon them, by *Corporeal Objects* from without: there being nothing in the *Understanding* or *Mind of Man*, which was not before in *Sense*: so that *Sense* is the *First Original Knowledge*; and *Understanding*, but a *Secondary* and *Derivative thing* from it, more *Umbratile* and *Evanide*.

Hitherto have we Demonstrated that all things whatsoever, could not possibly be *Made out of Matter*, and particularly that *Life* and *Sense*, *Mind* and *Understanding*, being no *Accidents* or *Modes* of *Matter*, could not by *Motion* be Generated out of it, without the Production of *Real Entities* out of *Nothing*. But because some may Possibly Imagine, that *Matter* might otherwise than thus by *Motion*, by a *Miraculous Efficiency*, Produce *Souls* and *Minds*, we shall add in the last place, that *Nothing* can *Efficiently Produce* any *Real Entity* or *Substantial thing*, that was not before; unless it have at least equal Perfection to it, and a *Substantially Emanative*, or *Creative Power*. But scarcely any man can be so sottish, as to Imagine, that every *Atom of Dust*, hath Equal Perfection in it to that of the *Rational*

Soul in man, or to Attribute a *Creative Power* to all *Matter*, (which is but a *Passive* thing) whilst this is in the mean time denied by him, to a *Perfect Being*: both these Assertions also, in like manner as the Former, Producing *Real Entities* out of *Nothing* *Causally*. And thus have we Demonstrated the *Impossibility* and *Non-sense* of all *Atheism*, from this very Principle, by which the *Atheists* would assault *Theism*, in the true Sense thereof, that *No thing can be Made without a Cause*, or that *Nothing cannot be the Cause of Any thing*.

Now if there be no Middle betwixt *Atheism* and *Theism*, and all things must of Necessity either spring from *Senseless Matter*, or else from a *Perfect Understanding Being*, then is this *Demonstration* of the *Impossibility* of *Atheism*, a *Sufficient Establishment* of the Truth of *Theism*; it being such a *Demonstration* of a *God*, as the *Geometricians* call, a *Deduction Ad Impossibile*, which they allow of for good and frequently make use of. Thus; Either there is a *God*, or else *Matter*, must needs be acknowledged, to be the only *Self-Existent* thing, and all things else whatsoever, to be *Made out of it*; But it is Impossible that all things should be made out of *Senseless Matter*: Therefore is there a *God*. Nevertheless we shall here for further satisfaction, show how the *Existence* of a *God*, may be *Directly Demonstrated* also, from this very Principle, which the *Atheists* endeavour to take Sanctuary in, and from thence to impugn *Theism*, *De Nihilo Nihil*, that *Nothing can be Made out of Nothing Causally*, or That *Nothing cannot be the Cause of Any thing*.

In the first place therefore, we shall fetch our Beginning, from what hath been already often declared, That it is *Mathematically Certain*, that *Something or other, did Exist Of It Self* from all *Eternity*, or *without beginning*, and *Unmade by any thing else*. The Certainty of which Proposition dependeth upon this very Principle, as its Foundation, That *Nothing can come from Nothing*, or be *Made out of Nothing*, or That *Nothing which once was not*, can of it self come into Being without a Cause; it following unavoidably from thence, That if there had been once *Nothing*, there could never have been *Any thing*. And having thus laid the Foundation, we shall in the next place make this further Superstructure, that because *Something* did certainly *Exist* of it Self from *Eternity* *Unmade*, therefore is there also *Actually*, a *Necessarily Existent Being*. For to suppose, that any thing did Exist Of It Self from *Eternity*, by its own *Free Will* and *Choice*, and therefore not *Necessarily* but *Contingently*, since it might have Willed otherwise; this is to suppose it to have Existed before it Was, and so *Positively* to have been the Cause of it self, which is Impossible, as hath been already declared. When a thing therefore is said to be *Of It Self*, or the Cause of It self, this is to be understood no otherwise, than either in a *Negative Sense*, as having *Nothing* else for its Cause; or because, its *Necessary Eternal Existence*, is *Essential* to the Perfection of its own Nature. That therefore which *Existed Of It Self* from *Eternity*, *Independently* upon any thing else, did not so *Exist Contingently* but *Necessarily*; so that there is undoubtedly, something *Actually* in Being, whose *Existence* is and always was *Necessary*. In the next place it

it is certain also, that Nothing could *Exist Necessarily Of it Self*, but what included *Necessity of Existence* in its own Nature. For to suppose any thing to *Exist Of it self Necessarily*, which hath no *Necessity of Existence* in its own Nature, is plainly to suppose that *Necessary Existence* of it, to *Come from Nothing*, since it could neither proceed from that Thing it self, nor yet from any thing else. Lastly, there is Nothing which includes *Necessity of Existence* in its very Nature and Essence, but only an *Absolutely Perfect Being*. The Result of all which is, that God or a Perfect Being, doth certainly *Exist*, and that there is *Nothing else* which *Existed Of it self from Eternity*, *Necessarily and Independently*; but all other things whatsoever derived their Being from him, or were *Caused by him*; *Matter or Body* it self not excepted.

That which hath Staggered some *Theists* here, and made them so inclinable and prone to believe, that *Matter* also *Existed from Eternity Unmade*, is partly (as hath been already intimated) an *Idiotical Conceit*, that because Nothing can be *Artificially made* by men, otherwise than out of *Pre-Existing Matter*, as *Houses and Garments*, *Puddings*, and *Pyes*, therefore there could be no other making of any thing by any Power whatsoever: though even men themselves, can produce Something out of no *Pre-Existent Matter*, as *Cogitations* and *Local Motion*. And the same partly proceedeth also, from certain *False Opinions* entertained, concerning *Matter*. For first some *Theists* have supposed ὕλην ἀσώματον, an *Incorporeal First Matter*; out of which *Incorporeal Matter*. Together with an *Incorporeal Form*, Joyned to it, they conceived the *Essence of Body* to have been *Compounded*, and *Made up*. And no wonder if these same *Fanciful Philosophers*, have further added also hereunto, that from this *Incorporeal Matter*, by an *Incorporeal Form*, were begotten likewise *Incorporeal Qualities of Body*. Now it is not *Conceivable*, what else should be meant, by this *Incorporeal Hyle or Matter*, but only a *Metaphysical Notion*, of the *Potentiality or Possibility* of things, respectively to the Deity; which because it is indeed *Eternal*, and as much *Unmade* as God himself is, it being *Nothing* but the *Divine Power* considered *Passively*, or the *Reverse* of it; therefore in all probability, were these *Philosophers* so prone to think, the *Physical Matter*, of this *Corporeal Universe*, to have been *Eternal and Unmade*. Neither was this *Incorporeal Hyle*, or *Matter*, a *Novel Opinion*, entertained only by Some *Junior Platonists*, but older than *Aristotle* himself; as appeareth plainly, from these following words of his in his *Metaphysicks*, οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἄς ὕλῃ τῷ ἀρχῇ λέγουσιν, ἑάντε σῶμα; ἑάντε ἀσώματον τιθῶσιν, *Some speak of the Principle as Matter; whether they suppose this Matter to be Body, or to be Incorporeal*. But this *Incorporeal Matter* in *Physiology* can be accounted no better than a kind of *Metaphysical Non-Sense*. Again others seem to have been the more prone to think, *Matter or Body*, to have been *Self Existent and Unmade*; because they both conceived it to be *Really* the same thing with *Space*, and also took it for granted, that *Space* was *Infinite*, and *Eternal*, and Consequently *Necessarily Existent*. In answer whereunto we reply First, That though *Space* and *Distance*, should be granted to be *Positively Infinite*, or to have no Bounds nor Limits at all, as also to have been *Eternal*, yet according

L. 1. c. 6.
Thus Por-
phyr. Τῆς ὕ-
λης τὰ ἰδία
καὶ τὰς ἀρ-
χάς τὰς
ἀσώματους,
ὅτι. *Materiae*
Proprietates
secundum
Veteres, hē
sunt; Quod
incorpore-
a, &c.

to the Opinion of some, would it not follow from thence, that *Matter* was *Infinite*, *Eternal* and *Necessarily Existent*; not as if *Space* or *Distance*, could Exist alone by it Self, an *Accident* without a *Substance*, it being plainly Impossible, that *Nothing* should have any *Accidents*, *Modifications*, and *Attributes*; or be *Mensurable* by *Tards* and *Poles*; but because this *Space* is by them supposed, not to be the *Extension* of *Body*, but the *Infinite* and *Unbounded Extension* of the *Deity*. But in the next place; If *Space* be concluded to be certainly *Nothing* else, but the *Extension* and *Distance* of *Body* or *Matter*, considered in *General*, (without respect to this or that particular *Body*) and *Abstractly*; in order to the Conception of *Motion*, and the *Mensuration* of *things*; (For *Space* thus consider'd, is *Necessarily Immoveable*, as to the Parts thereof respectively; as the *Two Extrems* of a *Tard Distance*, can never possibly come nearer to One another) then do we say, that there appeareth no sufficient Ground for this *Positive Infinity* of *Space*, we being certain of no more than this, that be the *World*, or any *Figurate Body*, never so Great, it is not Impossible, but that it might be still Greater and Greater, without end. Which *Indefinite Encreasableness* of *Body* and *Space*, seems to be mistaken for a *Positive Infinity* thereof. Whereas for this very Reason, because it can never be so Great, but that more *Magnitude* may still be added to it, therefore can it never be *Positively Infinite*. Nor is there perhaps so great an *Absurdity* in this, That *Another World* could not Possibly be made, a *Mill* *Distant* from this; for as much as there being *Nothing* between them, they must needs *Touch*; or That *this Finite World* could have no *Mountains* and *Valleys*, in the *Exterior* Surface of it, since it might be either *Spherical*, *Cubical* or *Cylindrical*, or of any other *Regular Figure*, whatsoever the *Maker* pleased to form it in. To conclude therefore, by *Space* without the *Finite World*, is to be Understood, *Nothing* but the *Possibility* of *Body*, Further and Further without End, yet so as never to reach to *Infinity*; and such a *Space* as this was there also, before this *World* was Created, a *Possibility* of so much *Body* to be Produced. But *Space* and *Actual Distance*, as really *Mensurable* by *Tards* and *Poles*, though it may be Greater and Greater without end, yet can it not be *Positively Infinite*, so as that there could be no more added to it; and therefore there can be no *Argument* from hence, to prove the *Necessary Existence* of *Matter*.

Moreover the *Existence* of a *Deity* might be further *Demonstrated*, from this *Common Notion*, That *Nothing* can come from *Nothing* *Causally*, because if there were no *God*, as we could not have had any *Idea* of him, or a *Perfect Being*, since it must have Come from *Nothing*, and have been the *Idea* or *Conception* of *Nothing*; So neither could there have been indeed any *Knowledge* or *Understanding* at all. For *Singular Bodies* Existing without us, cannot enter into us, and put *Understanding* in us, nor is there any thing but *Local Motions* propagated from them to our *Organs* of *Sense*. The *Mind* must have its *Immediate Intelligibles*, within it self, for otherwise it could not possibly *Understand* any thing; which *Intelligibles* and their *Relations* to one another, or *Verities*, are (as was said before) *Eternal*. Moreover, the *Mind* can frame *Ideas* or *Conceptions*, not only of things *Actually Existing*,

isting, but also of all Possibilities; which plainly Implies and supposes the Actual Existence of a Being Infinitely Powerful, that could Produce them. So that the proper Object, of Mind and Understanding, is a Perfect Being, and all the Extent of its Power; which Perfect Being, Comprehending it self and the Extent of its own Power, or the Possibilities of all things, is the First Original Mind, of which all other Minds partake. Wherefore were there no Perfect Omnipotent Being, Comprehending it self, and its own Power or all the Possibilities of things; the Intelligible Objects of the Mind and Ideas, must have come from Nothing.

However it hath been already proved from this Principle, Nothing from Nothing, that the Powers of Sense and Understanding, or the Entities of Soul and Mind, could never have Resulted, from any Modifications of Senseless Matter whatsoever. Wherefore since it is Mathematically certain, that our Humane Souls and Persons, could not Possibly have been Generated out of Matter; one of these Two things will undeniably follow; That Either they must all have Existed Of Themselves from Eternity Unmade, or Else have been Created *ἐκ τοῦ οὐκ ὄντος*, out of an Antecedent Non-Existence, by a Perfect Understanding Being Unmade, or at least have Derived their whole Substance from it. So that it is, altogether as certain, that there is a God, as that our Humane Souls and Persons, did not all Exist from Eternity Of Themselves. And that there must be some Eternal Unmade Mind, hath been already Demonstrated also, from the same Principle, Nothing out of Nothing. Thus have We abundantly Confuted, the Second Atheistick Argumentation, that there can be no Omnipotence nor Divine Creation, because Nothing can be Made out of Nothing; we having plainly shewed that this very Principle, in the True Sense thereof, affordeth a Demonstration for the Contrary.

THe Six following Atheistick Argumentations, driving at these Two things, First, the Disproving of an Incorporeal, and then of a Corporeal Deity; (From both which, the Atheists conceive it must follow of necessity, that there can be none at all) we shall take them all together, and in order to the Confutation of them, perform these Three Things. First, we shall Answer the Atheistick Argumentations, against an Incorporeal Deity, (contained in the Third and Fourth Heads.) Secondly, we shall shew, that from the very Principles of the Atheistick Corporealism, (as represented in the Fifth and Sixth Heads) Incorporeal Substance is Demonstrable. And Lastly, That there being undeniably Incorporeal Substance, the Two following Atheistick Argumentations also, against a Corporeal Deity, (in the Seventh and Eighth Sections) prove altogether insignificant.

We begin with the First of these; To shew the Invalidity of the Atheistick Argumentations, against an Incorporeal Deity. It hath been already

Soph. p. 172.
Fig.

already observed, That though all *Corporealists*, be not therefore of necessity *Atheists*; yet *Atheists* universally have been *Corporealists*, this being always their First and Grand *Postulatum*, That there is no other Substance besides Body. Thus Plato long ago, declared Concerning them; διίχουρίζονται τὸτο εἶναι μόνον ὃ παρέχεται προσβολῇ, καὶ ἐπαφῇ πινά, ταυτὸν σῶμα καὶ εἶσαν ὀριζόμενοι· τῇ δ' ἄλλων εἴς τις φησὶ μὴ σῶμα ἔχον εἶναι, καὶ ἀποφρονέοντες τὸ πᾶσι πᾶν, καὶ εἰδέντες ἄλλο ἀκούειν. They contend strongly, that that only really Is, which is Tangible or Can Resist their Touch; concluding Body and Substance, to be one and the self-same thing And if any one should affirm, that there is anything Incorporeal, they will presently cry him down, and not hear a word more from him. For there can be no doubt, but that the Persons here intended by Plato, were those very *Atheists*, which himself spake of afterward, in the same Dialogue; μὲν γὰρ τῇ πολλὰν δόξαν καὶ εἰς ματι χράμενοι φησόμεν, τίς φύσιν αὐτὰ πάντα γεννᾶν, ἀπὸ τινος αἰτίας αὐτομάτης, καὶ αἰδομένης φύσεως; ἢ μετὰ λόγου καὶ ὁρμητικῆς θέας, ἀπὸ θεοῦ γινόμενης; Whether shall we assent, to that Opinion now adays entertained by so many, That Nature Generateth all things from a certain Fortuitous Cause, without the direction of any Mind or Understanding? or rather, that it produceth them, according to Reason, and Knowledge, proceeding from God? Indeed the Philosopher there tells us, that some of these *Atheistick* Persons, began then to be somewhat ashamed of making Prudence, and Justice, and other Moral Vertues, Corporeal Things, or Bodys, ἀποκρινόμενοι τίς μὲν ψυχῇ αὐτὴν δοκεῖν σφίσι σῶμα περικταῖναι, φέρουσιν ὃ καὶ τῇ ἄλλων ἔχασον ὡς ἡρώτικας, αἰχλύνουσι τὸ πολὺ μᾶλλον, ἢ μηδὲν τῇ ὄντων αὐτὰ ὁμοιοῦσιν, ἢ πᾶν εἶναι σῶματα διίχουρίζουσι. Though they affirm concerning the Soul it self, that this seems to them to be Corporeal; yet concerning Prudence, and those other Vertues mentioned, some have now scarcely the Confidence to maintain, these to be either Bodies or Nothing. But this (saith he) was indeed no less than the quite Giving up of the Cause of *Atheism*; εἰ γὰρ τι καὶ σμικρὸν ἐθέλωσι τῇ ὄντων συλχεῖν ἀσώματον, ὅραται, because if it be but once granted, that there is never so little Incorporeal, this will be sufficient, to overthrow the *Atheistick* Foundation. Wherefore he concludes, that such as these, were but *Mongrel* and *Imperfect* *Atheists*, ἐπεὶ αὐτῶν εἰς ἂν ἐν ἐπαχυνθεῖν, οἱ γὰρ αὐτῶν παρτοὶ καὶ αὐτοχθονες, ἀλλὰ διακρίνουντ' ἂν, πᾶν ὃ μὴ δυνατοὶ ταῖς χερσὶ συμπίεζεν, ὡς ἄρα τὸτο εἶδεν τὸ παρελθὼν εἶς, For they who are thorough-paced, and Genuine *Atheists* indeed, will boggle at neither of those forementioned things, but contend that whatsoever, they cannot grasp with their hands, is altogether Nothing. That is, that there is no other Substance nor Entity in the World, but only Body, that which is Tangible, or Resists the Touch. Aristotle also, representeth the *Atheistick* Hypothesis after the same manner, τὸτο καὶ τοῦ ζωῶντος φαίνει εἶναι τὴν ἅπασαν εἶσαν, τὰ δ' ἄλλα πάντα παρὰ τῶν τῶν. They affirm that Matter or Body, is all the Substance that is, and that all other things, are but the Passions and Affections thereof. And again in his *Metaphysics*, ἐν τῷ πρῶτῳ, καὶ μίαν εἶναι πᾶσι φύσιν, ὡς ἕλκω πᾶσι, καὶ ταύτῃ σωματικῇ καὶ μέγεθος ἔχουσαν, These men maintain All to be One, and that there is but one Only Nature, as the Matter of all things, and this Corporeal, or endued with Magnitude. And now we see plainly, that the ancient *Atheists*, were of the very same mind, with these

Met. L. 1. c. 7.

these in our Days, that *Body*, or that which is *Tangible* and *Divisible*, is the Only *Substantial Thing*, from whence it follows, that an *Incorporeal Substance* would be the same with an *Incorporeal Body*, i. e. an *Impossibility*, and that there can be no *Incorporeal Deity*.

But in the Management of this *Cause*, there hath been some Disagreement amongst the *Atheists* themselves. For First, the *Democriticks* and *Epicureans*, though consenting with all the other *Atheists* in this, That whatsoever was *Unextended*, and devoid of *Magnitude*, was therefore *Nothing*; (so that there could neither be, any *Substance*, nor *Accident* or *Mode* of any *Substance*, *Unextended*) did notwithstanding distinguish concerning a *Double Nature*. First, That which is so *Extended*, as to be *Impenetrable*, and *Tangible*, or *Resist the Touch*, which is *Body*. And Secondly, That which is *Extended* also, but *Penetrably* and *Intangibly*, which is *Space* or *Vacuum*: a *Nature*, according to them, really distinct from *Body*, and the only *Incorporeal Thing* that is. Now since this *Space* which is the only *Incorporeal*, can neither *Do nor Suffer* any thing, but only give *Place* or *Room* to *Bodies* to Subsist in, or Pass thorough, therefore can there not be any *Active*, *Understanding*, *Incorporeal Deity*. This is the *Argumentation* of the *Democritick Atheists*.

To which we Reply; That if *Space* be indeed a *Nature* distinct from *Body*, and a *Thing Really Incorporeal*, as they pretend, then will it undeniably follow from this very Principle of theirs, that there must be *Incorporeal Substance*; and (this *Space* being supposed by them also to be *Infinite*) an *Infinite Incorporeal Deity*. Because if *Space* be not the *Extension* of *Body*, nor an *Affection* thereof; then must it of necessity be, either an *Accident Existing* alone by it self, without a *Substance*, which is *Impossible*; or else the *Extension* or *Affection*, of some other *Incorporeal Substance*, that is *Infinite*. But here will *Gassendus* step in, to help out his good Friends, the *Democriticks* and *Epicureans*, at a dead Lift; and undertake to maintain, that though *Space* be indeed an *Incorporeal Thing*, yet it would neither follow of necessity from thence, that it is an *Incorporeal Substance* or *Affection* thereof, nor yet that it is an *Accident*, Existing alone by it self without a *Substance*; because this *Space* is really, neither *Accident*, nor *Substance*, but a certain *Middle Nature* or *Essence* betwixt both. To which Subterfuge of his, that we may not quarrel about Words, we shall make this Reply; That unquestionably, Whatsoever *Is*, or hath any kind of *Entity*, doth either Subsist by it self, or else is an *Attribute*, *Affection*, or *Mode*, of something that doth Subsist by it self. For It is Certain, That there can be no *Mode*, *Accident*, or *Affection*, of *Nothing*; and consequently, that *Nothing* cannot be *Extended*, nor *Mensurable*. But if *Space* be neither the *Extension* of *Body*, nor yet of *Substance Incorporeal*, then must it of necessity be, the *Extension* of *Nothing*, and the *Affection* of *Nothing*; and *Nothing* must be *Mensurable* by *Tards* and *Poles*. We conclude therefore, That from this very *Hypothesis* of the *Democritick* and *Epicurean Atheists*, that *Space* is a *Nature* distinct from *Body* and *Positively Infinite*, it follows undeniably, that there must be
some

some *Incorporeal Substance*, whose *Affection* its *Extension* is ; and because there can be nothing *Infinite*, but only the *Deity*, that it is the *Infinite Extension* of an *Incorporeal Deity* ; just as some *Learned Theists* and *Incorporealists* have asserted. And thus is the *Argument* of these *Democritick* and *Epicurean Atheists*, against an *Incorporeal Deity*, abundantly confuted ; we having made it manifest, that from that very *Principle* of their own, by which they would disprove the same, it is against themselves *Demonstrable*.

To which it might be here further added, that *Epicurus* who professedly opposed *Plato's Incorporeal God*, as an *Impossibility*, did notwithstanding, manifestly *Contradict* himself, when he asserted such a *Democracy of Monogrammous Gods*, as were not *Compounded* of *Atoms* and *Vacuum*, (though according to him, the only *Principles of Body*) that so they might be *Incorruptible* ; nor yet could *Touch* or be *Touched*, but were *Penetrable*, as is declared in those *Verses of Lucretius*,

*Tenuis enim Natura Deum, longeque remota;
Sensibus à nostris, Animi vix mente videtur.
Quæ quoniam manuum Tactum, suffugit & Ictum,
Tactile nil nobis quod sit, contingere debet.
Tangere enim non quit, quod Tangi non licet ipsum.*

(Though *Tangibility* and *Impenetrability*, were elsewhere made by him, the very *Essence of Body*) and Lastly, such as had not *Corpus* but *Quasi-Corpus*, and therefore must needs be *Really Incorporeal*. Though there is no doubt to be made, but that *Epicurus* Colluded in all this; himself not *Believing* a jot of it, nor any such *Gods* at all.

But other *Atheists* there were, who concluding likewise, That whatsoever was *Unextended* was *Nothing*, were sensible of the *Inconvenience* of making *Space* thus to be a thing really distinct from *Body*, (from whence it would follow unavoidably, that it was an *Affection*, of *Incorporeal Substance* ;) and therefore acknowledged, not *Two Natures of Extended Things*, but as we had it before in *Aristotle*, *μὴν τινὰ φύσιν ἐν ταῦτις σωματικῇν*, *One only Nature*, and that *Bodily*; *Space* being therefore to them, either a meer *Imaginary Thing*, that hath no *Reality* without our *Minds*, but only a *Phantasm* of our own, and in their *Modern Language*, a kind of *Ghost*, *Apparition*, or *Spectre* of a *Body*; or else indeed, the very *Extension* of *Body* it self, considered in *General*, and *Abstractly* from this or that *Singular Body*, *Moveable*. And these men therefore framed their *Argumentation* against an *Incorporeal Deity* after this manner. Nothing truly *Is*, but what is *Extended*, or hath a *Certain Magnitude*, (because that which is *Unextended* and hath no *Magnitude*, is *No-where*, and consequently *Nothing*.) But whatsoever is *Extended*, and in a *Place*, is *Body*. Therefore is there no other *Substance* besides *Body*; and consequently there can be no *Incorporeal Deity*. Or else to put the *Argument* into a more *Approveable Syllogistick Form*, Whatsoever is *Extended*, is *Body*, or *Corporeal*; But *Whatsoever Is*, is *Extended*. Therefore

fore *Whatsoever Is, is Body, or Corporeal.* And by Consequence there can be no *Incorporeal Deity.*

To which *Argumentation*, the Assertors of *Incorporeal Substance*, have Replied *Two* manner of ways. For First, the Generality of the ancient *Incorporealists*, taking it for granted, that whatsoever was *Extended* in *Magnitude*, and had *Parts* one without another, was *Divisible*, as also probably, *Impenetrable* by any thing else *Extended*, because there can be no *Penetration of Dimensions*; and therefore no *One Magnitude*, can be *Imbided* or *Swallowed* up into another, but must of necessity stand without it, adding so much to the *Quantity* thereof: They readily gave their Assent to that *Proposition*, That *Whatsoever Is Extended*, into *Longitude*, *Latitude*, and *Profundity*, is *Body*. But being strongly perswaded of the Existence of some other *Substance* besides *Body*; they denied that Other *Proposition* of theirs, That *Whatsoever Is, is Extended*; or What is *Unextended* is *Nothing*: maintaining that besides *Body, or Extended Substance*, there was another *Substance Incorporeal*, which therefore was ἀδιάστολον, and ἀμεγέθους, and ἄπρος, and ἀμεν, and ἀδιάλειστον, *Unextended*, and devoid of *Quantity* and *Magnitude*, without *Parts*, and *Indivisible*. That *Plato* himself *Philosophized* after this manner, might be proved from sundry *Passages* of his *Writings*, as that in his *Tenth De Legibus*, where he affirmeth, that the *Soul* it self, and those things which belong to it, as *Cogitative*, are πρὸ πρὸς μήκους σωματικῶν καὶ βάθους καὶ πλάτους, in *Order of Nature*, before the *Longitude*, and *Latitude*, and *Profundity* of *Bodies*. Where doubtless his meaning was not; as if there were a *Longitude*, *Latitude*, and *Profundity* in *Souls*, but of a different kind from that *Longitude*, *Latitude*, and *Profundity* of *Bodies*, and before it: but that *Longitude*, *Latitude*, and *Profundity*, being the *Essential Properties* of *Body* only; *Soul* and *Cogitation*, as devoid of these, was in order of Nature Before them. Again from that in his *Timæus*, where speaking of *Place*, *Space*, and *Matter*, he condemneth this for a *Vulgar Error*, That *Whatsoever Is*, must of necessity be in some *Place* or other, and what is in *No Place*, is *Nothing*. τὸ τελευτὸν ὃ αὐτὸ γένετο τὸ τὸ χάρος, ἔδωκεν παρέχον ὅσα ἔχει γένεσιν πάντων— πρὸς δὲ ὃ καὶ οὐκ ἐπολόμεν βλεπόντες, καὶ φασὶν ἀναγκαῖον εἶναι πρὸς, τὸ ὅν ἄπαν ἐν τινὶ τόπῳ, καὶ κατέχον χάρος τινὰ· τὸ δὲ μήτε ἐν γῇ, μήτε πρὸς κατὰ θάλασσαν, ἔδωκεν εἶναι· The Third Kind, is that of *Space*, which gives room to all things that are Generated. And when we look upon this, we dreamingly affirm, That every thing that Is, must of necessity be in some *Place*, and possess a certain *Room* and *Space*, and that whatsoever is not *Somewhere*, either in *Earth* or in *Heaven*, is *Nothing*. Which *Drowsie* or *Dreaming Imagination*, (saith he, like a *Ghost*) continually haunteth and possesseth men, and that even then, when they think of that *True* and *Awakened Nature* of the *Deity*. Whereas this *Philosopher* himself, discoursing elsewhere of *God*, under the Title of πολὺ πέλαιον τὸ καλὸν, The *Vast Sea of Pulcritude*, describeth him after this manner, ἑστὸς δὲ, ἢ ἐν γῇ, ἢ ἐν θάλασσῃ, ἀλλ' αὐτὸ, μὴ αὐτὸ, μονοῦδες αἰὲς ὄν, τὰ δὲ ἅλλα πάντα καλὰ ἐκείνῳ μετέχοντα, As that which is not *Any where*, either in *Earth*, or in *Heaven*, but it self alone by It self, and With It self, all other *Beautiful things* Partaking of it. And as for *Aristo-*

its Sense in this Particular; that he here departed not, as he did in some other things, from his Master Plato, may appear from that Whole Chapter or Section, at the End of his *Physicks*; Spent upon this very Subject, to prove, ὅτι τὸ πρῶτον ἀμερὲς ἀναγκάσιον εἶναι, καὶ μὴ εἶναι μέγεθος, That his First Immoveable Mover (which is God Almighty) must of necessity be devoid of Parts, or Indivisible, and have no Magnitude at all. The Conclusion of which Section, and his whole Book of *Physicks* is this, διακειμένων ἢ τῶν, φανερόν ὅτι ἀδύνατον τὸ πρῶτον κινεῖν καὶ ἀκίνητον ἔχειν τι μέγεθος. εἰ γὰρ μέγεθος ἔχει, ἀνάγκη ἦτοι πεπερασμένον αὐτὸ εἶναι, ἢ ἀπείρου. ἀπείρου μὲν ἐν ὅτι ἐκ ἐνδέχεται μέγεθος εἶναι, διδιδύται περίεργον ἐν τοῖς φυσικοῖς ὅτι ἢ τὸ πεπερασμένον ἀδύνατον ἔχειν ἀπείρου δύναμιν, διδιδύται νῦν. φανερόν τοιούτων, ὅτι ἀδιαίρετόν ἐστι, καὶ ἀμερὲς, καὶ ἔδεν ἔχειν μέγεθος. These things being thus determined; It is manifestly Impossible, that the first Mover should have any Magnitude. For if it hath Magnitude, that must of necessity be either Finite or Infinite. But that there can be no Infinite Magnitude, was before demonstrated in the *Physicks*; and that nothing which hath a Finite Magnitude, can have Infinite Power, hath been now Proved. Wherefore it is plain, that the First Mover is Indivisible, and devoid of Parts, and hath no Magnitude at all. Which same Doctrine is again Taught and Asserted by Aristotle in his *Metaphysicks*, ὅτι μὲν ἐν ὅτιν εἶσα τις αἰδιότης καὶ ἀκίνητος, καὶ κεχωρισμένη τῇ αἰσθητῶν, φανερόν ἐκ τῆς εἰρημέ- νων. διδιδύται ἢ καὶ ὅτι μέγεθος ἔδεν ἐνδέχεται ἔχειν ταύτῃ τὴν εἶσιν, ἀλλὰ ἀμερὲς καὶ ἀδιαίρετός ἐστι. ἔδεν γὰρ ἔχει δύναμιν ἀπείρου πεπερασμέ- νου, καὶ ὅλως ἐκ ὅτιν ἔδεν ἀπείρου. From what hath been declared, it is manifest, that there is an Eternal and Immoveable Substance, Separate from Sensibles; as also that this Substance cannot possibly have any Magnitude, but is devoid of Parts, and Indivisible. Because no Finite thing can have Infinite Power, and there is no such thing possible as Infinite Magnitude. Neither doth Aristotle appropriate this to the Supreme Deity; To be thus devoid of Magnitude and of Parts, and consequently Indivisible; he some where attributing the same also to all other Immaterial or Incorporeal things, and particularly to the Humane Mind, ἀδιαίρετον πᾶν τὸ μὴ ὕλῃ ἔχειν, ὥσπερ ὁ ἀνθρώπινος νῦς, Every thing that is devoid of Matter, is Indivisible, as the Humane Mind. And the like, doth he assert, at once, both concerning the Mundane, and the Humane Soul, that they are no Magnitudes, though ridiculously (after his manner) imputing the Contrary Opinion to Plato, καλῶς τὸ λέγειν τὴν ψυχὴν μέγεθος εἶναι. ὁ δὲ νῦς εἰς καὶ συνεχὴς, ὥσπερ καὶ ἡ νόσις. ἢ ἡ νόσις τὰ νοήματα. ταῦτα ἢ τῷ ἐφεξῆς ἐν, ὥς ὁ ἀνθρώπος, ἀλλ' ἔχει ὥς τὸ μέγεθος. διόπερ ἔδεν νῦς εἶναι συνεχὴς. ἀλλ' ἦτοι ἀμερὲς, ἢ ἔχει ὥς τὸ μέγεθος τι συνεχὴς. πῶς γὰρ ἢ καὶ νοῦς μέγεθος ἐν, ὅταν ἐν τῇ μορίῳ τῇ αὐτῇ; μορίῳ ἢ ἦτοι καὶ μέγεθος, ἢ καὶ εἰρήνη. εἰ μὲν ἐν καὶ εἰρήνη, αὐτὰ δ' ἀπειρεῖ, δῆλον ὥς ἔδεν ποτε διέξωιν. εἰ δὲ καὶ μέγεθος, πολλάκις ἢ ἀπείρου νοήσει τὸ αὐτὸ. Ἐπὶ δὲ πῶς νοῦς τὸ ἀμερὲς με- εἶσα. It is not rightly affirmed either of the Mundane, or Rational Soul, that they are Magnitudes. For the Intellect is One and Continuous, as Intellection is, which is the same with the Intelligibles. But these are one, not as Magnitudes, but as Numbers. Wherefore the Intellect is not so Continuous, but either devoid of Parts, or not Continuous as Magnitude. For how, being Magnitude, could it

P. 14. c. 7.

De An. L. 1.
c. 3.

it understand with any of its Parts, whether Conceived as Points, or as lesser Magnitudes; since either way, there would be an innumerable company of Intellections? Moreover how can it conceive any thing that is Indivisible, by what is Divisible? Furthermore in this same Book *De Animâ*, Aristotle stiffly denies, Souls in general, either to be in a Place, or to be Locally Moved, otherwise than by Accident, as they are said to be Moved, together with the Motion of the Body. Thus *Simplicius*, ὅς, ὡς πανταχῶς τὰς σωματικὰς ἀπο-
 ρείσται ἢ ψυχῆς κινήσεως, See how Aristotle doth every where remove, or exclude from the Soul, Corporeal (or Local) Motions. And again ἀπαγορεύει μὴ κινεῖσθαι τὰ ἀσώματα ἢ κινήσεως αἰτία καὶ πρῶτα καὶ μέσα καὶ ἔσχατα ἢ, Aristotle will by no means allow any Incorporeal things whatsoever, whether of the First, Second or Lowest rank, (they being all the Causes of motion) themselves to be moved. *Philoponus* likewise, ὅς, ὡς πρὸς τὰς σωματικὰς κινήσεως ἀποβλέπων, ἵστας αὐτῶ ἀκίνητον εἶναι φησὶ· πᾶν γὰρ τὸ ἐν τόπῳ σῶμα ἔστιν. You see how Aristotle, respecting Corporeal Motions, pronounces of the Soul, that it is Immoveable. For whatsoever is in a Place (and moveable) is Body. Lastly, in that Passage before cited, Aristotle plainly makes, the Essence of Corporeal Substance, as opposed to Incorporeal, to consist in Magnitude. Fol. 6.

Besides Plato and Aristotle, we might here instance in sundry other, of the ancient Incorporealists, who clearly maintained the same Doctrine. *Philo* doth not only assert in general, a Double Essence or Substance, ἀδιώκετον, and διασηματικῶν, a Distant, and Indistant one, but somewhere writeth thus concerning the Deity, ὑπὸ τοῦ Θεοῦ πεπληρωται τὰ πάντα, ἀεὶ ἐχούτω ὁ περιεχόμενος, ὃ πανταχῶς τε
 καὶ ὁδὰμς συμπερικειν εἶναι μόνῳ· ὁδὰμς μὲν ὅτι καὶ χωρὶν καὶ τόπον αὐτὸς τοῖς σώμασι συγγενήκεν τὸ ὃ πεποιηκὸς ἐν ὁδῶν τῶν γεγονότων θεμὸς εἶπεν περι-
 ἔχεσθαι· πανταχῶς ὃ, ὅτι τὰς δυνάμεις αὐτῶ, διὰ γῆς καὶ ὕδατος ἄερος τε καὶ ἔρως τέλει, &c. All things are filled with God, as Containing them, but not as being Contained by them, or in them; to whom alone it belongeth to be, both Every where and No where. No where because himself Created Space and Place, together with Bodies, and it is not Lawful to include the Creator, within any of his Creatures. And Every where, because he extendeth his Vertues and Powers, throughout Earth and Water, Air and Heaven, and leaveth no Part of the World destitute thereof, but collecting all things together under himself, hath bound them fast with Invisible Bonds. But none hath more industriously pursued this business then *Plotinus* who every where asserts, Body and Magnitude, to be one and the same thing; and that besides this, there is another Substance Incorporeal, which consequently is ἀπρος and ἀμεγέθους and ἀμερῆς, devoid of Quantity, and of Magnitude, and of Parts, locally distant from one another; ὃ ἐν τῇ αὐτῶ ὁδῶν τὸ ποσὸν εἶναι ὑπερέβηκεν, it having in its Nature transcended, the Imperfection of Quantity. And Who hath also written, Two Whole Books upon this very Subject, τὸ ἐν ἐν καὶ ταυτὸν ἀριθμῶ ἅμα πανταχῶς εἶναι ὅλον, That one and the self same Numerical thing, may be all of it, entirely Every where. Wherein his Principal design was to Prove, that the Deity, is not Part of it
 Rrrr 2 here;

P. 667.

here, and part of it there; and so much thereof in one place, and so much in another (as if the very Substance of it were Mensurable by Yards and Poles) but the whole Undivided Deity, every where, *περὶ τοῦ ἐν τόπῳ ἀπάντων* (saith he) God is before all things that are in a Place. And *ταυμάζειν ἔδει, εἰ αὐτὸ μὴ ὄν ἐν τόπῳ, παντὶ τῷ ἐν τόπῳ ὄντι, ὅλως παρῆσθαι, ὅ ὁ λόγος, ὡς ἀνάγκη, αὐτῷ τόπον ἐν εἰληχρί, ὃ παρῆσθαι, τῷ ὅλῳ παρῆσθαι.* It is not at all to be wondered at, that God being not in a Place, should be present to every thing that is in a Place, wholly and entirely: Reason pronouncing, that he having no place, must therefore of necessity be ὅλως, all of him Indivisibly Present, to whatsoever he is Present. Neither is this, saith he, a thing only deduced by Reason, but that which is before Reason, suggested, by the Instincts of Mankind; *τὸ ἐν ἡ ταυτὸν ἀρεθμῶ, πανταχὸς ἅμα ὅλον εἶναι, κοινῇ ἐννοια φησὶν εἶναι, ὅταν πάντες κινέμενοι αὐτοφύας λέγωσι, ὅ ἐν ἐκείνῳ ἡμῶν θεῶν, ὡς ἓνα ἡ τὸ αὐτὸν,* That one and the same Numerical Substance (to wit of the Deity) is at once entirely every where, is agreeable to the Common Notions, Sentiments of Mankind, when we do so often by the Instincts of Nature, speak of that God, who is in Every one of us; as supposing him to be one and the same in all. Where the Philosopher subjoyns, *ἡ ἐστὶ πάντων βεβαιωτάτη ἀρχή, ἣν ὥσπερ αἱ ψυχαὶ ἡμῶν φύονται,* &c. And this is the Firmest of all Principles, that which our Souls do, as it were, Naturally and of themselves Speak; and which is not Collected by Reason, but comes forth from them, before Ratiocination. Moreover he often affirmeth of the humane Soul, or rather takes it as a thing for granted, that this is, the Whole or All of it, in every part of the Body, that is Undividedly; *ὅτι ὁ ἡ ψυχῆς, τὸ αὐτὸ ἀρεθμῶ, τὸ ἐν τῷ ποδὶ, ἡ τῇ χεὶρὶ ὑπάρχει,* As for the humane Soul, it is one and the same Numerically, in the Hand and in the Foot. And again, *ἔτι πῶς ἐν ποδὶ ἡ χεὶρὶ τῷ αὐτῷ, τῷ ὃ ἐν τῷ ὃ μέρῃ τῆς παντός, ἡ τῷ αὐτῷ τῷ ἐν τῷ,* Since we commonly suppose, our own Soul to be the same, both in our foot and in our hand; why should we not in like manner, acknowledge, that of the Mundane Soul or Deity, which is in one part of the Universe, to be the same with that in another? In like manner *Simplicius*, proving that Body is not the first Principle, because there must of necessity be Something Self-moving, and what is so, must needs be Incorporeal, writeth thus, *τὸ ὃ τοῖσιν ἀμερές ἐνδὺς ἀνάγκη εἶναι ἡ ἀδιαστατον, μερῶν γὰρ ἡ διαστατὸν ὑπάρχειν, ἡ δύναται ὅλον ὅλῳ ἑαυτῇ ἐφαρμόζειν, ὡς τὸ ὅλον εἶναι κινῆν, ἡ ὅλον τὸ αὐτὸ κινέμενον.* Because what is such, must of necessity be Indivisible, and Indistant, for were it Divisible, and Distant, it could not all of it be conjoyned with its whole self; so that the whole should both actively move, and be moved. Which same thing seems further Evident, in the Souls being All Conscious of It Self, and Reflexive upon its whole Self, which could not be, were one part of it Distant from another. Again the same Philosopher, expressly denieth, the Soul though a Self-moving Substance, to be at all Locally Moved, otherwise then by accident in respect of the Body, which is moved by it, *ἡ τὰς σωματικὰς κινέμενον κινήσεις (ἡ τὸ ἐκείνας ἀκίνητόν ἔστι) ἀλλὰ τὰς ψυχικὰς, ὡς ὀνόματά ἔστι σκοπεῖσθαι βεβαιοῦσθαι, διανοεῖν, δοξάζειν, κινεῖ τὰ σώματα ἡ τὰς σωματικὰς κινήσεις,* The Soul being not Moved by Corporeal or Local Motions (for in respect of these it is Immoveable) but by Cogitative ones only, (the

P. 644.

P. 649.

(the names whereof are Consultation, and Deliberation, &c.) by these Moveth Bodies Locally. And that this was Really Plato's meaning, also, when he determined the Soul to be a Self-moving Substance and the Cause of all Bodily Motion; that moving it self in a way of Cogitation it moved Bodies Locally (Notwithstanding that Aristotle would not take notice of it) sufficiently appears from his own words, and is acknowledged by the Greek Scholiasts themselves, upon Aristotle's *De Anima*. Thus again *Simplicius* elsewhere, ἐπεὶ δ' οὐ ἐν τόπῳ ψυχὴ, ὅθεν ἂν κινήτο, τὰς τῶν ἐν τόπῳ ὄντων κινήσεις, Since the Soul is not in a place, it is not capable of any Local Motion.

We should omit the Testimonies of any more Philosophers, were it not, that we find *Porphyrus* so full and express herein; who makes this the very beginning of his ἀφορμαὶ πρὸς τὰ νοητὰ, his *Mamudition* to Intelligibles; Πᾶν σῶμα ἐν τόπῳ, ὅθεν ὃ τῶ καὶ ἑαυτὸ ἀσωμάτων ἐν τόπῳ, That though Every Body be in a Place, yet Nothing that is properly Incorporeal, is in a Place: and who afterwards further pursues it in this manner, ὅδε τοπικῶς διέρχεται τὸ ἀσωμάτον· ὅπερ βέβηται· ὅγκῳ τὸ συνφύεται τόπῳ· τὸ δ' ἄσῳον παντελὲς καὶ ἀμέγεδς, ὑπὸ τῶ ἐν P. 229, 230. εἴκοσ ἀκρότητον, τοπικῆς τε κινήσεως ἀμοιβόν, διαδέχεται τοίνυν ποῖα ἔχει εὐεχέσθαι, ὅπερ καὶ διάκεται· καὶ οὐ τῶ ἔργων αὐτῶ φανεροὶ ἢ παρὰ αὐτῶ γίνεσθαι, Neither does that which is Incorporeal move Locally by Will. Place being Relative only to Magnitude and Bulk. But that which is devoid of Bulk and Magnitude, is likewise devoid of Local Motion. Wherefore it is only present by a certain Disposition and Inclination of it; to one thing more than another, nor is its presence there discernible otherwise, than by its operations and Effects. Again concerning the Three Divine Hypostases, he writeth thus, ὁ θεὸς πανταχῶς ὅτι ὅδαμῶς, καὶ ὁ νῦν P. 231. πανταχῶς ὅτι ὅδαμῶς, καὶ ψυχὴ πανταχῶς ὅτι ὅδαμῶς, &c. The Supreme God, is therefore Every where, because he is Nowhere; and the same is true also of the Second and Third Divine Hypostasis, Now and Psyche. The Supreme God is Every where and No where, in respect of those things which are after him, and only his own and in himself. Now or Intellect is in the Supreme God; Every where and No where as to those things that are after him. Psyche or the Mundane Soul is both in Intellect and the Supreme God, and Every where and No where as to Bodies. Lastly, Body, is both in the Soul of the World, and in God. Where he denies, God to be Locally in the Corporeal World, and thinks it more proper to say that the Corporeal World is in God, then God in it; because the World is held and contained in the Divine Power, but the Deity is not in the Locality of the World. Moreover he further declares his Sense after this manner; ὅθεν εἰ κενὸν ἔν τι ἔτινονομεν ἀσωμάτου, ἐν κενῷ δὴόν τι εἶναι νῦν, σῶματι μὲν τὸ δεκτικόν ἂν εἴη τὸ κενόν. νῦν ὃ ἐνεργεῖαν λαμβάνει ἀμύχανον, καὶ τόπον δέσναι ἐνεργεῖα, Nor if there were conceived to be, such an Incorporeal Space or Vacuum (as *Democritus* and *Epicurus* supposed) could Mind or God, possibly Exist in this Empty Space, (as Co-extended with the same) for this would be only Receptive of Bodies, but it could not receive the Energie of Mind or Intellect, nor give any Place or Room to that, that being no Bulkie thing. And again, ὁ μὲν νό-
ζου ἐν τῇ νῶ διασπείκως πόρεσι, τὸ δ' ἀσωμάτου τῇ νόζου ἀμεγῆς καὶ ἀδιασπείκως· τὸ δ' ἀμεγῆς ἐν διασπείκῳ ὅλον γίνεσθαι καὶ πᾶν μέγεθος, ταῦτον δὲ
καὶ

καὶ ἐν ἀεισμῷ· αὐτὸ ἀμερῶς παρῇ καὶ ἀπληθύντως καὶ ἀτόπως, καὶ τῷ αὐτῷ φύσιν, τῷ μερῶς, καὶ πεπληθυμένῳ, καὶ ὅτι ἐν τόπῳ, *The Corporeal World is Distantly present, to the Intelligible, (or the Deity;) and that is Indivisibly and Indistantly present, with the World. But when that which is Indistant and Unextended, is present with that which is Distant and Extended; then is the Whole of the Former, one and the same Numerically, in Every part of the Latter. That is, it is Indivisibly and Unmultipliedly, and Illocally, there (according to its own Nature) present with that, which is naturally Divisible, and Multipliable, and in a Place. Lastly, he affirmeth the same likewise of the Humane Soul, that this is also ὅλα ἀμεγέθους, A Substance devoid of Magnitude, and which is not Locally present, to this or that Body, but by Disposition and Energie, and therefore the Whole of it in every part thereof Undividedly.*

And as for Christian Writers, besides *Origen*, who was so famous an Asserter of *Incorporeal Substance*, that (as *Socrates* recordeth) the Egyptian Monks and Anthropomorphites, threatned death to *Theophilus* the Alexandrian Bishop, unless he would at once execrate and renounce the Writings of *Origen*, and profess the Belief of a *Corporeal God*, of *Humane Form*; and who also maintained *Incorporeal Substance* to be *Unextended*, as might be proved from Sundry Passages, both of his Book against *Celsus*, and that *Peri Archon*; we say (besides *Origen* and others of the *Greeks*) *St. Austine* amongst the Latins, clearly asserted the same, he maintaining in his Book, *De Quantitate Animæ*, and else where, concerning the *Humane Soul*, that being *Incorporeal*, it hath no Dimensions of *Length*, *Breadth* and *Profundity*, and is *Illocabilis*, *No where* as in a *Place*. We shall conclude, with the Testimony of *Boetius*, who was both a Philosopher and a Christian, *Quædam sunt* (saith he) *Communes Animi Conceptiones*, *per se notæ, apud Sapientes tantum; Ut Incorporalia non esse In Loco*; There are certain Common Conceptions, or Notions of the Mind, which are known by themselves amongst wise men only; as this for example, That *Incorporeals* are in *No Place*. From whence it is manifest, that the generality of reputed Wise men, were not formerly of this opinion, *Quod Nusquam est nihil est*, That what is *No where*, or in no certain Place, is *Nothing*; and that this was not look'd upon by them as a *Common Notion*, but only as a *Vulgar Error*.

By this time we have made it unquestionably Evident, that this Opinion of *Incorporeal Substance* being *Unextended*, *Indistant*, and *Devoid of Magnitude*, is no Novel or Recent thing, nor first started in the *Scholastick Age*, but that it was the general Perswasion, of the most ancient and learned Asserters of *Incorporeal Substance*; especially, that the *Deity* was not Part of it *Here*, and Part of it *There*; nor the *Substance* thereof *Mensurable* by Yards and Poles, as if there were so much of it contained in one Room, and so much and no more in another, according to their several Dimensions; but that the whole *Undivided Deity*, was at once in Every Part of the world, and consequently *No where Locally* after the manner of *Bodies*. But because this opinion, seems so *Strange* and *Paradoxical*, and lies under so great

Prejudice,

Prejudices, we shall in the next place show, how these ancient *Incorporealists*, endeavour'd to acquit themselves in repelling the several *Efforts* and *Plausibilities* made against it. The First whereof is this, That to suppose *Incorporeal Substances*, *Unextended* and *Indivisible*, is to make them *Absolute Parvities*, and by means of that, to render them all, (even the *Deity* it self) contemptible; since they must of necessity, be either *Physical Minimums*, that cannot *Actually* be *Divided* further by reason of their *Littleness*, (if there be any such thing) or else meer *Mathematical Points*, which are not so much as *Mentally Divisible*: so that *Thousands* of these *Incorporeal Substances*, or *Spirits*, might *Dance together at once upon a Needles Point*. To which it was long since thus Replied by *Plotinus*, ὅτι ἔστω ὁ ἀμερὲς P. 656.
 ὡς μικρὸν · ὅταν γὰρ ἔσδεν ἡ ἡτόν καὶ μερῶν ἔσται · καὶ ὁ παντὶ αὐτῷ ἐφαρ-
 μύσει · ὅς δ' ἂν αὐτομικρῶ τὸ αὐτὸ συνέσαι · ἀλλ' ὅς δ' ἔστω ὡς σημείον, ὁ γὰρ ἐν
 σημείον ὁ ὄγκος, ἀλλ' ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐν αὐτῷ, ὅς δ' ὡς ἐφαρμύσει, *God and all*
other Incorporeal Substances, are not so *Indivisible*, as if they
 were *Parvities*, or *Little things*, as *Physical points*; for so would
 they still be *Mathematically Divisible*; nor yet, as if they were *Ma-*
thematical Points neither, which indeed are no *Bodies* nor *Substances*,
 but only *The Termini of a Line*. And neither of these wayes, could the
Deity *Congruere*, with the world; nor *Souls* with their respective *Bo-*
dies, so as to be all present with the whole of them. Again he writeth
 particularly concerning the *Deity* thus, ὅτι ἔστω ἀμερὲς, ὡς τὸ συμ- P. 764.
 κρῶτατον, μέγιστον γὰρ ἀπέναντον, ὁ μέγιστος ἀλλὰ δυνάμει. ———— *ληπτόν*
 ὁ καὶ ἀπειρονόητον, ὁ τὰ ἀδιεξήγητον, ἢ τὸ μέγιστος, ἢ τὸ ἀεὶ ὄν, ἀλλὰ τὰ
 ἀπειρονόητον ὁ δυνάμει. *God is not so Indivisible as if he were the Small-*
est or Least of things, for he is the *Greatest of all*, not in respect of *Magni-*
tude, but of *Power*. Moreover as he is *Indivisible*, so is he also to be ac-
 knowledged *Infinite*, not as if he were either a *Magnitude* or a *Number*,
 which could never be past thorough; but because his *Power* is *Incomprehen-*
sible. Moreover the same *Philosopher*, condemneth this for a *Vulgar*
Error, proceeding from *Sense* and *Imagination*, that whatsoever is *Un-*
extended and *Indistant*, must therefore needs be *Little*, he affirming on
 the contrary the *Vulgar* to be much mistaken, as to *True Greatness* and
Littleness, μέγα νομίζοντες τὸ αἰσθητόν, ἀπορῶμεν πῶς ἐν μεγάλῳ καὶ τοῦτο P. 645.
 ἐκείνῳ ἢ φύσιν ἐκείνῳ. τὸ δ' ὅτι τὸ τοῦ λεγόμενου μέγα μικρόν · ὁ δ' ὁ νομί-
 ζεται μικρὸν εἶναι μέγα · εἴτε ὅλον ὅτι πᾶν τὸ τὸ μέγιστον φθάνει, μάλλον ὁ τὸ
 πανταχόθεν τοῖς αὐτῷ μέρεσιν ἐπ' ἐκείνῳ ὄν, διεξέρχεται αὐτὸ πανταχόθεν πᾶν
 καὶ μέγιστον ἐαυτῷ, *We commonly looking upon this Sensible world as*
Great, wonder how that (*Indivisible* and *Unextended*) *Nature of the*
Deity, can every where comply and be present with it. Whereas that
 which is *Vulgarly* called *Great*, is indeed *Little*, and that which is thus
 Imagined to be *Little*, is indeed *Great*. For as much as the whole of *This*
 diffuseth it self through every part of the other; or rather this whole Sens. p. 243.
Corporeal Universe, in every one of its parts, findeth that *Whole* and
Entire, and therefore *Greater* than it self. To the same purpose also
Porphyrus, τὸ ὄντως ὄν ὅτι μέγα, ὅτι μικρὸν ὅτι · (τὸ γὰρ μέγα καὶ μικρὸν
 κυρίως οἷός ἐστι) ἐκείνῳ ὁ τὸ μέγα καὶ μικρὸν · καὶ ὑπὲρ τὸ μέγιστον
 καὶ ὑπὲρ τὸ ἐλάχιστον, παῦδ καὶ ἐν ἀεὶ ὄν · εἰ καὶ διεξέρχεται αἶμα ὑπὸ
 παῦδς μεγίστης, καὶ ὑπὸ παῦδς ἐλαχίστης διεξέρχεται · μήτε ἄρα ὡς μέγ-
 ιστον αὐτὸ ὑπονοήσεις · εἰ γὰρ μὴ, ἀπορήσεις πᾶς μέγιστον ὄν τοῖς ἐλαχίστοις οἷοις
 πάρεστι,

παρεσι, μη μειωθεν, η συσταθεν· μητε ως ελαχιστον, ει η μη, πολιν απροη-
 ρεις, πως ελαχιστον ον τοις μεγαλοις ομοις παρεσι, μη πολλαπλασιαθεν, η αυ-
 ξηθεν, *The Deity, which is the only true Being, is neither Great nor Little;*
(For as much as Great and Little properly belong to Corporeal Bulk or
Magnitude) but it exceedeth both the Greatness of every thing that is
Great, and the Littleness of whatsoever is Little (it being more Indivisi-
ble and more One with it self, than any thing that is Little, and more
Powerful than any thing that is Great) So that it is above both the Great-
est, and the Least; it being found, all one and the same, by every Great-
est and every Smallest thing, participating thereof. Wherefore you must
neither look upon God, as the Greatest thing, (that is in a way of Quan-
tity) for then you may well doubt, how being the Greatest, He can be all
of him present with every Least thing, neither diminished nor contract-
ed: nor yet must you Look upon him, as the Least thing neither; for if
you do so, then will you be at a loss again, how bring the Least thing, he
can be present, with all the Greatest Bulk, neither Multiplied nor Aug-
mented. In a word, the Sum of their Answer amounts to this, that
an Incorporeal Unextended Deity is neither a Physical Point, because
this hath Distance in it, and is Mentally Divisible; nor yet a Mathe-
matical One; because This though having neither Magnitude nor
Substance in it, hath notwithstanding Site and Position, a Point being
according to Aristotle, a Monad having Site and Position. It is not to
be conceived as a Parvitude or very Little thing, because then it
could not Congruere, with all the Greatest things; nor yet as a Great
thing, in a way of Quantity and Extension, because then it could not
be All of it Present, to every Least thing. Nor does True Greatness
consist, in a way of Bulk or Magnitude, all Magnitude being but Lit-
tle, since there can be no Infinite Magnitude, and no Finite Magnitude
can have Infinite Power, as Aristotle before urged. And to conclude,
though some who are far from Atheists, may make themselves merry,
with that Conceit, of Thousands of Spirits, dancing at once upon a Nee-
dles Point, and though the Atheists, may endeavour, to Rogue and Ri-
dicule, all Incorporeal Substance in that manner; yet does this run
upon a clear Mistake of the Hypothesis, and make nothing at all a-
gainst it; for as much as an Unextended Substance, is neither any
Parvitude, as is here supposed (because it hath no Magnitude at all)
nor hath it any Place, or Site, or Local Motion, properly belonging to
it; and therefore can neither Dance upon a Needles Point, nor any
where else.

But in the next place, it is further *Objected*; That What is neither
Great nor Little, what possesses no Space, and hath no Place nor Site
amongst Bodies, must therefore needs be an Absolute Non-Entity, for
as much as Magnitude or Extension, are the very Essence of Being or
Entity, as such; so that there can be neither Substance nor Accident
Unextended. Now since whatsoever is Extended, is Bodily, there
can therefore be no other Substance besides Body, nor any thing In-
corporeal, otherwise then as that word may be taken, for a Thin and
Subtile Body, in which Sense Fire was by some in Aristotle, said to be,
μελιστα τῶν στοιχείων αἰσώματον, and αἰσώματώτατον; The most Incorporeal of all
the Elements; and Aristotle himself useth the word in the same manner,
 when

when he affirmeth, that all *Philosophers* did define the *Soul*, by Three things, *Motion*, *Sense*, and *Incorporeity*; several of those there mentioned by him, understanding the *Soul* to be no otherwise *Incorporeal*, than as σώμα λεπτόμερες, *A Thin and Subtle Body*. In answer to which *Objection*; we may remember that *Plato* in the passage before cited, declareth this to be but a *Vulgar Error*,* that whatsoever doth not take up *Space*, and is in no *Place*, is *Nothing*. He intimating the *Original* hereof, to have sprung, from men's adhering too much to those *Lower Faculties*, of *Sense* and *Imagination*, which are able to conceive *Nothing*, but what is *Corporeal*. And accordingly *Plotinus*; ἡ μὲν αἰσθησις, ἡ προσέχουσα ἀπιστοῦμεν τοῖς λεγομένοις; λέγει P. 636. ὅτι ὡς καὶ ὡς· ὁ δὲ λόγος τὸ ὡς καὶ ὡς φησὶν, ὅτι ἐκαστὸς ἴδεν ὡς καὶ ὡς γενέσθαι, ἀλλὰ τὸ ἐκαστὸν πᾶν αὐτῷ μάλιστα φέρεται, οὐδὲ ἀδιατάττει αὐτῷ. *Sense indeed, which we attending to, disbelieve these things, tells us of Here and There; but Reason dictates, that Here and There, is so to be understood of the Deity, not as if it were Extendedly Here and There, but because every Extended thing, and the several Parts of the World, partake every where of that, being Indistant and Unextended.* To the same purpose *Porphyrus*, δὲ τοῖνυν ἐν ταῖς ἐκείναις καὶ ἀκατατάκτοις τῆς ἐκαστῆς ἰδιότητι. ΑΦ. p. 242. τῷ μὴ ἐπαλλάττειν τὰς φύσεις· μάλλον δὲ τὰ προσόντα τοῖς σώμασιν, ἢ τοιαῦτα, μὴ φανταζεσθαι καὶ δεξιᾶν ὡς τὸ ἀσώματον· τῷ μὲν γὰρ σώματι, ἐν συνθέσει πᾶς· ἐκείνων δὲ μάλιστα ἐν γνώσει γινέσθαι; ἀρεσκῶν ὡς αὐτὰ, ὡς ἂν ὑπὸ φαντασίας κρατῆται, *We ought therefore, in our Disquisitions concerning Corporeal and Incorporeal Beings, to conserve the Property of each, and not to confound their Natures. But especially to take heed, that our Phancy and Imagination, do not so far impose upon our judgments, as to make us attribute to Incorporeals, what properly belongeth to Bodies only. For we are all accustomed to Bodies, but as for Incorporeals, scarcely any one reaches to the knowledge of them; men alwaies fluctuating about them and diffiding them, so long as they are held under the Power of their Imagination.* Where afterwards he propoundeth a *Form* for this, How we should think of *Incorporeals*, so as not to *Confound* their *Natures* with *Corporeals*; ἐν ἀπέρις μέρεσι τῷ διασπατῇ παρὸν ὅλον τὸ ἀδιάσπατον, ὅτι μεριστὸν πόρεσι, τὰ μέρεσι δὶδον μέρεθ, ὅτι πληθυνθὲν τὰ πλῆθει παρέχεν ἑαυτὸ πόλλα· πλάσια δὲν· ἀλλ' ὅλον πᾶσι τι τοῖς μέρεσι τῷ ὁκωμεν, ἐνί τι ἐκαστῷ τῷ πλῆθει, ἀμερῶς καὶ ἀπληθύντως καὶ ὡς ἐν ἀριθμῷ· τὸ δὲ μεριστῶς καὶ διηρημένως ἀπολαύειν αὐτῷ. *That the Indistant and Unextended Deity, is the Whole of it present in Infinite Parts of the Distant World, neither Divided, as applying part to part; nor yet Multiplied into many Wholes, according to the multiplicity of those things that partake thereof. But the whole of it (One and the same in Number) is present to all the Parts of the Bulkie World, and to every one of those many things in it, Undividedly and Unmultipliedly; that in the mean time partaking thereof Dividedly.* It was granted therefore by these *Ancients*, that this *Unextended and Indistant Nature*, of *Incorporeals*, is ἀφάνταστον, a thing altogether *Unimaginable*; and this was concluded by them, to be the only Reason, why so many have pronounced it to be *Impossible*, because they attended only to *Sense* and *Imagination*, and made them the only *Measure* of *Things* and *Truth*; it having been accordingly maintained by divers of them, (as *Porphyrus* tells us) that *Imagination* and *Intellection*, are

P. 224.
ΑΦ.

but Two different Names, for one and the same thing; ὁνόματι δὲ δι-
αφορεῖς περὶ τῆς αὐτῆς ὑποστάσεως, καὶ τῆς φαντασίας, ἡ γὰρ ἐν λογικῇ
ζῳῳ φαντασία δέδωκε αὐτοῖς νόμισις, *There is a difference of Names only
and no more, betwixt Mind and Phancy. Phancy and Imagination
in Rational Animals, seeming to be the same thing with Intellection.* But there are many things, which no man can have any Phantasm
or Imagination of, and yet are they notwithstanding by all Unquesti-
onably acknowledged for *Entities* or *Realities*; from whence it is plain,
that we must have some other *Faculties* in us, which Extend beyond
Phanſie and *Imagination*. Reason indeed dictates, that whatsoever can
either *Do* or *Suffer* any thing, must therefore be undoubtedly *Some-
thing*: but that whatsoever is *Unextended*, and hath no *Distant Parts*,
one without another, must therefore needs be *Nothing*, is no *Common
Notion*, but the *Spurious Suggestion* of *Imagination* only, and a *Vulgar
Error*. There need to be no fear at all, Lest a Being *Infinitely Wise
and Powerful*, which Acts upon the whole world; and all the Parts
thereof, in Framing and Governing the same, should prove a *Non-En-
tity*, merely for want of *Bulk* and *Extension*, or because it *Swells* not out
into *Space* and *Distance* as Bodies do, therefore Vanish into *Nothing*.
Nor does *Active Force* and *Power*, as such, depend upon *Bulk* and *Ex-
tension*, because then, whatsoever had the greater *Bulk*, would have
the greater *Activity*. There are therefore, *Two kinds* of *Substances*
in the Universe, the *First Corporeal*, which are Nothing but ὄγκοι,
Bulks, or *Tumours*, devoid of all *Self-Active Power*; the *Second Incorpo-
real*, which are ἁπλοὶ δυνάμεις, *Substantial Powers*, *Vigours*, and *Activi-
ties*; which though they act upon *Bulk* and *Extension*, yet are them-
selves *Unbulkie* and devoid of *Quantity* and *Dimensions*; however they
have a certain βάθος in them in another sense, an *Essential Profun-
dity*, according to this of *Simplicius*, μερὶς μὲν ἀπλᾶς ἡ σωματικὴ οὐσία
πᾶσα, ἄλλων ἁμαχῶς τῇ μορῶν κεμένων· ἀμέλει δὲ ἡ εἰλημένης ἡ νοε-
ρᾶ, πολὺ δὲ βάθος ἔχουσα, *All Corporeal Substance, is simply Divisible,
some Parts of it being here and some there, but Intellectual Substance,
is Indivisible, and without Dimensions, though it hath much of
Depth and Profundity in it in another Sense.* But that there is some
thing ἀφάνταστον *Unimaginable* even in Body it self, is evident, whe-
ther you will suppose it to be *Infinitely Divisible* or *Not*, as you must
of necessity suppose, one or other of these. And that we ought
not always to pronounce of *Corporeal Things* themselves, according
to *Imagination*, is manifest from hence; because though *Astronomi-
cal Reasons*, assure us, that the Sun is really more than a *Hundred Times*
bigger than the whole Earth, yet can we not possibly for all that,
Imagine the Sun of such a Bigness, nor indeed the Earth it self; half
so big as we know it to be. The reason whereof is, partly because
we never had a *Sense* or *Sight* of any such Vast Bigness at once, as
that of either of them, and partly because our *Sense* always represent-
ing the Sun to us, but ὡς πεδύλιον, as of a Foot Diameter, and we being
accustomed always to *Imagine* the same according to the Appearance
of *Sense*, are not able to frame any *Imagination* of it, as very much
Bigger. Wherefore if *Imagination* be not to be *Trusted*, nor made
the *Criterion* or *Measure* of *Truth*, as to *Sensible* things themselves,
much less ought it to be, as to *Things Insensible*. Besides all which, the

Ancient

In Ar. Phys.
P. 3.

Ancient *Incorporealists*, argued after this manner, that it is, as Difficult for us to conceive, a Substance whose *Duration* is *Unextended* or *Unstretched* out in *Time*, into *Past*, *Present* and *Future*, and therefore without *Beginning*; as that which is *Unextended* as to *Parts*, *Place* or *Space*, in *Length*, *Breadth* and *Thickneſs*; yet does Reason pronounce, that there muſt needs be, not only a *Duration* without *Beginning*, but alſo ἀχρόνιον αἰών, a *Timeleſs Eternity*, or a *Permanent Duration*, differing from that *Successive Flux* of *Time*; (which is one of *Plato's* γεννιὰ, *Things Generated*, or that had a *Beginning*) This Parity of Reason is by *Plotinus* thus inſiſted on, διὸ ὅδ' ἐν χρόνῳ, ἀλλὰ παντὶς χρόνος ἔξω, τὸ μὲν χρόνος συνεχόμενος αἰεὶ πρὸς διάσπαρτον, τὸ δ' αἰώνιον ἐν ταῖς αὐταῖς μένοντι καὶ μεγίστῳ, καὶ πλεόνος ὄντος δυνάμει αἰδίου, τὸ ἔστι πολλὰ δευσιλος ἰέναι χρόνος, *For the ſame reaſon, that we deny Local Extenſion, to the Deity, muſt we alſo deny Temporal Diſtance to the ſame: and affirm that God is not in Time, but above Time, in Eternity. For as much as Time, is alwaies Scattered and Stretched out in Length, and Diſtance, one moment following after another; but Eternity remaineth in the ſame, without any Flux, and yet nevertheleſs outgoeth Time, and transcendeth the Flux thereof, though ſeeming to be ſtretched and ſpun out more into Length.* Now the reaſon why we cannot frame a Conception of ſuch a *Timeleſs Eternity*, is only becauſe our ſelves are *Effentially Involved* in *Time*, and accordingly are our Conceptions Chained, Fettered, and Confined, to that narrow and dark Dungeon, that our ſelves are Imprisoned in; Notwithſtanding which, our *Freer Faculties*, aſſuring us of the *Exiſtence* of a Being, which far transcendeth our ſelves, to wit, one that is *Infinutely Perfect*; we have by means hereof, μαυρίαν τινά, a certain *Vaticination*, of ſuch a *Standing Timeleſs Eternity*, as its *Duration*.

But as for that Conceit, of *Immaterial* or *Incorporeal Bodies*; or, that God, and Humane Souls, are no otherwiſe *Incorporeal*, then as σῶμα λεπτόμερες, a *Thin and Subtle Body*; ſuch as Wind or Vapour, Air, or Æther; it is certain, that according to the Principles of the moſt ancient *Atomick Philoſophy*, (before it was Atheized) there being no ſuch *Real Quality* of *Subtlety* or *Tenuity*, (becauſe this is altogether *Unintelligible*) but this Difference ariſing wholly, from *Motion*, Dividing the Inſenſible Parts, and every way Agitating the ſame, together with a certain *Contexture* of thoſe Parts; it is not Impoſſible but that the *Finest and moſt Subtle Body* that is, might become as Groſs, Hard, Heavy, and Opake, as Fleſh, Earth, Stones, Lead, or Iron; and again that the *Groſſeſt* of theſe Bodies, by *Motion* and a Different *Contexture* of Parts, might not only be *Crystallized*, but alſo become as Thin, Soft, and Fluid as the *Finest Æther*. So that there is no *Specifiſick Difference*, betwixt a Thick and Thin, a Groſs and Fine, an Opake and Pellucide, an Hard and Soft Body, but *Accidental* only; and therefore is there no reaſon, why *Life* and *Underſtanding*, ſhould be thought to belong to the one, rather than to the other of them. Beſides which, the Reaſons of the ancient *Incorporealists*, (afterwards to be produced) will Evince that the *Humane Soul* and *Mind*, cannot poſſibly be any *Body* whatſoever, though never ſo *Fine*, *Thin*, and *Subtle*; whoſe Parts are by *Motion* *Dividable* and *Separable* from one another.

En. 4. L. 7.
P. 460.

P. 662.

P. 662.

But it is further Objected against this *Unextended Nature*, of *Incorporeal Substances*, as they are said to be *All in the Whole*, and *all in every Part* of that Body, which they are united to, or Act upon; that this is an *Absolute Contradiction* and *Impossibility*; because if the *Whole of the Deity*, be in this *One Point of Matter*, then can there be *Nothing* at all of it, in the *Next adjoining*; but that must needs be another *Whole*, and *Nothing* the same with the former. In like manner, if the whole *Humane Soul*, be in this *one Part* of the *Organized Body*, then can there be *none* at all of it, in any other *Part* thereof; and so not the *Whole* in the *Whole*, To which Objection, the ancient *Incorporealists*, made this *Twofold Reply*. First, in way of *Concession*, That this is indeed an *Absolute Contradiction*, for an *Extended Substance*, or *Body*, to be *All* of it in *every one Part* or *Point* of that *Space*, which the whole occupieth. Thus *Plotinus*; σώματι ἀδύνατον ἐν πλείοσι τὸ αὐτὸ ὅλον εἶναι, καὶ τὸ μέρος ὅπερ τὸ ὅλον ὑπερχειν, *It is Impossible for a Body, or Extended Substance, to be one and the same, All of it in every Part of that Space, which it possesses; and for every Part thereof, to be the same with the Whole.* But Secondly, as for an *Unextended and Indistant Substance*, which hath no *Parts* one without another, it is so far from Being a *Contradiction*, that it should be *All* of it in every *Part* of that *Body*, which it Acts upon; that it is *Impossible* it should be otherwise, only a *Part in a Part* thereof; so that an *Equal Quantity* of both, should Co-Exist together, because this is to suppose an *Unextended Substance* to be *Extended*. We say it is *Contradictory* to the *Nature* of that *Substance*, which is supposed to be, ἀμεγέθους, ἀποσους, ἀδιήσαστος, ἀμερῆς, ἀδιαιρέτος, *Devoid of Magnitude, and of Quantity, and of Parts, Indistant, and Indivisible*; that it should be otherwise *United to, or Conjoynd with, an Extended Body*, then after this way, which is look'd upon as such *Conjuring*; namely, that the *Whole of it* should be *present with, and Act upon every Part* thereof. Thus *Plotinus*, ἵστος ὁ λόγος ὅτι αὐτὸς τὸ πρῶτον, καὶ τὸ εἶδος ἀλόγιστον εἶναι, εἰδὲν ὅτι τὸ ἐπὶ τῆς φύσεως ἐκείνης, *This Form of Doctrine, concerning Incorporeals, is necessarily taken from the thing it self, (Viz. the nature of them as Unextended) and hath Nothing in it Aliene from that Essence, as confounding the Corporeal Nature therewith.* Whatsoever is *Unextended and Indistant*, cannot possibly Co-Exist, with an *Extended Substance*, *Point by Point, and Part by Part*, but it must of necessity be, ὅλον ἐν καὶ ταυτὸν ἀριθμῶ, *All of it, one and the same Numerically*; that is, (like it self) *Undividedly*, in every *Part* of that, which it Acts upon. Wherefore the word ὅλον, in this *Form*, when it is said, that the *Whole Deity*, is in every *Part* of the *World*, and the *Whole Soul* in every *Part* of the *Body*, is not to be taken in a *Positive sense*, for a *Whole consisting of Parts*, one without another, but in a *Negative* only, for μὴ μεμερισμένον, *An Whole Undivided*; so that the meaning thereof is no more than this, that the *Deity* is not *Dividedly*, in the *World*, nor the *Soul* *Dividedly* in the *Body*, a *Part* here, and a *Part* There; but The τὸ θεῖον, is πανταχῶς ὅλον μὴ μεμερισμένον, *Everywhere, All of it, Undividedly.* Thus again *Plotinus*, εἰς πανταχῶς θεός, ὅς οἶόν τε μεμερισμένον· ὃ γὰρ ἂν ἐπὶ πανταχῶς αὐτὸς εἴη, ἀλλ' ἕκαστον αὐτῷ μέρος, τὸ μὲν αὐτῷ, *Everywhere, All of it, Undividedly.*

δι, τὸ ὃ ὡδὶ ἔσαι, αὐτὸς ὅχ' εἰς ἔπι ἔσαι, ὡς περ εἰ τμηθεῖν τι μέγας εἰς πολλὰ, καὶ τὰ μέρη πάντα, ἐκ' ἐπὶ τὸ ὅλον ἐκείνο ἔσαι. πρὸς τούτοις ὃ καὶ σώμα· εἰ ὃ ταῦτα ἀδυῖατα, πολλὴν ἀν' ἀνεφάνη τὸ ἀπιστέμενον, ἐν φύσει ἀνθρώπων, ὅμῃ θεὸν νομίζην καὶ πανταχῇ τὸ αὐτὸ ἅμα ὅλον εἶναι. *If therefore, God be every where: it cannot possibly be, that he should be so Dividedly; because then himself would not be every where, but only a Part of him Here, and a Part of him There, throughout the whole World; himself being not one Undivided Thing. Moreover, this would be all one, as if a Magnitude were Cut and Divided into many Parts, every one of which Parts, could not be, that whole Magnitude. Lastly, this would be the very same, as to make God a Body. Now if these things be Impossible; then must that so much Disbelieved thing (look'd upon as such a Puzzling Griphus, or rather as Contradictious Non-sense) be an Undoubted Truth, according to the Common Notions of mankind; that God is Every where; to wit, that He is All of him, the same Whole, Undividedly, Every where. The sum of all is, That though it be an Absolute Contradiction, for a Body, or Quantum, to be ὅμῃ πᾶν, All of it in every Part of that Space, which the Whole is in; yet it is no Contradiction at all for an Unextended and Indistant Being, to be All of it Undividedly, in every Part of that Body, it Acts upon; but on the contrary, it would be flatly Contradictious to it; to say, that it is only Part of it in a Part; this being to Divide an Indivisible thing, into Parts.*

The Fourth and Last Objection, against Incorporeal and Unextended Substance, is from that Illocality, and Immobility, (which will follow thereupon) of Humane Souls, and other Finite Particular Spirits, such as Demons or Angels; That this is not only in it self very Absurd, to suppose these Finite and Particular Beings, to be thus Illocal and Immoveable; No where, and Every where; (from whence it would seem to follow that they might Act the whole Corporeal Universe, or take cognizance of all things therein Every where) but also, that this Conceit is Contradictious to the Very Principles of Religionists themselves, and plainly Confuted by the same; they acknowledging Universally, that Humane Souls (at Death) departing out of this Body, do Locally move from thence, into a certain other Place, Called Hades, Hell, or Inferi. Now the Latter Part of this Objection is First to be Answered. And this is indeed a thing, which the ancient Asserters of Incorporeal Substance, as Unextended, were not unaware of; That the Vulgarly Received Tradition, of Humane Souls, (after Death) going into Hades, might be Objected against them. For the Satisfying whereof, Plotinus suggesteth these Two Things; First, τὸ μὲν εἰς Ἄδ' ἵκεσθαι, εἰ μὲν ἐν τῇ Αἰδῇ τὸ ὥσπερ λέγεται; *En. 6. L. 4. That if by Hades be meant, nothing but τὸ ἀειδὲς The Invisible, (as many times it is) then is there no more signified by the Souls going into Hades, than its no longer being Vitally united to this Earthy Body, and but Act'ing apart by it self, and so hath it nothing of Place necessarily included in it.* Secondly, εἰ δὲ πῶς χεῖρον τόπον· τί θαυμαστόν; ἐπεὶ καὶ νῦν ἔτι τὸ σῶμα ἡμῶν ἐν τῷ τόπῳ κατέκειντο λέγεται ἐκεῖ· ἀλλ' ἐκ' οὗτο· ἐπὶ σώματι, ἢ τὸ εἶδαι μὴ ἀποσπασθῆναι, πῶς ἐκ' ἐκεῖ ἔτι τὸ εἶδαι; *But if by Hades be understood, a Certain Worse Place, (as sometimes it also is)*

What

What wonder is this? Since now where our Body is, there in the same place is our Soul said to be also? But you will Reply, how can this be, when there is now no longer any Body left? We Answer, that if the Idol of the Soul be not quite Separated from it, Why should not the Soul it self be said to be there also, where its Idol is? Where by the Idol of the Soul Plotinus seems to mean, an Airy or Spirituous Body, Quickned and Vitalized by the Soul, adhering to it after death. But when the same Philosopher supposes, this very Idol of the Soul to be also Separable from it, and that so as to subsist apart by it self too, this going alone into Hades, or the Worser Place, whilst that liveth only in the Intelligible World (where there is no Place nor Distance) lodged in the Naked Deity, having nothing at all of Body hanging about it, and being now not A Part but the Whole, and so Situate nether here nor there; in this High Flight of his, he is at once, both Absurdly Paradoxical, in dividing the Life of the Soul

En. 4. L. 3.

c. 4.

as it were into Two, and forgot the Doctrine of his own School, which as himself elsewhere intimateth, was this, τὴν ἡμετέραν ψυχὴν τὸ θεῖον μὲν σῶμα καταλείπειν, ὃ πάντῃ ὃ ἐξω σώματι ἔσται, That Our Soul, though it shall quit this Body, yet shall it never be disunited from all Body. Wherefore Porphyrius answering the same Objection, though he were otherwise much addicted to Plotinus, and here uses his Language too, yet does he in this depart from him, adhering to the ancient Pythagorick Tradition; which as will appear afterwards, was

A. P. 232.

this, That Humane Souls are always United to some Body or other. "Ὡς περ τὸ ἐπὶ γῆς εἶναι ψυχῇ ἔστιν, ὃ γῆς ἐπιβαίνειν, ὡς τὰ σώματα· τὸ δὲ περιεσθῆναι σώματι, ὃ γῆς ἐπιβαίνει· ἔσται καὶ ἐν αἰθέρι εἶναι ἔστι ψυχῇ, ὅταν περιεσθῇ αἰθέρι, φύσιν μὲν ἔχουσα εἶναι ἐν τόπῳ, ὁμοίᾳ δὲ τῇ ἐν ὑποστάσει κατημένῃ· ὥστε εἰ ὁ "Αδης ὑπὸ γῆς ἔστι τόπος ὁμοίᾳ, ἡ ψυχὴ ἐν αἰθέρι γίνεσθαι ὁφελκομένη τὸ αἰθέριον· ὁμοίᾳ δὲ τῇ ἐν αἰθέρι τῇ σερεισῇ σώματι, τὸ πνεῦμα συνομαρτεῖ, ὃ ὅκα τῇ σφαιρῇ συνελέξατο· ἐπεὶ δὲ διὰ τὸ βαρὺ πνεῦμα, καὶ ἐνυψῶν, ἄρα τῇ ὑποστάσει τόπον, ἔσται καὶ αὐτὴ λέγεται χαρῆναι ὑπὸ γλῶ· ὅχι ὅτι ἡ αὐτὴ οἷα μεταβαίνει τόπος, καὶ ἐν τόποις γίνεσθαι· ἀλλ' ὅτι τῇ πεφυκότων σωμάτων, τόπος μεταβαίνειν, χάρις ἀναδέχεται.

As the Souls being here upon Earth, (saith he) is not its moving up and down upon it, after the manner of Bodies; but its Presiding over a Body which moveth upon the Earth; so is its being in Hades, nothing but its presiding over that Idol, or Enlivened Vaporous Body, whose Nature it is to be in a Place, and which is of a Dark Subsistence. Wherefore if Hades be taken for a Subterraneous and Dark Place, yet may the Soul nevertheless, be said to go into Hades, because when it quits this Gross Earthy Body, a more Spirituous and Subtle Body, collected from the Spheres (or Elements) doth still accompany it. Which Spirit being Moist and Heavy, and naturally descending to the Subterraneous places, the Soul it self may be said in this sense to go Under the Earth also, with it, not as if the Substance thereof, passed from One Place to Another, but because of its Relation and Vital Union to a Body which does so. Where Porphyrius addeth, contrary to the Sense of Plotinus; That the Soul is never quite Naked of all Body; but hath alway some Body or other joyned with it suitable and agreeable to its own present Disposition (either a Purer or Impurer one.) But that at its first Quitting, this Gross Earthly Body, the Spirituous Body, which accompanieth it, (as its Vehicle) must needs go away Fouled and Incrassated with the gross Va-

pours

pours and steams thereof; till the Soul afterwards by Degrees Purging it self, this becometh at length A Dry Splendour, which hath no Mysty Obscurity, nor casteth any Shadow.

But because this Doctrine of the *Ancient Incorporealists*, concerning the *Humane Souls* being always, (after Death) United to some Body or other; is more fully declared by *Philoponus*, then by any other, that we have yet met withal, we shall here excerpt some Passages out of him about it. First therefore, he declareth this for his own opinion, agreeable to the Sense of the best Philosophers; τὴν μὲν λογικὴν χωριστῶς, τὴν δὲ ἄλογον, τέττα μὲν χωριστὴν, ἄλλος μὲντοι πινὸς σώματος ἀχάριστον, λέγω ὅτι τὴν πνευματικὴν, ὅτιν ἀληθινὴν δόξα, ὡς δ' εἴδομεν. *That the Rational Soul, as to its Energie, is separable from all Body; but the Irrational Part or Life thereof, is Separable only from this Gross Body, and not from all Body whatsoever; but hath (after Death) a Spirituous or Aiery Body, in which it aeth; This I say is a True Opinion, as shall be afterwards proved by us.* And again, ἡ δὲ ἄλογος ἐκ ἐπὶ ἐν τέττω ἐχθ' τὸ εἶναι, ἐπιδιχάμενη γὰρ καὶ μετὰ ἔξοδον τὴν ἐκ τέττα τῆς ψυχῆς, ὁμοίαν καὶ ὑποκειμένην ἔχουσα τὸ πνευματικὸν πῶμα. ὃ καὶ αὐτὸ ἐστὶ μὲν ἐκ τῶν τεσσάρων, λέγεται δὲ ἐκ τῆς πλεονάζουσης τῆς ἄερος. ὡς περ καὶ τέτο γίνον, λέγεται ἐκ τῆς πλεονάζοντος. *The Irrational Life of the Soul, hath not all its Being, in this Gross Earthy Body, but remaineth after the Souls Departure out of it; having for its Vehicle and Subject, the Spirituous Body. Which it self is also compounded out of the Four Elements, but receiveth its Denomination from the Predominant Part, to wit Air: as this Gross Body of ours is called Earthy, from what is most Predominant therein.* Thus do we see, that according to *Philoponus*, the *Humane Soul* after Death, does not meerly exercise its *Rational Powers*, and think only of *Metaphysical* and *Mathematical Notions*, *Abstract* things, which are neither in *Time* nor *Place*, but exerciseth also its *Lower Sensitive* and *Irrational Faculties*, which it could not possibly do, were it not then *Vitally* United to some *Body*; and this Body then accompanying the Soul, he calls *Pneumatical*, that is (not *Spiritual* in the *Scripture-Sense*, but) *Spirituous*, *Vaporous*, or *Aiery*. Let us therefore in the next place see, what *Rational Account*, *Philoponus* can give of this *Doctrine* of the *Antients*, and of his Own Opinion agreeably thereunto, ἡ ψυχὴ ἡ ἡμετέρα, μετὰ τὴν ἐκ τῆς σώματος τέττα ἔξοδον, ὁμολογεῖται, μᾶλλον ὅτι ἀποδείκνυται, εἰς ἄλλ' ἀφικνεῖσθαι, καὶ πινὸς ἐκεί τῆς καλῶς βεβιωμένων παρέχον. καὶ γὰρ μόνον τὴν εἶναι ἡμῶν φροντίζει ἡ πρόνοια, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν εἶναι. διὸ καὶ ἀμελεῖται ἡ ψυχὴ εἰς τὸ ὡς φῶς ὁλοκληρώσασθαι, ἀλλὰ τυγχάνει τῆς προσωποῦσης ἐπιμελείας. καὶ ἐπὶ δὲ τὸ ἀμαρτάνειν αὐτῇ διὰ γλυκυθυμίαν ἐγένετο, ὥστε ἀνάγκη καὶ τὸ καθαρῆσθαι δι' ἀλγύνσεως αὐτῇ γενήσθαι. καὶ ταῦτα γὰρ τὰ ἐναντία τῆς ἐναντίων ἰάματα. διὰ τέτο ἀλγύνεται ἡ καθαρῶς ἐν τοῖς ὑπὸ γλῶσσαι δικαιοῦσι διὰ κολάσεως. Ἄλλ' εἰ ἀσώματος ἡ ψυχὴ ἀδύνατον αὐτῷ παθεῖν. πᾶς ἐν κολάζεται; ἀνάγκη ἐν πᾶσι σώματι αὐτῆς ὁρῶσθαι, ὃ διακρινόμενον ἀμέτρεως ἢ συκρινόμενον, ὑπὸ φύσεως ἢ καύσεως ἀμέτρεως, ἀλγύνει τὴν ψυχὴν διὰ τὴν συμπαθεῖαν. ποῖον ἐν σώματι ὅτι τὸ ὁρῶμενον αὐτῆς; καὶ δὴ πᾶς τέτο ἀνελύθη γὰρ εἰς τὰ ὅσα συνέστηκεν, ἀλλὰ τέτο, τὸ πνευματικόν, ὃ λέγομεν ἐν τέττω ἐν εἰσι πάντας διὰ τέτο ὡς ἐν ὑποκειμένῳ, θυμὸς καὶ ἐπιθυμία. καὶ τὰ ἑξῆς. *Our Humane Soul, (in those who are not*

Proem. in Aristot. De An.

Ibid.

Purged

Purged and Cleansed in this Life) after its departure out of this Body, is acknowledged, or rather Demonstrated, to go into Hades, there to receive Punishment, for its evil Actions past. For Providence does not only take Care of our Being, but also of our Well-Being. Therefore is the Soul though lapsed into a Preter-Natural State, yet not neglected by Providence, but hath a Convenient Care taken of it; in order to its Recovery. And since Sinning had its Original from the Desire of Pleasure, it must of necessity be Cured by Pain. For here also Contraries are the Cures of Contraries. Therefore the Soul being to be Purged, is Punished and Pained in those Subterraneous Judicatories and Prisons, in order to its Amendment. But if the Soul be Incorporeal, it is Impossible for it to Suffer. How then can it be Punished? There must of Necessity be some Body joyned with it: Which being immoderately Constringed or Agitated, Concreted, or Secreted, and Discordantly Moved, by Heat and Cold; or the like, may make the Soul sensible of Pain by reason of Sympathy; as it is here in this Life. What Body therefore, is that which is then Conjoynd with the Soul, after the dissolution of that Earthy Body, into its Elements? Certainly it can be no other, than this Pneumatical, or Spirituous Body, which we now speak of. For in this are Seated, as their Subject, the Irascible and Concupiscible Passions, and they are inseparable from the same, nor could they be in the Soul, disunited from all Body. And that Soul which is freed from these, would be forthwith freed from Generation; nor would it be concerned in those Subterraneous Judicatories and Prisons, but be carried up aloft, to the higher Celestial Regions, &c. After which he endeavours further to confirm this Opinion, from the Vulgar Phenomena, ὅλον ἢ ἐπὶ μᾶλλον ὅτι τὸ πνευματικὸν σῶμα, καὶ τὸ αἰθερῶδες σῶμα καὶ ἐπιθυμία, καὶ αἰσθητικὴ πρὸς τὰς ἐνέργειας. πῶς γὰρ ἐν τοῖς τόποις τὰς ἐνδοῦς φαίνονται φαντοσμάτα; καὶ γὰρ ὁ νόμος ἡ ψυχὴ ἐκχυμᾶται, ἢ ὅπως ὅτιν ὁρατὴ. ἀλλὰ φασὶ τὰς ἀκατάστατος ψυχὰς, μετὰ τὴν ἐξόδον τὸς τὸ σῶμα πλανᾶσθαι ὅτι τινα χεῖρον μετὰ τὸ πνευματικόν, καὶ τὸ αἰθερῶδες σῶμα πᾶσι τὸς τόπους. διὸ φερόμενον ἀνθρώπων. ὅτι τὸς τόπους γὰρ φασὶ τὸ πνευματικόν, παχυνθέντος ἐκ μοχθηρῆς διαίτης, κατὰ πᾶσιν ὅτι τὰ πᾶσι τὴν ψυχῇ, Furthermore, that there is such a Pneumatical (Spirituous, Vaporous, or Airy) Body, which accompanieth Souls Unpurged after Death; is evident also from the Phenomena themselves. For what account can otherwise be given, of those Spectres or Phantasms, which appear Shadow-like about Graves or Sepulchres? Since the Soul it self is neither of any Figure, nor yet at all Visible. Wherefore these Ancients say, that Impure Souls after their departure out of this Body, wander here up and down, for a certain space, in their Spirituous, Vaporous, and Airy Body, appearing about Sepulchres, and haunting their former Habitations. For which cause there is great reason, that we should take care of Living Well; as also, of abstaining from a Foul and Grosser diet; these Ancients telling us likewise, that this Spirituous Body of ours, being fouled and incrassated by Evil Diet, is apt to render the Soul, in this Life also, more Obnoxious to the Disturbances of Passions. And here Philoponus goes on to gratifie us, with a further Account, of some other of the Opinions of these Ancients, concerning this Spirituous or Airy Body, accompanying the Soul after Death, ἐκ δὲ καὶ πρὸς αὐτὰ φασὶ τὸ φνικτικὸν ζῶν, καὶ γὰρ τρέφεσθαι. τρέφεσθαι ἢ ὅτι ὅπως ὡς τὸ σῶμα, ἀλλὰ δι' αὐτῶν καὶ διὰ μωρίαν, ἀλλ' ὅλον δι' ὅλα, φέρεται, ὡς οἱ ἱερογῶν, δι' αὐτῶν.

δεχονται τὰς ἀτμὰς· διὰ τὸτο φροντίζουσιν οἱ Σπυδαῖοι τὸ λεπτότερον δια-
 τικτὸς καὶ ξηρότερον, διὰ τὸ μὴ παχύνεσθαι τὸ πνεῦμα ἀλλὰ λεπτύνεσθαι· πρὸς
 τὸτο καὶ τὰς καθαυμὰς φάσι καθαλαμάνειν· τὸτο μὲν γὰρ τὸ σῶμα ὑδατὶ
 πλύνεται, ἐκείνο δὲ καθαυμοῖς διὰ τῶν ἀτμῶν· διὰ τὸ ἀτμῶν τινῶν τρέφε-
 ται τινῶν δὲ καθαίρεται· ὅς διαφανῶνται δὲ φαίνονται αὐτὰ, ἀλλ' ὅλον δὲ ὅλος ἐρε-
 γείν, καὶ τὰς αἰσθητικὰς καὶ τῶν αἰσθητῶν ἀντιλαμβάνεσθαι· διὸ καὶ Ἀριστοτέλης φησὶν
 ἐν τοῖς μετὰ τὰ φυσικὰ, ὅτι ἡ κυρίως αἰσθητικὴ μία, καὶ τὸ κυρίως αἰσθητικόν
 ἓν· *They further add, that there is something of the Plantal and Pla-
 stick Life also, Exercised by the Soul, in those Spirituous or Airy Bodies,
 after Death; they being Nourished too; though not after the same man-
 ner, as these Gross Earthy Bodies of ours are here, but by Vapours; and
 that not by Parts or Organs, but throughout the Whole of them, (as Spon-
 ges) they imbibing every where those Vapours. For which cause, they
 who are wise, will in this Life also, take care of using a Thinner and Dry-
 er Diet, that so that Spirituous Body (which we have also at this pre-
 sent time within our Grosser Body) may not be Clogged and Incrassated,
 but Attenuated. Over and above which, those Ancients made use of Ca-
 tharms, or Purgations to the same end and purpose also. For as this
 Earthy Body is washed by Water, so is that Spirituous Body Cleansed by
 Cathartick Vapours; some of these Vapours being Nutritive, others Pur-
 gative. Moreover these Ancients further declared, concerning this Spi-
 rituous Body; that it was not Organized, but did the Whole of it, in
 every Part throughout, exercise all Functions of Sense; the Soul Hearing,
 and Seeing, and Perceiving all Sensibles, by it every where. For which
 Cause Aristotle himself, affirmeth in his Metaphysicks, That there is pro-
 perly but One Sense, and but One Sensory. He by this One Sensory mean-
 ing, the Spirit, or Subtle Airy Body, in which the Sensitive Power, doth
 all of it, through the Whole, immediately apprehend all Variety of Sen-
 sibles. And if it be demanded, How it comes then to pass, that this
 Spirit, appears Organized in Sepulchret, and most commonly of Humane
 Form, but sometimes in the Form of some other Animals; to this those
 Ancients Replied, That their appearing so frequently in Humane Form;
 proceedeth from their being, Incrassated with Evil Diet, and then as it
 were stamped upon, with the Form of this Exterior Ambient Body, in
 which they are; as Cryстал is Formed and Coloured, like to those things
 which it is fastned in, or Reflects the Image of them. And that their
 having sometimes other different Forms, proceedeth from the Phanta-
 stick Power of the Soul, it self, which can at pleasure transform this
 Spirituous Body into any shape. For being Airy, when it is Condensed,
 and Fixed, it becometh Visible; and again Invisible, and Vanishing out
 of Sight, when it is Expanded and Rarefied.*

Now from these Passages cited out of Philoponus, it further appear-
 eth, that the Ancient Asserters of the Souls Immortality, did not sup-
 pose Humane Souls after Death, to be quite strip'd, Stark Naked from
 all Body; but that the Generality of Souls, had then a certain *Spiri-
 tuous, Vaporous, or Airy Body*, accompanying them; though in dif-
 ferent Degrees of Purity or Impurity, Respectively to themselves. As
 also, that they conceived, this Spirituous Body, (or at least something
 of it) to hang about the Soul also here in this Life, before Death, as
 its Interior Indument or Vestment; which also then sticks to it,

when that other Gross *Earthly Part* of the Body, is by Death put off, as an *Outer Garment*. And some have been inclinable to think (by reason of certain *Historick Phenomena*) these Two, to be things so distinct, that it is not Impossible, for this *Spirituons Body*, together with the Soul to be *Locally separated* from the other *Grosser Body*, for some time, before Death, and without it. And indeed thus much cannot be denied, that our Soul Acteth, not Immediately only upon *Bones, Flesh, and Brains*, and other such like Gross Parts of this Body, but first and chiefly upon the *Animal Spirits*; as the Immediate Instruments of *Sense* and *Phancy*; and that by whose *Vigour* and *Activity*, the other Heavy and Unwieldy Bulk of the Body, is so nimbly Moved. And therefore we know no reason but we may assent here to that of *Porphyrius*, τὸ αἷμα νομὴ καὶ τροφή ἐστὶ τῆ πνεύματος, τὸ δὲ πνεῦμα ὄχημα τῆ ψυχῆς, *That the Blood is the Food and Nourishment of the Spirit*, (that is, that *Subtle Body* called the *Animal Spirits*) and that this Spirit is the Vehicle of the Soul, or the more Immediate Seat of Life.

Nevertheless the same *Philoponus* there addeth, that according to these Ancients; besides the *Terrestrial Body*, and this *Spirituons* and *Airy Body* too, there is yet a *Third* kind of Body, of a Higher Rank than either of the Former, (peculiarly belonging to such Souls after Death, as are *Purged* and *Cleansed* from *Corporeal Affections, Lusts, and Passions*;) called by them, σώμα αὐροειδές, and σεργιον, and αἰθεριον, &c. A *Luciform*, and *Celestial*, and *Ethereal Body*. The Soul (saith he) continueth either in the *Terrestrial*, or the *Aereal Body*, so long, ἕως αὐτὴν καθαίρουσα ἀνενεχθῆ, καὶ γενέσθαι ἀπαλλαγῆσα. τότε τὸννυ καὶ τὸ θυμὸν, καὶ τὴν ἐπιθυμίαν ἀποτίθειαι, μετὰ τὸς τῶ ὀχήματος τῆ πνεύματος λέγων. εἶναι δὲ τι καὶ μετὰ τῷ τοῦ αἰθερίου αὐτοῦ ἐξημμένον, σώμα σεργιον καὶ διὰ τῷ αἰθερίῳ, ὃ φασιν Ἀυροειδές ἢ Ἀσερειδές. καὶ ὅτι ἐννοούμενον ἔσται ἀνάγκη πάντας ἔχειν τινὰ κληρὸν ὃν διοικῇ, μετὰ ὅντα τῷ κόσμῳ. καὶ εἰ ἀκίνητος ἔσται, καὶ δεῖ αὐτὴν αἰετὶ ἐνεργεῖν, δεῖ ἔχειν αἰδιώως ἐξημμένον τὸ σώμα, ὃ αἰετὶ ζωοποιήσει. διὰ ταῦτα ἐν τῷ αὐροειδέϊ φασιν σώμα αὐτὴν αἰετὶ ἔχειν, *Until that having Purged it self, it be carried aloft, and freed from Generation. And then doth it put off, both the Irascible and Concupiscible Passions at once, together with this Second Vehicle, or Body, which we call Spirituons. Wherefore these Ancients say, that there is another Heavenly Body, always conjoynd with the Soul, and Eternal, which they call Luciform, and Star-like. For it being a Mundane thing, must of necessity have, some Part of the World, as a Province allotted to it, which it may administer. And since it is always Moveable, and ought always to Act, it must have a Body Eternally conjoynd with it, which it may always Enliven. And for these Causes do they affirm, the Soul always to have a Luciform Body. Which Lucid and Ethereal Body of the Soul, is a thing often mentioned by other Writers also; as Proclus in his Commentary upon the Timæus,* καὶ τὸ ἀνθρωπίνης ψυχῆς ἐξήρηται τι τοῖστον ὄχημα αἰθεριον, ὡς αὐτὸς φησιν. ἐμβεβῆσαι γὰρ εἰς ὄχημα καὶ αὐτὴν φησὶ τὸν Δημιουργόν. καὶ ὅτι πάντων ψυχῶν ἀνάγκη πρὸς τῶ ἐνιπτόντων σώματων, αἰθερίοις καὶ εὐκρινέτοις χρῆσθαι σώμασιν, ὡς κατ' ἐφ' ἃν ἔχουσιν τὸ κινεῖν, *The Humane Soul hath also, (saith he) such an Ethereal Vehicle belonging to it, as Plato himself intimates,*

timates, when he affirmeth the Demiurgus at first to have placed it in a Chariot. For of necessity, every Soul before this Mortal Body, must have an Eternal and easily Moveable Body, it being Essential to it to move. And elsewhere the same Proclus, ἀνω μένοντες ὅθεν δεόμεθα τῶν τῶν μερ- P. 164
 ὅτων ὁργάνων. ἃ ἡμῶν συνήστυται κατελθόντες εἰς γένεσιν, ἀλλ' ἀρκεῖ τὸ ὄχημα τὸ
 Ἀυροειδές, πᾶσας ἔχων ἡνωμένας τὰς αἰσθήσεις, Whilst we remain above,
 we have no need of these Divided Organs, which now we have descending
 into Generation; but the Uniform Lucid or Splendid Vehicle, is
 sufficient, this having all Senses United together in it. Which Do-
 ctrine, of the Unorganized Luciform, and Spirituous Vehicles, seems
 to have been derived from Plato, he in his *Epinomis*, writing thus con-
 cerning a Good and Wise man after Death; ὃν καὶ διίχευεῖσθαι πα-
 ζών καὶ σπασσών ἄμα; ἐάνπερ θανάτῳ, τὴν αὐτῇ μοίρῳ ἀναπλήσῃ,
 μήτε μετέξῃ ἔτι πολλῶν τότε, καὶ δαπερ νῦν αἰσθήσεων, μᾶς μοίρῳ μετῃ-
 φότῳ μόνον, καὶ ὅτι πολλῶν ἓνα γεγονότα εὐδαίμονα ἔσεσθαι. Of whom,
 whether I be in Jest or Earnest, I constantly affirm, that when dying he
 shall yield to Fate, he shall no longer have this Variety of Senses, which
 now we have, but One Uniform Body, and live a happy Life. Moreover
 Hierocles much insisteth upon this Ἀυροειδές Σῶμα, this Luciform and
 Ethereal Body, ὃ καὶ ψυχῆς λεπτὸν ὄχημα οἱ χηρικοί καλεῖται, Which also
 (saith he) the Oracles call the Thin and Subtle Vehicle, or Chariot of the
 Soul; he meaning doubtless by these Oracles, the Magical or Chalda-
 ick Oracles before mentioned. And amongst those now Extant, un-
 der that Title, there seems to be a clear acknowledgment of these
 Two Vehicula of the Soul, or Interior Induments thereof; the Spi-
 rituous, and the Luciform Body, the latter of which, is there Enig-
 matically called Ἐπίπεδον, or a Plain Superficies, in these words;
 Μὴ πνεύμα μολύνῃς, μὴ δὲ βλαθῇς τὸ Ἐπίπεδον, Take care, not to De-
 file or Contaminate the Spirit; nor to make the Plain Superficies, Deep.
 For thus Psellus glosseth upon that Oracle, δύο χιτῶνας ἐπενδύσει τὴν
 ψυχὴν οἱ χαλδαῖοι. ἢ τὸ μὲν πνευματικὸν ἀνόμεσαν, ἀπὸ τῆς αἰσθητῆς ἔν-
 δυνάμει αὐτῇ. ἢ τὸ Ἀυροειδές, λεπτὸν ἢ ἀναφῆ, ὅνπερ Ἐπίπεδον. The Chal-
 daick Philosophers, bestow upon the Soul, Two Interior Tunicles or Vest-
 ments, the one of which they called, Pneumatical, or the Spirituous Body;
 which is weaved out as it were to it, and compounded of the Gross Sensible
 Body (it being the more Thin and Subtle part thereof) the other the
 Luciform Vestment of the Soul, Pure and Pellucide, and this is that which
 is here called the Plain Superficies. Which, saith Pletho, is not so to
 be understood, as if it had not Three Dimensions (for as much as it
 is a Body also) but only to denote the Subtlety and Tenuity thereof.
 Wherefore when the aforesaid Hierocles also calls this Luciform and
 Etherial Body, τὸ πνευματικὸν ὄχημα τῆς λογικῆς ψυχῆς, The Spiritual
 Vehicle of the Rational Soul, he takes not the Word πνευματικὸν, in that
 sense, wherein it is used by Philoponus and Others; as if he intended
 to confound this Etherial Body, with that other Spirituous or Airy
 Body, and to make but one of them; but rather styles it Spiritual,
 in a higher Sense, (and which cometh near to that of the Scripture)
 as being a Body more Suitable and Cognate, with that Highest and
 Divine Part of the Soul, Mind or Reason, then the other Terrestrial
 Body is (which upon that account is called also, by the same Hierocles,
 (as well as it is by St. Paul) σῶμα ψυχικόν, the Animal or Natural Bo-
 dy.)

dy.) So that this *Spiritual Body* of Hierocles, is not the *Airy*, but the *Ethereal Body*, and the same with Synesius his *Θεραπεύων σῶμα*, His *Divine Body*. And that this Distinction of two *Interior Vehicles* or *Tunics* of the Soul, besides that *Outer Vestment*, of the *Terrestrial Body*, (styled in Plato τὸ ὀστρακίδης, the *Crustaceous* or *Ostreaceous Body*) is not a meer *Figment* of the latter *Platonists* since *Christianity*, but a *Tradition* derived down from *Antiquity*, appeareth plainly from *Virgil* in his Sixth *Ænead*, where though not commonly understood, he writeth first of the *Spirituons*, or *Airy Body*, in which Unpurged Souls, receive *Punishment* after Death, thus ;

*Quin & Supremo cum Lumine Vita reliquit,
Non tamen omne Malum miseris, nec funditus omnes
Corporeæ excedunt pestes : penitusque necesse est
Multa diu concreta modis inolescere miris.
Ergo exercentur pœnis, veterumque malorum
Supplicia expendunt ; aliæ panduntur inanes
Suspensæ ad Ventos ; aliis sub gurgite Vasto
Infæctum eluitur Scelus, aut exurit Igni.*

And then again of the other *Pure Ethereal* and *Fiery Body*, in this manner,

*Donec Longa dies perfectio temporis Orbe,
Concretam exemit labem, Furumque reliquit
Æthereum Sensum, atque Auræ Simplicis Ignem.*

Now as it was before observed, that the *Ancient Asserters* of the *Souls Immortality*, supposing it to have besides this *Terrestrial Body*, another *Spirituons* or *Airy Body*, conceived this not only to accompany the Soul after Death, but also to hang about it here in this Life, as its *Interior Vest* or *Tunic* ; (they probably meaning hereby, the same with that which is commonly called, the *Animal Spirits*, diffused from the Brain, by the Nerves, throughout this whole Body) in like manner is it certain, that Many of them supposing, the Soul besides those Two forementioned, to have yet a *Third Luciform* or *Ethereal Body*, conceived this in like manner, to adhere to it even in this *Mortal Life* too, as its *Inmost Clothing* or *Tunic* ; yet so as that they acknowledged the Force thereof, to be very much weakned and abated, and its Splendour altogether obscured, by the *Heavy Weight*, and *Gross Steams* or *Vapours*, of the *Terrestrial Body*. Thus *Suidas* upon the Word *Ἀυροειδής*, tells us out of *Isidore*, ὡς ἔχει ἡ ψυχὴ Ἀυροειδὲς ὄχημα, λεγόμενον ἀερείδης τε καὶ αἰθέριον· καὶ τὸ τοῦ μὲν τὸ Ἀυροειδὲς σῶμα τῷδε ἀποκρίνεται ἐρίοις μὲν ἔσω τῇ κεφαλῇ. That according to some Philosophers, the Soul hath a certain *Luciform Vehicle*, called also *Star- or Sun-like*, and *Eternal* : which *Luciform Body*, is now shut up within this *Terrestrial Body* (as a Light in a dark *Lanthorn*) it being supposed by some of them, to be included within the Head, &c. With which agreeth Hierocles, ἐν τῇ θνητῇ ἡμῶν σώματι, τὸ Ἀυροειδὲς ἐκκεῖται, θεραπεύον τὰ ἀψύχα σώματι ζῶν, καὶ τὴν ἀερινίαν αὐτῷ συνέχον, The *Splendid* or *Luciform Body*, lieth in this *Mortal Body* of ours, continually

usually Inspiring it with Life, and containing the Harmony thereof. The ground of which opinion was, because these Philosophers generally conceived, the Humane Soul to have Pre-Existed, before it came into this Earthly Body, and that either from Eternity, or else from the First beginning of the World's Creation; and being never without a Body, and then in a Perfect State, to have had a Lucid and Ethereal Body, either Co-Eternal, or Co-Eve with it, (though in order of Nature Junior to it) as its Chariot or Vehicle; which being Incorruptible, did always inseparably adhere to the Soul, in its After-Lapses and Descents, into an Aerial first, and then a Terrestrial Body; this being as it were the Vinculum of Union, betwixt the Soul and them. Thus Pletho declares their Sense, διὰ ἣ τοῖς σώματι τὰ ἢ ποτε τὰ θνητῶ τήν γε ἀσθεπὴν ψυχὴν συζῆσθαι, ὅλα ὅλα τὰ τῷ ἐμβρύῳ ζωτικῷ πνεύματι διὰ συζύγιαν ὀπιπλεκόμενα ἅτε πνεύματις τινὶ καὶ αὐτῷ ὄντι, By this Ethereal Body, is our Humane Soul Connected, with its Mortal Body; the whole thereof being Implicated with the whole Vital Spirit of the Embryo, for as much as this it self is a Spirit also. But long before Pletho was this Doctrine declared and asserted by Galen, as agreeable both to Plato's and his own sense, He first Premising, that the Immediate Organ or Instrument of Sight, was αἰσθητὴς, a Luciform and Ethereal Spirit, δούτως ἔν ἐς μὲν αὔροδὲς μὲν εἶναι τὸ ἢ ὅπως ὁρανον, ἀερεῖδης ἢ τὸ ἢ ἀκοῆς, ἀτμοειδὲς ἢ τὸ ἢ ὁσμῆς, καὶ τὸ μὲν ἢ γαστρὸς ὕδρον, τὸ ἢ ἢ ἀφῆς γῶδες, &c. Wherefore we may reasonably affirm, that the Organ of Sight, is a Luciform or Ethereal Body; as that of Hearing is Aerial; that of Smelling Vaporous; that of Taste Moist or Watery; and That of Touch Earthy; like being perceived by like: And He accordingly thus understanding, those Known Verses of Empedocles, which as Aristotle otherwise interprets them, are Nonsense, καὶ τὸτ' ἄρ' ἦν ὁ βέλτερος δὲ λῆν ὁ ἐμπεδοκλῆς ἐν οἷς φησὶ, γαῖη μὲν γὰρ γαῖαν, &c. αἰσθανόμεθα γὰρ ὄντως τὰ μὲν γῶδες ἐξ ὅτ' αἰσθητῶν, τῆς γῶδ' οὖς φύσεως, τὰ δ' αὔροειδ' ἐξ ὅτ' αὔρος, ἢ αὔροειδ' &c. And this was that which Empedocles meant to signify, in those famous Verses of his; it being certain that by the most Earthy of our Senses, the Touch, we perceive the Earthy Nature of Sensibles; and by the most Luciform, viz. that of Sight, the Passions of Light; by that which is Aerial, Sounds; by that which is Moist and Sponge-like, Tastes; and Lastly, by the Organ of Smelling, which is the Extremity of those Former Cavities of the Brain, as replenished with Vapours, Odours. After which he writeth, of the Essence or Substance of the Soul, in this manner, εἰ δὲ καὶ αὐτὴ ψυχὴς ὅσας ἀποφύνασθαι χεῖρ, δύοιν δ' ἄπερ ἀναστασιον εἶπεν, ἢ τὸτ' εἶναι τὸ οἶον αὔροειδ' καὶ αἰθεραῖδες σώμα λευκίον αὐτὴν, εἰς ὃ καὶ μὴ βέλονται καὶ ἀπολαθῶν ἀφικνεῖται σῶμα, ἢ αὐτὴν μὲν ἀπώματον ὑπάρχειν ὅσαν, ὅχρημα τε τὸ πρῶτον αὐτῆς εἶναι τὸ σῶμα, δι' ὃ μὲν τὴν πρὸς τ' ἄλλα σώματα κοινωνίαν λαμβάνει. τὸ μὲν ἔν αὐτῷ δι' ὅλα λευκίον ἡμῶν ἐκτελεῖται τὸ ἐγκατάλειπαι τὴν δὲ γὰρ πρὸς αὐτὸ κοινωνίαν τὸ καὶ τὰς ὁρῆς αὐτῶν πνεῦμα φωσφορὲς γίνεσθαι, And if we should now declare any thing concerning the Essence or Substance of the Soul, we must needs affirm one or other of these Two things; That either it self is this Luciform and Ethereal Body (which the Stoicks whether they will or no, by consequence will be brought unto, as also Aristotle himself) or else that the Soul is it self an Incorporal Substance, but that this Luciform Ethereal Body, is its First Vehi-

Dog. Hip. 3
Plat. L. 7.

P. 294.

cle, by which as a Middle, it communicates with the other Bodies. Wherefore we must say, that this *Ethereal Lucid Body*, is Extended throughout the whole Brain; whence is that *Luciform Spirit* derived, that is the *Immediate Instrument of Sight*. Now from hence it was, that these Philosophers, besides the *Moral Purgation* of the Soul, and the *Intellectual or Philosophical*; recommended very much a *Mystical or Telectick* way of Purifying, this *Ethereal Body* in us, by *Dyet and Catharms*. Thus the forementioned *Hierocles*, ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ τῷ Αὐροφιδεῖ ἡμῶν σώματι προσέφω σῶμα θνητὸν ὄν, καὶ ἀρεῦσαι δεῖ καὶ τὸτο, &c. Since to our *Lucid or Splendid Body*, this *Gross Mortal Body*, is come, by way of *Accession*, we ought to Purifie the Former also, and free it from Sympathy with the Latter. And again afterwards, αἱ δὲ λογικῆς ψυχῆς καθάρσεις καὶ τῷ Αὐροφιδεῖ ὀχήματι περιουθεῖναι, ὅπως ἂν αὐταῖς ὑποπείσῃ καὶ τὸτο γινόμενον μὴ ἐμποδῶν ἵσται πρὸς τὴν ἀνω πορείαν, καὶ τὰ ἑξῆς, Together with the Purgations of the Rational Soul, the Purification of the *Luciform or Etherial Vehicle*, is also to be regarded, that this being made *Light*, and *Alate or Wingy*, might no way hinder the Souls Ascent upward: But he that endeavours, to Purifie the Mind only, neglecting the Body, applies not himself to the whole Man. Whereupon he concludes, τὴν τελεστικὴν ἐνέργειαν λέγω, τὴν τῷ Αὐροφιδεῖ καὶ ἀρετικῇ δυνάμει, I therefore call this the *Telectick or Mystick Operation*; which is *Conversant* about the Purgation of the *Lucid or Etherial Vehicle*. And whereas Philosophy was by *Plato* and *Socrates* Defined, to be a *Continual Exercise of Dying* (which yet *Pliny* thought to be nothing but an *Hypochondriacal or Atrabilarian Distemper* in them, in those words of his, which *Salmasius* and other Criticks can by no means understand, Est etiam quidam Morbus, Per Sapientiam Mori, That the Dying by Wisdom or Philosophy, is also but a certain kind of Bodily Disease, or Over-grown Melancholy) Though they supposed this principally to consist, in a *Moral Dying* to *Corporeal Lusts and Passions*, yet was the design thereof, partly *Mystical* and *Telectick* also, it driving at this further thing, that when they should put off this *Terrestrial Body*, they might at once Dye also, to the *Spirituous or Aerial*; and then their Soul have nothing left, hanging about it, but only the *Pure Etherial Body*, its *Light-winged Chariot*: which in *Virgil's* Language, is

—Purumque relinqui

Æthereum Sensum, atque Aurai Simplicis Ignem.

Notwithstanding which, the *Pythagoreans* and *Platonists*, seem not to have been all of them of this Perswasion, that the same *Numerical Etherial Body*, which the Soul was at first Created with, continueth still about it, and adhereth to it Inseparably to all Eternity, during its Descents, into other *Grosser Bodies*; but rather to have supposed, that according to the *Moral Disposition* of the Soul, it always finds or makes a *Cognate and Suitable Body*, Correspondently Pure or Impure; and consequently, that by *Moral Vertue and Philosophy*, it might again recover that *Celestial Body*, which was lost by its *Fall and Descent* hither. This seemeth to have been *Porphyrus* his sense in these words of his, ὡς ἂν διετέθῃ ἡ ψυχὴ, ἐνέλκει σῶμα τάξει καὶ τοῖς οἰκείοις διακειμένον. διὸ καθάρσας μὲν διακειμένη σὺμφυτον τὸ ἑξῆς

τὸ αὐτὸς σῶμα, ὅπερ ὅτι τὸ αἰθέριον, *However the Soul be in it self affected, so does it alwaies find a Body, suitable and agreeable to its present Disposition; and therefore to the Purged Souls, does Naturally accrue a Body, that comes next to Immateriality; that is, an Etherial one. And probably Plato was of the same Mind, when he affirmed, the Soul to be alwaies in a Body, but sometimes of one kind, and sometimes of another.*

Now from what hath been declared, it appeareth already, that the most *Ancient Asserters* of the *Incorporiety* and *Immortality* of the *Humane Soul*, supposed it notwithstanding, to be *Always Conjoyned* with a *Body*. Thus *Hierocles* plainly, ἡ λογικὴ εἶσα σύμφυτος ἔχουσα σῶμα, ὅτω παρὰ τὴν δημιουργὸν εἰς τὸ εἶναι παρεῖλθεν, ὥς μήτε τὸ σῶμα εἶναι αὐτῷ, μήτε ἀνδρὶ σῶματι. ἀλλ' αὐτῷ μὲν ἀσώματον, ἀποπερῆσθαι ἢ εἰς σῶμα τὸ ὅλον αὐτῆς εἶδ', *The Rational Nature, having alwaies a Cognate Body, so proceeded from the Demiurgus, as that neither it self is Body, nor yet can it be without Body, but though it self be Incorporeal, yet its whole Form notwithstanding, is Terminated in a Body.* Accordingly whereunto, the Definition which he gives of a *Man*, is this, ψυχὴ λογικὴ μετὰ συμφύτῳ ἀθανάτῳ σώματι, *A Rational Soul, together with a Cognate Immortal Body; he concluding there afterwards, that this Enlivened Terrestrial Body, or Mortal man, is nothing but εἰδωλὸν ἀνθρώπου, The Image of The True man, or an Accession thereunto, which is therefore Separable from the same. Neither doth he affirm this only of Humane Souls, but also of all other Rational Beings whatsoever, Below the Supreme Deity, and Above Men; that they always, Naturally Attune a Body. Wherefore a Demon or Angel (which words are used as Synonyms by Hierocles) is also Defined by him, after the same manner, ψυχὴ λογικὴ μετὰ φωτὶν σῶματι, *A Rational Soul together with a Lucid Body.* And accordingly *Proclus* upon *Plato's Timæus*, affirmeth, πάντα δαίμονα καὶ ἡμετέρων κρείττονα ψυχῶν, καὶ νοερῶν ἔχον ψυχῶν, καὶ ὄχημα αἰθέριον, *That every Demon, Superiour to our Humane Souls, hath both an Intellectual Soul, and an Ethereal Vehicle, the Entireness thereof being made up or Compounded of these Two things.* So that there is hardly any other Difference left, betwixt Demons or Angels, and Men, according to these Philosophers, but only this; That the Former are *Lapsable*, into *Aereal Bodies* only, and no further; but the Latter into *Terrestrial* also. Now *Hierocles* positively affirmeth, this to have been the *True Cabala*, and *Genuine Doctrine* of the *Ancient Pythagoreans*, entertained afterwards by *Plato*; καὶ τὸ τοῦ Πυθαγορείων ἦν δόγμα, ὃ ὃ Πλάτων ὑπερενέφερον, ἀπὸ χάρας συμφύτῳ δυνάμει ὑποπτεροῦς ἐδύνατο καὶ ἡνιόχευ, πᾶσαν δειὰν τε καὶ ἀνθρωπίνην ψυχὴν, *And This was the Doctrine of the Pythagoreans, which Plato afterwards declared; he resembling, Every both Humane and Divine Soul, (that is, in our Modern Language, Every Created Rational Being) to a Winged Chariot, and a Driver or Charioteer, both together: meaning by the Chariot, an Enlivened Body, and by the Charioteer, the Incorporeal Soul it self Attuning it.**

And now have we given a full Account, in what manner the *Ancient Asserters* of *Incorporeal Substance* as *Unextended*, Answered that *Objection*

Objection against the *Illocality* and *Immobility* of *Particular*, *Finite* *Spirits*; *Demons* or *Angels*, and *Humane Souls*; that these being all *Naturally Incorporate*, however in *Themselves* and *Directly Immoveable*, yet were capable of being in some sense *Moved*, by *Accident*, together with those *Bodies*, respectively, which they are *Vitally United* to. But as for that *Pretence*; That these *Finite Spirits*, or *Substances Incorporate*, being *Unextended*, and so having in themselves, no *Relation* to any *Place*, might therefore *Actuate* and *Inform* the *Whole Corporeal World* at once, and take *Cognizance* of all things therein; their *Reply* hereunto was; That these being *Essentially* but *Parts* of the *Universe*, and therefore not *Comprehensive* of the *Whole*; *Finite* or *Particular*, and not *Universal Beings*; (as the *Three Hypostases* of the *Platonick Trinity* are) the *Sphere* of their *Activity*, could not possibly *Extend* any further, than to the *Quickning* and *Enlivening* of some certain *Parts* of *Matter* and the *World*, allotted to them; and thereby of becoming *Particular Animals*; it being *Peculiar* to the *Deity*, or that *Incorporeal Substance*, which is *Infinite*, to *Quicken* and *Actuate* All things.

But it would be no *Impertinent Digression* here, (as to the main *Scope* of our *Present Undertaking*) should we briefly compare; the forementioned *Doctrine* and *Cabbala*, of the *Ancient Incorporalists*, (the *Pythagoreans* and *Platonists*) with that of *Christianity*; and consider the *Agreement* or *Disagreement*, that is betwixt them. First therefore, here is a plain *Agreement* of these *Best*, and most *Religious Philosophers*, with *Christianity*, in this; That the most *Consummate Happiness*, and *Highest Perfection*, that *Humane Nature* is capable of, consisteth not in a *Separate State* of *Souls*, strip'd *Naked* from all *Body*, and having no manner of *Commerce* with *Matter*; as some *High-flown Persons* in all *Ages* have been apt to *Conceit*. For such amongst the *Philosophers* (and *Platonists* too) was *Plotinus*; *Unevenness* and *Unsafeness* of whose *Temper*, may sufficiently appear from hence; That as he conceived *Humane Souls*, might possibly ascend to so high a *Pitch*, as quite to shake off *Commerce* with all *Body*; so did he in the other hand again *Imagine*, that they might also *Descend* and *Sink down* so low, as to *Animate* not only the *Bodies* of *Bruits*, but even of *Trees* and *Plants* too; Two *Inconsistent Paradoxes*; the *Latter* whereof is a most *Prodigious Extravagancy*; which yet *Empedocles* (though otherwise a *Great Wit*) seems to have been guilty of also, from those *Verses* of his in *Athenæus*;

Ἡδὴ γὰρ πῶς ἐγὼ γινώσκων κέρητε κέρη τε,
οἶμνός, τ' οἶωνός τε καὶ εἰν ἀλλ' ἔμολπος ἰχθύς.

And amongst the *Jews*, the famous *Maymonides* was also of this *Perswasion*, it being a *Known Aphorism* of his, in his *Great Work*, שבעים הבא אין גוף או דמות. That in the *World to Come*, (or *State of Consummate Happiness*) there shall be nothing at all of *Body*, but *Pure Incorporality*. Upon which *Account*, being accused as a *Denyer* of the *Resurrection*, (an *Article* as well of the *Jewish*, as of the *Christian Faith*) he wrote that *Book* intituled *Iggereth Teman*, purposely to purge

purge himself, and to reconcile those Two Assertions together, which he doth after such a manner; as that there should be indeed a *Resurrection*, at the First Coming of the *Jewish Messiah*, of some certain Persons, to live here a while upon the Earth; Eat and Drink, Marry and be given in Marriage, and then dy again; after which in the *World to come*, they should for ever continue *Pure Souls*, Ununited to any *Body*. In which, it may be well suspected, that the Design *Maymonides* drove at, was against *Christianity*; which notwithstanding, as to this Particular, hath the Concurrent *Suffrages* of the best Philosophers, That the most *Genuine* and *Perfect* state, of the *Humane Soul*, which in its own Nature is immortal, is to continue for ever, *not without*, but with a *Body*. And yet our High-flown Enthusiasts generally, (however calling themselves Christians) are such great *Spiritualists*, and so much for the *Inward Resurrection*, (which we deny not to be a Scripture-Notion also; As in that, of *S. Paul*, *If ye be Risen with Christ, &c.* And again, *If by any means I might attain to the Resurrection of the Dead*,) as that they quite *Allegorize* away, together with other *Parts of Christianity*, the *Outward Resurrection of the Body*; and indeed will scarcely acknowledge any *Future Immortality*, or *Life to come after Death*; their Spirituality thus ending in *Sadducism*, and *Infidelity*, if not at length in *Down-right Atheism*, and *Sensuality*.

But besides this there is yet a further *Correspondence*, of *Christianity*, with the forementioned *Philosophick Cabbala*; in that the Former also supposes, the *Highest Perfection* of our *Humane Souls*, not to consist in being *Eternally Conjoyned*, with such *Gross Bodies*, as these we now have, *Unchanged and Unaltered*. For as the *Pythagoreans* and *Platonists*, have always Complained, of these *Terrestrial Bodies*, as *Prisons*, or *Living Sepulchres* of the *Soul*; so does *Christianity* seem to run much upon the same strain, in these *Scripture-Expressions*; In this *We Groan Earnestly*, desiring to be *Clothed upon*, with our *House which is from Heaven*: and again, *We that are in this Tabernacle do Groan, being burdened*, not for that we would be *Unclothed*, (that is strip'd quite *Naked* of all *Body*) but so *cloathed upon*, that *Mortality* might be *swallowed up* of *Life*: and lastly, *Our selves also which have the First Fruits of the Spirit*, *Groan within our selves*, waiting for the *Adoption* (*Sonship* or *Inheritance*) namely, the *Redemption of our Bodies*. That is, the *Freedom* of them from all those *Evils and Maladies* of theirs, which we here ly oppressed under. Wherefore we cannot think, that the same *Heavy Load* and *Luggage*, which the *Souls* of good men being here burdened with, do so much groan to be delivered from, shall at the *General Resurrection*, be laid upon them again, and bound fast to them, to all *Eternity*. For of such a *Resurrection* as this, *Plotinus*, (though perhaps mistaking it for the *True Christian Resurrection*) might have some cause to affirm, that it would be but ἀνάστασις εἰς ἄλλον ὕπνον, *A Resurrection to another Sleep*; the *Soul* seeming not to be *Thoroughly Awake* here, but as it were *Soporated*, with the *Dull Steams* and *Opiatick Vapours* of this *gross Body*. For thus the *Authour of the Book of Wisdom*, *The Corruptible Body presseth down the Soul*, and the *Earthly Tabernacle weigheth down the Mind*, that museth

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upon

upon many things. But the same will further appear, from that Account, which the Scripture it self giveth us, of the *Resurrection*; and *First in General*, when S. Paul Answering that *Querie*, of the *Philosophick Infidel*, How are the dead raised, or with what Body do they come? Replieth in this manner; Thou Fool (that is, thou who thinkest to puzzle or baffle, the Christian Article of the *Resurrection*, which thou understandest not) That which thou sowest; is not Quickened (to the Production of any thing) except it first die to what it was. And thou sowest not that Body that shall be, but bare Grain as of Wheat, or of Barley, or the like; but God (in the ordinary course of Nature) giveth it a Body, as it hath pleased him, (that is, a Stalk, and an Eare, having many Grains with Husks in it; and therefore neither in Quantity, nor Quality, the same with that which was Sowed under Ground) Nor does he give to all Seeds, one and the same kind of Body neither, but to every seed its own correspondent Body; as to Wheat one kind of Eare, and to Barley another. As if he should have said; Know that this Present Body of ours; is to be look'd upon, but as a kind of Seed of the *Resurrection-Body*, which therefore is accordingly, in some sense the Same, and in some sense not the Same with it. Besides which General Account, the Particular Oppositions, which the Scripture makes, betwixt the Present and Future Body, seem very agreeable to those of the *Philosophick Cabala*. For First, the Present Body, is said to be Sowed in Corruption, but the Future Raised in Incorruption. For the Children of the *Resurrection*, cannot die any more. And then Mortality shall be swallowed up of Life. Wherefore the Christian *Resurrection-Body*, as well as that of the *Philosophick Cabala*, is σώμα ἀθάνατον, and αἰδιον too (2 Cor. 5. 1.) an Immortal and Eternal Body. Again the Body Sowed, is said to be a Dishonourable, Ignominious, and Inglorious Body, and therefore called also by S. Paul, τὸ σῶμα τῆς ταπείνωσιν ἡμῶν, The Body of our Humility, or Humiliation; A Body agreeable to this Lapsed State of the Soul; But the Body which shall be Raised, shall be a Glorious Body; and σῶμα δόξης, τὸ ὡς αὐτοῦ, Conformable to that Glorious Body of Christ. Who when he was but Externally Transfigured, his Face did shine as the Sun, and his Raiment was white as the Light. The Glory of a Body, consisteth only in the Comeliness of its Proportion, and the Splendor thereof; Thus is there one Glory of the Sun, and another Glory of the Moon, and another Glory of the Stars, that is a different Splendor of them. Wherefore the Future Body of the Righteous, according to the Scripture also, as well as the *Philosophick Cabala*, will be σῶμα φωτὸν, and σῶμα ἀγλαῖον, and σῶμα ἀσεραῖον, a Glorious, Splendid, Luciform and Star-like Body, Wisd. 3. 7. οἱ καὶ ἐν ὀπίσκει αὐτῶν ἐκλάμψουσιν, The Righteous in the time of their Visitation, shall shine forth. Daniel 12. the 2. and 3. They that be wise, shall shine as the brightness of the Firmament; and they that turn many to Righteousness, as the Stars for ever and ever. And Matthew the 13. 43. Then shall the Righteous shine forth as the Sun, in the Kingdom of their Father. And therefore probably; this Future Glorious *Resurrection Body*, is that Inheritance of the Saints in Light, which the Scripture speaks of, Col. 1. the 12. Moreover, there is another difference betwixt this Present and that Future Body of the Righteous,

Righteous, wherein S. Paul and Hierocles do well agree, the First being called by both of them, *Σῶμα ψυχικόν*, *An Animal Body*, The Second, *Σῶμα πνευματικόν*, *A Spiritual Body*. Which latter expression in Scripture, does not only denote, the Subtlety and Tenuity thereof: but also as this Present Body is called an *Animal Body*, because it is suitable and agreeable to that Animal Life, which men have Common with Brutes; so is that Future called *Spiritual*, as bearing a fit proportion and correspondency to Souls renewed in the Spirit of their Mind, or in whom the Divine Spirit Dwelleth and Acteth; exercising its Dominion. There is an *Animal Body*, and there is a *Spiritual Body*. And, the First Adam was made a Living Soul, the Last Adam a Quickning Spirit. And thus are *ψυχοὶ* in the Scripture, taken for *οἱ πνεύμα μὴ ἔχοντες*, *They who have not the Spirit*. And *ψυχὴν ἀνθρώπου οὐ δέχεται τὰ τῷ πνεύματι τῷ Θεῷ*, *The Animal Man receiveth not, the things of the Spirit of God*. Which Spirit is also said in Scripture, to be the Earnest of that our Future Inheritance, Ephesians the 1. the 14. and the Earnest of this Spiritual and Heavenly Body, 2 Corinth. the 5. the 5. It is also said to be that, by which (Efficiently) these Mortal Bodies, shall be Quickened, Romans the 8. the 11. If the Spirit of him, that raised up Jesus from the dead, dwell in you, he that raised up Christ from the dead, shall also Quicken your Mortal Bodies, by his Spirit that dwelleth in you. Neither doth Hierocles fall much short of this Scripture Notion, of a *Spiritual Body*, when he describes it to be that, *ὅ τῇ νοεῖᾳ τελειώτιν ἡ ψυχὴ συνάσσειται*, *Which is Agreeable to the Intellectual Perfection of the Soul*. This Spiritual Body is that, which the Ancient Hebrews called, *כנפי תנור* *Eagles Wings*; We reading thus in the Gemara of the Sanhedrin (c. 11. fol. 92. col. 2.) *אם חומר מוחן שנים שמיך תקבת לחוש בהן את העולם צדיקים מה הן עושין חקבה עושה להן כנפים כנשרים ושמן על פני המים* *If you Ask what shall become of the Righteous, when God shall renew the world; the Answer is; God shall make them wings like Eagles, whereby they shall fly upon the Face of the Waters*. Again, as this Present Body, is called in Scripture, an *Earthly Body*, so is the Future Body of the Righteous, styled by S. Paul, as well as the Pythagoreans, a *Heavenly Body*; and they who shall then be possessors thereof, *ἐπαινεῖσθαι ἄνθρωποι*, *Heavenly men*, 1 Cor. 15. *As is the Heavenly, such are they that are Heavenly*. Besides which, as Philosophers supposed, both Demons (or Angels) and Men, to have one and the same, *Σῶμα αἰθερῶδες, ἄσπεριον, and αἰθέριον*, or a like *Lucid, Heavenly and Etherial Body*, so from that of our Saviour, when he affirmeth, that they who shall be accounted worthy to obtain that world and the Resurrection from the dead, will neither Marry nor be given in Marriage; nor can die any more; for they are *ἰσὺ ἄγγελοι* *equal to the Angels*; from hence I say, we may venture to call this Resurrection-Body, of the Just, also, an *Angelical*, or *Isangelical Body*; and the rather because, the Ancient Hebrews (as we learn from Nachmonides in Shaar Haggemul) styled it *לבושת תנפם חמלאכותי* *The Angelical Clothing of the Soul*, and Tertullian himself, *Angelificatam* *Thus S. Au-*
Carnem, Angelified Flesh. But Lastly, S. Paul is not only Positive in his Doctrine here, but also Negative; Now this I say, brethren, that *Flesh and Blood cannot inherit the Kingdom of God, neither doth Corruption inherit* *sum Angelorum.*
Incarnation. Which Place being undoubtedly not to be Allegorized,

it may be from thence inferred, that the *Happy Resurrection-Body*, shall not be this Foul and Gross Body of ours, only *Varnished* and *Gilded* over on the outside of it, it remaining still *Nasty Sluttish* and *Ruinous* within, and having all the same Seeds of *Corruption* and *Mortality* in its *Nature*, which it had before, though by perpetual *Miracle* kept off, it being as it were by *Violence defended*, from being Seised upon and devoured, by the *Jaws of Death*: but that it shall be so Inwardly changed, in its *Nature*, as that the Possessers thereof, *Cannot die any more*. But all this which hath been said of the *Resurrection-Body*, is not so to be understood, as if it belonged *Universally*, to all that shall be Raised up at the last day, or made to appear upon the Earth, as in their own Persons, at that *Great and General Assizes*; That they shall have all alike, (*wicked* as well as *Good*) such *Glorious, Spiritual, and Celestial Bodies*; but it is only a Description of the ἀνάστασις καὶ ζωὴς, The *Resurrection of Life*, which is Emphatically called also by our Saviour Christ ἀνάστασις ἡ ἐκ τῶν νεκρῶν, The *Resurrection from the dead*, or to a *Happy Immortality*; as they who shall be thought worthy thereof, are likewise Styled by him, υἱοὶ ἀναστάσεως, The *Children of the Resurrection*. Of which Resurrection only it is, that *S. Paul* treateth in that Fifteenth Chapter of his to the *Corinthians*. And we say, that this *Christian Resurrection of Life*; is the *Vesting* and *Settling* of the Souls of *Good men*, in their *Glorious, Spiritual, Heavenly, and Immortal Bodies*. The Complete Happiness of a man, and all the Good that can be desired by him, Was by the Heathen Poet thus Summed up, *Ut sit Mens Sana in Corpore Sano*, That there be a *Sound Mind in a Sound Body*: and the *Christian Happiness*, seems to be all comprized in these *Two Things*. First, in being *Inwardly Regenerated and Renewed in the Spirit of their Mind*, Cleansed from all *Pollution of Flesh and Spirit*, and made partakers of the *Divine Life and Nature*; and then *Secondly*, in being *Outwardly Clothed*, with *Glorious, Spiritual, Celestial, and Incorruptible Bodies*. The Scripture plainly declareth, that our Souls are not at Home here, in this *Terrestrial Body*, and These *Earthly Mansions*, but that they are *Strangers* and *Pilgrims* there in it, which the Patriarchs also confessing, plainly declared that they *Sought a Country*, not that which they came out from, but a *Heavenly one*. From which passages of Scripture, some indeed would infer, that Souls being at first Created by God *Pure, Pre-Existed* before this their *Terrene Nativity*, in *Celestial Bodies*; but afterwards *stragled* and *wandered* down hither, as *Philo* for one, ἀπολιπῶσα μὲν γὰρ ἡ ψυχὴ τὸ ἁγίου τόπον, καθάπερ εἰς ξένω τόπον ἦλθε, τὸ σῶμα, Our Soul (saith he) having left its *Heavenly Mansion*, came down into this *Earthly Body*, as a *strange place*. But thus much is certain, that Our *Humane Souls* were at first intended and designed by God Almighty, the Maker of them, for other *Bodies* and other *Regions*; as their proper Home and Country, and their *Eternal Resting Place*: however, to us, that be not *First, which is Spiritual*, but that which is *Natural*, and afterwards that which is *Spiritual*. Now though some from that of *St. Paul*, where he calls this *Happy Resurrection-Body*, οἰκητήριον ἡμῶν τὸ ἐξ οὐρανόσ, That house of ours that is from Heaven, or which cometh out of Heaven, would infer, that therefore, it will not be taken, out of *Graves* and *Charnel Houses*; they conceiving also, that the *Individuation* and

Sameness

Sameness of mens Persons, does not necessarily depend, upon the *Numerical Identity* of all the Parts of *Matter*, because we never continue thus the Same, our *Bodies* always flowing like a *River*, and passing away by *Insensible Transpiration*, and it is certain, that we have not all the same Numerical Matter, and neither more nor less, both in *Infancy* and in *Old Age*, though we be for all that the self Same Persons: yet nevertheless according to the best Philosophy, which acknowledges no *Essential* or *Specific Difference* of Matter, the Foulest and Grosest Body that is, meerly by Motion, may not only be *Chrystallized*, but also brought into the *Purity* and *Tenuity* of the *Finest Ether*. And undoubtedly, that Same Numerical *Body* of our *Saviour Christ*, which lay in the *Sepulchre*, was after his *Resurrection* thus Transformed, into a *Spiritual*, and *Heavenly Body*; the *Subtlety* and *Tenuity* whereof appeared, from his entring in when the doors were shut, and his vanishing out of sight; however its *Glory* were for the time suspended, partly for the better convincing his Disciples of the Truth of his *Resurrection*, and partly because they were not then able to bear the *Splendor* of it. We conclude therefore, that the *Christian Mystery*, of the *Resurrection of Life*, consisteth not in the Souls being reunited to these Vile Rags of Mortality, these *Gross Bodies* of ours (such as now they are) but in having them *Changed into the Likeness of Christ's Glorious Body*, and in this *Mortal's* putting on *Immortality*.

Hitherto have we seen, the Agreement that is betwixt *Christianity*, and the Old *Philosophick Cabbala*, concerning the *Soul*, in these Two Things. First, That the highest Happiness and Perfection of the *Humane Soul*, consisteth not, in a *State of Pure Separation* from all *Body*; and Secondly, that it does not consist neither, in an *Eternal Union* with such *Gross Terrestrial Bodies*, as these Unchanged; the *Soul* being not at *Home*, but a *Stranger* and *Pilgrim* in them, and Oppressed with the Load of them: but that at last the *Souls* of Good men, shall arrive at *Glorious, Spiritual, Heavenly and Immortal Bodies*. But now as to that *Point*, Whether *Humane Souls* be always United to some *Body* or other, and consequently when by *Death* they put off this *Gross Terrestrial Body*, they are not thereby quite *Devested*, and *Strip'd Naked* of all *Body*, but have a *Certain, Subtle and Spirituous Body*, still adhering to them, and accompanying them? Or else, Whether all *Souls* that have departed out of this *Life*, from the very beginning of the *World*, have ever since continued, in a *State of Separation* from all *Body*, and shall so continue forwards till the *Day of Judgement* or *General Resurrection*? We must confess, that this is a thing not so explicitly *Determined*, or expressly *Decided* in *Christianity*, either way. Nevertheless it is First of all, certain from *Scripture*; That *Souls* Departed out of these *Terrestrial Bodies*, are therefore neither *Dead* nor *Asleep*, till the *Last Trump* and *General Resurrection*; but still *Alive* and *Awake*; our *Saviour Christ* affirming, That they all *Live unto God*; the meaning whereof seems to be this, that they who are said to be *Dead*, are *Dead* only unto *Men* here upon *Earth*; but neither *Dead* unto themselves, nor yet unto *God*, their *Life* being not *Extinct*, but only *Disappearing* to us, and withdrawn

Death called
Sleep in
Scripture,
only κατ'
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from our sight ; for as much as they are gone off this Stage which we still continue to act upon. And thus is it said also, of our Saviour Christ himself, and that after his Resurrection too ; *That he Liveth unto God* (Romans the 6. the 10.) From whence it is evident, that they who are said to *Live to God*, are not therefore supposed to be less *Alive*, than they were, when they *Lived unto men*. Now it seemeth to be a *Priviledge* or *Prerogative* Proper to the Deity only, to *Live* and *Act* alone, without *Vital Union* or *Conjunction* with any Body. *Querendum*, saith Origen, *Si Possibile est, penitus Incorporeas remanere Rationabiles Creaturas, cum ad summum Sanctitatis ac Beitudinis venerint ? An necesse est eas semper Coniunctas esse Corporibus ?* It is worth our Enquiry ; Whether it be possible, for Rational Creatures, to remain Perfectly Incorporeal, and Separate from all Body, when they are arrived to the Highest Degree of Holiness and Happiness ? Or Whether they be always of necessity conjoyned with some Bodies : And afterwards he plainly affirmeth it to be Impossible, *Vivere præter Corpus, Ullam aliam Naturam, præter Patrem, & Filium, & Spiritum Sanctum.* For any other Nature, besides the Father, and the Son, and Holy Ghost, to live quite without a Body. Indeed if this were most Natural to the Humane Soul and most Perfective of it, to continue Separate from all Body, then doubtless (as Origen Implied) should the Souls of Good men, rather After the day of Judgment, continue in such a State of Separation, to all Eternity. But on the contrary, If it be Natural to Souls, to Enliven and Enform some Body or other, (though not always a Terrestrial one) as our Inward Sense inclines us to think, then can it not seem so probable, that they should by a kind of Violence, be kept so long in an Un-Natural or Preter-Natural State of Nakedness and Separation from all Body ; some of them even from Adam till the day of Judgment.

De An. p.
309. Rigal.

Again the Scripture also Intimates, that Souls Departed out of this Life, have a Knowledge of one another, and are also capable of the Punishment of Sense or Pain, *Fear him* (saith our Saviour) *who After he hath killed, hath Power to cast into Hell*, Luke the 12. And the Soul of the Rich Man, is said to be immediately after Death in Torments, before the Day of Judgment ; as likewise to have Known Abraham and Lazarus. And it seems neither agreeable to our Common Notions, nor yet to Piety, to conclude, That the Souls of wicked men, departing out of this Life, from the beginning of the world in their several Ages, till the Day of Judgment, have all of them no manner of Punishment inflicted on them, save only that, of Remorse of Conscience, and Future Expectation. Now it is not conceivable, how Souls after Death should Know and be Knowable, and Converse with one another, and have any Punishment of Sense or Pain inflicted on them, were they not Vitally United to some Bodies. And thus did Tertullian reason long ago ; *Dolet apud Inferos Anima cuiusdam, & Punitur in Flamma, & Cruciatur in Lingua, & de digito animæ felicioris explorat Solatium Roris. Imaginem existimas, exitum illum Pauperis Lætantis, & Divitis morientis. Et quid illic Lazari nomen, si non in veritate res est ? Sed etsi Imago credenda est, testimonium erit veritatis. Si enim non habet Anima Corpus, non caperet Imaginem Corporis. Nec mentiretur*

mentiretur de Corporalibus Membris Scriptura, si non erant. Quid est autem illud, quod ad Inferna transfertur, post Divortium Corporis? quod detinetur, & in Diem Judicii reservatur? Ad quod & Christus moriendo descendit? puto ad Animas Patriarcharum? Incorporalitas Animæ ab omni genere Custodiæ libera est; immunis à Pæna & à Fovela. Per quod enim Punitur aut Fovetur, hoc erit Corpus. Igitur siquid Tormenti sive Solatii Anima præcepit in Carcere, vel Diversorio Inferum, in Igni vel in Sinu Abrahæ, probata erit Corporalitas Animæ. Incorporalitas enim nihil Patitur, non habens per quod Pati possit: aut si habet, hoc erit Corpus. In quantum enim Omne Corporale Passibile est; in tantum quod Passibile est Corporale est. We read in Scripture, of a Soul Tormented in Hell, Punished with Flames, and desirous of a drop of water to cool his Tongue. You will say perhaps, that this is Parabolical and Fictitious. What then does the name of Lazarus signifie there, if it were no Real thing? But if it be a Parable never so much, yet must it notwithstanding, as to the main, speak agreeably to Truth. For if the Soul (after Death) have no Body at all, then can it not have any Corporeal Image, Shape, or Figure. Nor can it be thought, that the Scripture, would Lie concerning Corporal Members, if there were none. But what is that, which after its Separation from this Body, is carried down into Hell, and there detained Prisoner, and reserved till the day of Judgment? And what is that which Christ dying descended down unto, I suppose to the Souls of the Patriarchs. But Incorporality is free from all Custody or Imprisonment, as also devoid of Pain and Pleasure. Wherefore if Souls be sensible of Pain after Death, and Tormented with Fire, then must they needs have some Corporeity; for Incorporality suffers Nothing. And as every Corporeal thing, is Passive or Patible, so again whatsoever is Passive is Corporeal. Tertullian would also further confirm this, from a Vision or Revelation of a certain Sister-Prophet, (Miracles and Prophecy, being said by him, not to be then altogether Extinct,) *Inter cetera ostensa est mihi Anima Corporaliter, & Spiritus videbatur, Tenera & Lucida, & Aerii Coloris, Et Formæ per omnia Humana*; There was (said she) amongst other things, a Soul Corporally Exhibited to my View, and it was Tender and Lucid, and of an Aereal Colour, and every way of Humane Form. Agreeably to which, Tertullian himself addeth, *Effigiem non aliam Animæ Humanæ deputandam præter Humanam, & quidem ejus Corporis quod unaquæque circumtulit*. There is no other Shape to be assigned to a Humane Soul, but Humane; and indeed that of the Body, which it before carried about. It is true indeed, that Tertullian here drives the business so far, as to make the Soul it self to be Corporeal, Figurative and Colorate, and after Death, to have the very same Shape, which its respective Body had before in this Life: he being one of those, who were not able to conceive of any thing Incorporeal, and therefore being a Religionist, concluded God himself to be a certain Body also. But the Reasons which he here insisteth on, will indeed extend no further, than to prove, that the Soul hath after Death, some Body Vitally United to it, by means whereof, it is both capable of Converse, and Sensible of Pain, for as much as Body alone, can have no Sense of any thing.

And this is that which Irenæus, from the same Scripture gathereth; not

L. 1. c. 62.

C. 63.

not that the Soul Is a Body, but that it Hath a Body, after Death conjoyned with it, and that of the same Form and Figure, with that Body which it had before here in this Life; *Plenissimè autem Dominus docuit, non solum perseverare, non de corpore in corpus transgredientes animas, sed & Characterem corporis, in quo etiam adaptantur, custodire eundem; Et meminisse eas Operum quæ egerunt hîc, & à quibus cessaverunt; in Enarratione quæ scribitur de Divite & de Lazaro, qui refrigerabatur in Sinu Abrahæ; in qua ait Divitem cognoscere Lazarum post mortem; Et manere in suo ordine unumquemque ipsorum; Our Lord hath most plainly taught us, that Souls do not only continue after Death, without passing out of one Body into another, but also that they keep the Character of Body, wherein they are then also adapted, the same which they had before; as likewise, that they remember the Actions and Omissions of their Life past; in that Enarration, which is written, concerning the Rich Man and Lazarus, who was refreshed in Abraham's bosom; wherein he affirmeth the Rich Man to have known both Lazarus and Abraham after Death, as also each of them to remain in their own Order. And thus again in the following Chapter; Per hæc manifestissimè declaratum est, & Perseverare Animas; & non de corpore in corpus Exire; & habere Hominis Figuram; (ut etiam cognoscantur) & meminisse eorum quæ hic sint; & Dignam Habitationem Unamquamque Gentem percipere, etiam antè Judicium. By these things it is most manifestly declared, that Souls do both Persevere after Death, and that they do not Transmigrate out of one Body into another; and that they have a Humane Figure or Shape, (whereby they may be known) as also that they remember the things here upon the Earth, and their own Actions; and Lastly, that each kind of Good and Bad, have their distinct and suitable Habitations assigned them, even before the Judgment. Now that Irenæus did not here mean, that Souls are themselves Bodily Substances, and consequently, have a certain Character, Form, and Figure of their own, but only that they have certain Bodies conjoyned with them, which are Figurative; is First of all evident, from the words themselves, *Characterem corporis, in quo etiam adaptantur, custodire Eundem*, The Natural Sense whereof is this, That they keep the Character of Body (wherein they are then also adapted, after Death) the same with that which these Bodies before had here in this Life. And it is further manifest from hence, because he else where plainly declareth, Souls themselves to be Incorporeal; as in his Fifth Book and Seventh Chapter, *Flatus autem Vitæ Incorporalis est*, But the breath of Life is Incorporeal.*

Furthermore, Origen was not only of the same Perswasion, that Souls after Death, had certain Subtle Bodies united to them, and that those Bodies of theirs, had the same εἶδος χαρακτεριστικόν, Characterizing Form, which these their Terrestrial Bodies before had; but also thinks, that this, together with the Souls Immortality, may be sufficiently proved, from the frequent Apparitions of Ghosts or Departed Souls; in way of opposition to Celsus, endeavouring to invalidate the Scripture Testimonies, concerning the Apparitions of our Saviour Christ, and Imputing them either to Magical Imposture, or Fanatick Phrenzy, or the Disciples mistaking their own Dreams and Phancies for

for *Visions and Sensations*, after the *Epicurean way*; τὸ τοῦ ἑδὲν ἡπὶον κατὰ Σκευαστικὸν ὅτιν ἀνάστασις δδισμαί, ὡς ἄρα ἡ ψυχὴ ὑφέστηκε τῇ ἀποθανόντων· καὶ ὁ μακρὸν πεπείσκει ὡς τὸ ἀθανάσιος αὐτῆς, ὁ τὸ τοῦ δδισμα ἀνέληφας· ὡς καὶ πλάτων ἐν τῇ ὡς τὸ ψυχῆς λέγει, Σκευαστικὰ ὡς μνημεῖα ποὶ γεγονέναι τῇ ἡδὴ τεθνηκότων· *Though this might seem to have been smartly opposed by Celsus, yet are those very Apparitions of Ghosts notwithstanding, a sufficient Argument or Proof of a certain Necessary Opinion, that Souls do subsist after Death.* Neither did Plato vainly conclude, the *Immortality and Permanency of the Soul*, besides other things, from those *Shadow-like Phantasms of the Dead*, that have appeared to many about *Graves and Monuments*. Whereupon he giveth this further account of these *Apparitions*, τὰ μὲν ἐν γινόμενα ὡς ψυχῆς τεθνηκότων φαντάσματα ἀπὸ τινος ὑποκείμενης γίνεσθαι, τὸ καὶ τὴν ὑφ' ἐκείνης ἐν τῇ καλῶμεν Ἀνυπόθετον Σώματι ψυχῶν· *For these Apparitions of the Dead, are not meer Groundless Imaginations, but they proceed from Souls themselves, really remaining and surviving after Death, and subsisting in that which is called, a Luciform Body.* Where notwithstanding Origen, takes this Ἀνυπόθετον Σῶμα, Or *Luciform Body*, in a Larger Sense, than the *Greek Philosophers* were wont to do; namely so as to comprehend under it, that *Aery or Vaporous Body* also, which belongeth to *Unpurged Souls*; who do therein most frequently appear after *Death*; whereas it is thought proper to the *Purged Souls*, to be cloathed with the *Luciform Body* only. Besides which, the same Origen tells us, that the *Thing* which *St. Thomas* the *Apostle* disbelieved, was not our *Saviour's* appearing after *Death*, as if he had thought it *Impossible*, for *Ghosts or Souls* departed, *Visibly* to appear, but only his *Rising and Appearing* in that same *Solid Body*, which had been before *Crucified*, and was laid in the *Sepulchre*; σκιατετέδοτο μὲν γὰρ ἐκείνου τῇ φαντασίᾳ αὐτὸν ἑωρακέναι, ὡς καὶ ἀδανά- τε ὄντι, τὸ τὴν ψυχὴν τῇ τεθνηκότι ὁφθῆναι· ἐνέπι δ' ἐνόμιζεν ἔτι τὸ ἐν σώματι αὐτὸν ἀντιπύρι ἐγγεῖσθαι, *Thomas also, as well as the other Apostles, assented to the woman affirming, that she had seen Jesus; as not thinking it at all Impossible, for the Soul of a Dead man, to be Seen; but he did not believe him to have Risen and Appeared, in that self same Solid Body, which before he lived In; for which cause he said, not only, Unless I see him; but added also, And Unless I shall put my finger into the print of the nails, and thrust my hand into his side, I will not believe.* Where again Origen subjoyns, ταῦτα δ' ἐλέ- γκετο ὑπὸ τῶ ὁσώμα, κελύουσι ὅτι δύναται ὁφθαλμοῖς αἰσθητοῖς φανῆναι ψυχῆς Σῶμα πάντα τὰ πρεστέρα εἶδ'ι, —μεγαλὸς τε, καὶ ὁμοῦ καὶ εἰσκήρης, καὶ φωνῶν,

πολλὰν δὲ καὶ τοῖα ὡς ἐν ἐμαὶ ἐχθρὸς.

These things were said by Thomas, not as doubting at all, but that the Body of a Soul departed (to wit, Condensed) might be seen with the Eyes of Sense, every way resembling that Form which it had before in this Life, both in respect of Bigness, Figure, Colour, and Voice; and oftentimes also in the same Customary garments. Wherefore according to Origen, the Jews were at that time Generally possessed with this Opinion, that Souls after Death, had certain Bodies united to them,

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wherein

wherein they might Visibly appear: neither is that of any great moment to the contrary, which a Learned Critick objecteth, that *Josephus* writing of their Opinions, maketh no mention hereof: he omitting besides this, other Considerable *Dogmata* of theirs also, as that of the *Resurrection*. However this at least is certain from hence that *Origen* himself took it for granted, that *Humane Souls* departed, were not altogether Naked or Unclothed, but Clothed with a certain *Subtle Body*, wherein they could also Visibly appear, and that in their pristine Form.

Moreover, it might be here observed also, that when upon our Saviour's first *Apparition* to his Disciples, it is said, that they were affrighted, as supposing, they *had seen a Spirit*; our Saviour does not tell them, that a *Spirit* or *Ghost*, had no Body at all, wherein it could Visibly appear; but (as rather taking that for granted) *that a Spirit had no Flesh and Bones*, (no σῶμα ἀντίτυπον) no such *Solid Body*, as they might find him to have; bidding them therefore, handle him; to remove that Scruple of theirs. As if he should have said, Though *Spirits*, or *Ghosts*, and *Souls Departed*, have *Bodies* (or *Vehicles*) which may by them be so far *Condensed*, as sometimes to make a Visible appearance to the Eyes of men; yet have they not any such *Solid Bodies*, as those of *Flesh and Bone*; and therefore by *Feeling* and *Handling*, may you satisfy your selves, that I am not a meer *Spirit*, *Ghost*, or *Soul*, Appearing; as others have frequently done, without a *Miracle*; but that I appear in that very same *Solid Body*, wherein I was *Crucified* by the Jews, by miraculous Divine Power, raised out of the Sepulchre, and now to be found no more there. Agreeable to which of our Saviour Christ, is that of *Apollonius* in *Philostratus*, λαβὲς μοι, ἔφη, κἀν μὲν διαφύγω σε, ἔδωλον εἰμι· εἰ ὃ ὑπομένωμαι ἀπτόμενόν, πείθε καὶ ἔχον τε με, καὶ μὴ ἀποβελήκεναι τὸ σῶμα, *Touch me and Handle me, and if you find me to avoid the Touch, then may you conclude me to be a Spirit or Ghost, (that is, a Soul departed) but if I firmly resist the same; then believe me Really to live, and not yet to have cast off the Body.* And indeed though *Spirits* or *Ghosts*, had certain *Subtle Bodies*, which they could so far *Condense*, as to make them sometimes Visible to men; yet is it reasonable enough to think, that they could not *Constipate* or *Fix* them, into such a *Firmness*, *Großneß*, and *Solidity*, as that of *Flesh and Bone* is, to continue therein; or at least, not without such *Difficulty* and *Pain*, as would hinder them from attempting the same. Notwithstanding which, it is not denied, but that they may possibly sometimes make use of other *Solid Bodies*, Moving and Acting them, as in that famous Story of *Phlegons*, where the *Body Vanished* not, as other *Ghosts* use to do, but was left a Dead Carcase behind. Now as for our Saviour Christ's Body, after his *Resurrection*, and before his *Ascension*; which notwithstanding its *Solidity* in *Handling*, yet sometimes *Vanished* also, out of his Disciples sight; this probably, as *Origen* conceived, was purposely conserved for a time, in a certain *Middle State*, betwixt the *Crafsities* of a *Mortal Body*, and the *Spirituality* of a Perfectly *Glorified, Heavenly & Etherial Body*.

But there is a place of Scripture, which as it hath been interpreted

preted by the Generality of the Ancient Fathers, would Naturally
 Imply, even the *Soul of our Saviour Christ* himself, after his *Death*,
 and before his *Resurrection*, not to have been quite *Naked* from all
 Body, but to have had a certain *Subtle or Spirituous Clothing*, and it
 is this of *St. Peter*, θαναταθείς μὲν σαρκί, ζωοποιωθείς ὃ τὰ πνεύματα, ^{1 Pet. 3. 18;}
 ὃ καὶ τοῖς ἐν φυλακῇ πνεύμασι προεβόησε, ^{19.} Which being under-
 stood by those Ancients, of our Saviour Christ's descending into *Ha-*
des or *Hell*, is accordingly thus rendered in the *Vulgar Latin*, Put to
 Death In the *Flesh*, but Quickned in the *Spirit*. In which (*Spirit*) also,
 he went and preached, to those *Spirits*, that were in *Prison*, &c. So
 that the Word πνεύματι, or *Spirit* here, according to this interpre-
 tation, is to be taken, for a *Spirituous Body*; the Sense being this,
 That when our Saviour Christ was put to death in the *Flesh*, or the *Flesh-*
ly Body; he was Quickned in the *Spirit*, or a *Spirituous Body*. In which
 (*Spirituous Body*) also, he went and preached to those *Spirits* that were in
Prison, &c. And doubtless it would be said, by the Asserters of this In-
 terpretation; that the word *Spirit*, could not here be taken for the
 Soul of our Saviour Christ; because this being Naturally *Immortal*, could
 not properly be said to be Quickned, and Made Alive. Nor could He,
 that is, our Saviour Christ's Soul, be so well said, to go, In this *Spirit*,
 neither, that is, In it self, the Soul in the Soul, to preach to the *Spirits*
 in *Prison*. They would add also, that *Spirit* here, could not be
 taken for the *Divine Spirit* neither; which was the *Efficient Cause*
 of the *Vivification* of our Saviour's Body at his *Resurrection*; be-
 cause then there would be no direct *Opposition*, betwixt; Being put to
 Death in the *Flesh*, and, Quickned in the *Spirit*; unless they be taken
 both alike *Materially*. As also the following Verse is thus to be un-
 derstood; That our Saviour Christ, went in that *Spirit*, wherein he
 was Quickned, when he was Put to Death In the *Flesh*, and therein preach-
 ed to the *Spirits* in *Prison*. By which *Spirits* in *Prison* also, would
 be meant, not *Pure Incorporeal Substances*, or *Naked Souls*, but *Souls*
 Clothed with *Subtle Spirituous Bodies*; as that word may be often
 understood elsewhere in *Scripture*. But thus much we are unquesti-
 onably certain of; from the *Scripture*; That not only *Elias*, whose
Terrestrial Body, seems to have been, in part at least, *Spiritualized*, in
 his *Ascent* in that *Fiery Chariot*, but also *Moses*, appeared Visibly to
 our Saviour Christ and his Disciples, upon the Mount, and therefore
 (since *Piety* will not permit us to think this a meer *Prestigious* thing)
 in *Real Bodies*; which Bodies also, seem to have been ^{Αυτοειδῆ}, Lu-
 cidiform or *Lucid*, like to our Saviour's then *Transfigured Body*.

Again, there are sundry places of *Scripture* which affirm that the
Regenerate and *Renewed* have here in this *Life*, a certain *Earnest* of
 their *Future Inheritance*; which is, their *Spiritual* or *Heavenly Body*;
 as also the Quickning of their *Mortal Bodies* is therein attributed, to
 the *Efficiency* of the *Spirit* Dwelling in them. Which is a Thing that
 hath been taken notice of by Some of the Ancients, as *Irenæus*; Nunc L. 5. c. 8;
 autem Partem aliquam Spiritus ejus sumimus, ad Perfectionem & Præ-
 parationem Incorruptelæ, paulatim affuescentes Capere & Portare Deum.
 Quod & Pignus dixit Apostolus; hoc est, Partem ejus Honoris, qui à
 Deo nobis promissus est. — Si ergo Pignus hoc habitans in nobis, jam

Spirituales effecit, & absorbetur Mortale ab Immortalitate. Now have we a Part of that Spirit, for the Preparation and Perfection of Incorruption; we being accustomed by little and little to Receive and Bear God. Which also the Apostle hath called an Earnest; that is, a Part of that Honour which is promised to us from God. If therefore, this Earnest (or Pledge) dwelling in us, hath made us already Spiritual; the Mortal is also swallowed up by Immortality. And Novatian, *Spiritus Sanctus id agit in nobis, ut ad Aeternitatem & ad Resurrectionem Immortalitatis, corpora nostra perducatur, dum illa in se assuefacit cum Cælesti Virtute misceri.* This is that which the Holy Spirit doth in us, namely to bring and lead on our Bodies to Eternity and the Resurrection of Immortality; whilst in it self it accustometh us, to be mingled with the Heavenly Vertue. Moreover there are some places also, which seem to imply, that Good Men, shall after Death, have a Further Inchoation of their Heavenly Body, the full Completion whereof, is not to be expected before the Resurrection or Day of Judgment. We know, that If our Earthly House of this Tabernacle were dissolved, we have a Building of God, a House not made with hands, Eternal in the Heavens. For in this we groan Earnestly. And Verse the 5. He that hath wrought us for the self same thing is God, who also hath given us the Earnest of the Spirit. Now how these Preludiums and Prelibations of an Immortal Body, can consist with the Souls continuance after Death, in a Perfect Separation from all manner of Body, till the Day of Judgement, is not so easily Conceivable.

Lastly, it is not at all to be Doubted, but that *Irenæus, Origen,* and those other Ancients, who entertained that Opinion, of Souls being Clothed after Death, with a certain Thin and Subtle Body; suspected it not in the least, to be Inconsistent, with that of the Future Resurrection: as it is no way Inconsistent, for one who hath only a Shirt or Waistcoat on, to put on a Suite of Cloths, or Exterious Upper garment. Which will also seem the less strange, if it be considered, that even here in this Life, our Body is as it were Two Fold, Exterious and Interior; we having besides the Grossly-Tangible Bulk of our Outward Body; another Interior Spirituous Body, the Souls Immediate Instrument, both of Sense and Motion; which Latter is not put into the Grave with the Other, nor Imprisoned under the Cold Sods. Notwithstanding all which, that hath been here suggested by us; we shall not our selves venture, to determine any thing, in so great a Point; but Sceptically leave it Undecided.

The Third and Last thing, in the Forementioned Philosophick or Pythagorick Cabbala, is concerning those Beings Superior to men, commonly called by the Greeks, *Demons*, (which *Philo* tells us are the same with *Angels* amongst the *Jews*, and accordingly are those words *Demons* and *Angels*, by *Hierocles* and *Simplicius*, and other of the latter Pagan Writers, sometimes used indifferently as Synonymous) viz. That these *Demons* or *Angels*, are not Pure, Abstract, Incorporeal Substances, devoid of Vital Union with any Matter; but that they consist of something Incorporeal, and something Corporeal, joyned together; so that as *Hierocles* writeth of them, τὸ μὲν ἄνω αὐτῶν ἀσώμα-
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τῷ ὁσίᾳ, τὸ δὲ κατώτερον σωματικῇ, *They have a Superiour and an Inferiour Part in them; and their Superiour Part is an Incorporeal Substance; their Inferiour Corporeal.* In a word, that they all as well as men, consist of *Soul and Body*, united together, there being only this Difference betwixt them, that the *Souls* of these *Demons* or *Angels*, never descend down to such *Gross* and *Terrestrial Bodies*, as *Humane Souls* do; but are always *Clothed*, either with *Aerial* or *Ethereal ones*. And indeed this *Pythagorick Cabbala*, was *Universal*, concerning all *Understanding Beings*, besides the *Supreme Deity*, or *Trinity of Divine Hypostases*; that is, concerning all the *Pagan Inferiour Gods*; that they are no other than *Souls* vitally united to some *Bodies*, and so made up of *Incorporeal*, and *Corporeal Substance*, Joyned together. For thus *Hierocles* plainly expresseth himself, in the forecited place; ἡ λογικὴ ὁσία τῷ θεῷ τῷ δημιουργῷ εἰς τὸ εἶναι ἕνω παρῆλθεν, ὥς μήτε τὸ σῶμα εἶναι αὐτῷ μήτε ἀντὶ σώματος, &c. *The Rational Nature (in General) was so produced by God, as that it neither is Body, nor yet without Body; but an Incorporeal Substance, having a Cognate or Congenit Body.* Which same thing was else where also thus declared by him, εἰ γὰρ πᾶς μὲν P. 17. ὁ λογικὸς διάνοις, μετὰ τῷ συμπεφυκτῷ αὐτῷ ἀφ' ὧν σώματος, ἕκων ὅλας τῷ δημιουργῷ, *The whole Rational Order, or Rank of Being, with its Congenite Immortal Body, is the Image of the whole Deity, the Maker thereof.* Where by *Hierocles* his *Rational Nature* or *Essence*, and by the *Whole Rational Order*, is plainly meant, all *Understanding Beings Created*, of which he acknowledgeth only these *Three Kinds* and *Degrees*, First, the *Immortal Gods*, which are to him the *Animated Stars*; Secondly, *Demons, Angels, or Heroes*; and Thirdly, *Men*, called also by him, κατώτεροι δαίμονες, *Terrestrial Demons*: he pronouncing of them all, that they are alike, *Incorporeal Substances*, together with a *Congenite Immortal Body*; and that there is no other *Understanding Nature* than such, besides the *Supreme Deity*, which is *Complete* in it self, without the *Conjunction* of any *Body*. So that according to *Hierocles*, the *Ancient Pythagorick Cabbala*, acknowledged no such *Entities* at all, as those *Intelligences* of *Aristotle*, and the *Noes* of some *High-flown Platonists*; (that is, perfectly *Unbodied Minds*;) and much less any *Rank of Henades* or *Unities*, Superior to these *Noes*. And indeed such *Particular Created Beings* as these, could neither have *Sense* or *Cognizance* of any *Corporeal thing* Existing without them; (*Sense* as *Aristotle* hath observed, Resulting from a *Complication* of *Soul and Body*, as *Weaving*, Results from a *Complication* of the *Weaver* and *Weaving Instruments*;) nor yet could they act upon any Part of the *Corporeal Universe*. So that these *Immoveable Beings*, would be but like *Adamantine Statues*; and things *Unconnected* with the rest of the *World*, having no *Commerce* with any thing at all but the *Deity*; a kind of *Insignificant Metaphysical Gazers*, or *Contemplators*. Whereas the *Deity* though it be not properly ψυχὴ ἐνσώματος, a *Mundane Soul*, such as together with the *Corporeal World*, as its *Body*, makes up one *Complete* and *Entire Animal*; yet because the whole world proceeded from it, and perpetually dependeth on it, therefore must it needs take *Cognizance* of all, and act upon all in it; upon which account it hath been stiled by these *Pythagoreans*, ψυχὴ ὑπερσώματος, (not a *Mundane*,

Mundane, but) a *Supra-Mundane Soul*. Wherefore this *Ancient Pythagorick Cabbala*, seems to be agreeable to reason also, that God should be the only *Incorporeal Being*, in this sense, such whose *Essence* is Complete and Life Entire within it self, without the *Conjunction* or *Appendage* of any *Body*: but that all other *Incorporeal Substances Created*, should be *Completed* and *Made up*, by a *Vital Union* with *Matter*; so that the whole of them, is neither *Corporeal*, nor *Incorporeal*, but a *Complication* of both; and all the *Highest and Divinest* things in the *Universe*, next to the *Supreme Deity* are *Animals* consisting of *Soul* and *Body* united together. And after this manner, did the *Ancient asserters of Incorporeal Substance*, as *Unextended*, decline that *Absurdity* Objected against them, of the *Illocality* of all *Finite Created Spirits*, that these being *Incorporeal Substances*, *Vitally Clothed* with some *Body*, may by reason of the *Locality* and *Mobility* of their *Respective Bodies*, truly be said to be *he Here and There*, and to *Move from Place to Place*.

Wherefore we are here also to show, what *Agreement* or *Disagreement* there is, betwixt this Part of the *Pythagorick Cabbala*, and the *Christian Philosophy*. And First, it hath been already intimated, that the very same *Doctrine*, with this of the *Ancient Pythagoreans*, was plainly asserted by *Origen*. Thus in his First Book *Peri Archon*. c. 6. *Solius Dei*, (saith he) *id est Patris, & Filii, & Spiritus Sancti*, *Natura id proprium est, ut sine Materiali Substantia, & absque Ulla Corporea Adjectionis Societate, intelligatur subsistere*. It is proper to the Nature of God only, that is of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, to subsist without *Material Substance*; or the Society of any *Corporeal Adjection*. Again, L. 2. c. 2. *Materialem Substantiam Opinione quidem & Intellectu solum Separari, à Naturis Rationalibus, & Pro ipsis, vel Post ipsas Effectum videri; sed nunquam sine ipsa eas vel Vixisse, vel Vivere: solius namque Trinitatis Incorporea Vita existere rectè putabitur*. *Material Substance in Rational Natures*, is indeed *Separable* from them, in *Conception* and *Understanding*, it seeming to be made for them, and in *Order of Nature* after them; but it is not *Really* and *Actually* *Separable* from the same; nor did they ever, or can they, live without it, For a *Life perfectly Incorporeal*, is rightly deemed, to belong to the *Trinity* only. So also in his Fourth Book, and his *Anacephaleosis*, *Semper erunt Rationabiles Naturæ, quæ indigent Indumento Corporeo*. *Semper ergo erit Natura Corporea, cujus Indumentis Uti necesse est Rationabiles Creaturas*. *Nisi quis putet se posse ostendere, quod Natura Rationalis absque Ullo Corpore, vitam degere possit. Sed quam difficile id sit, & quam propè impossibile Intellectui nostro, in Superioribus ostendimus*. There always will be *Rational Natures*, which stand in need of a *Corporeal Indument*. Wherefore there will be always *Corporeal Nature*, as a necessary *Indument* or *Clothing* for these *Rational Creatures*. Unless anyone could show, that it is possible for the *Rational Nature* to live without a *Body*. Which how difficult and almost *Impossible* it is, to our *Understanding*, hath been already declared. *Aquinas* Affirmeth, *Origen* in this *Doctrine* of his, to have followed the *Opinion* of certain *Ancient Philosophers*; and undoubtedly it was the *Old Pythagorick Cabbala*, which the *Learned Origen* here adhered to; that ἡ λογικὴ σοφία, as it is in *Hierocles*,

Hierocles, and πᾶς ὁ λογικὸς διάνοις, *The Rational Nature made by God, that is, all Created Understanding Beings*, are neither *Body*, nor yet without *Body*; but have always a *Cognate* or *Congenite Body*, as their *Vehicle* or *Indument*. So that *Angels* or *Demons* as well according to *Origen*, as *Hierocles*, are all of them *Incorporeal Substances*, not *Naked* and *Abstract*, but *Clothed* with certain *Subtile Bodies*; or *Animals* compounded and made up of *Soul* and *Body* together.

Wherefore *Huetius* and other learned men, seem not well to have understood *Origen* here, but to have confounded *Two* different *Opinions* together, when they suppose him, to have asserted, *Angels* and all *Understanding Creatures*, not, to *Have Bodies*, but, to *Be Bodies*, and nothing else; and consequently, that there is no *Incorporeal Substance* at all, besides the *Deity*, Whereas *Origen* only affirmeth, that nothing besides the *Trinity*, could subsist and live alone, *absque ulla corporeæ adjectionis Societate, without the Society of any Corporeal Adjection*, and that the *Material Nature*, is only a *Necessary Indument*, or *Clothing*, of all *Rational* or *Understanding Creatures*. And in this Sense is it, that an *Incorporeal Life* is said by him, to be proper only to the *Trinity*: because all other *Understanding Beings*, are *Animals*, compounded of *Soul* and *Body* together. But that *Origen* acknowledged, even our *Humane Soul* it self, to be *Incorporeal*, as also that there is *Something* in *Angels Incorporeal*, might be made evident from *Sundry Passages* in his *Writings*; as this Particularly in his *Sixth Book* against *Celsus*, ἡμεῖς ἀπαμύατον εἶπεν ἐν ἱσμεν ἐκπυρρμένην, εἰς εἰς πῦρ ἀναλυομένην τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ ψυχῇ, ἢ τῷ ἀγγέλῳ ἢ δαίμονι, &c. ὑποσχόμεν. *We do not think, an Incorporeal Substance to be Combustible; nor that the Soul of Man can be resolved into Fire; or the Substance of Angels, Thrones, Dominions, Principalities, or Powers. Where by the Substance of Angels, he doubtless meant the Souls of them; Origen's Sense being thus declared by St. Jerom; In Libris &c. ἀγγέλων, Angelos, & Θρόνων, & Dominationes, & Potestates, & Rectores Mundi & Tenebrarum, & omne Nomen quod nominatur, dicit, Animas esse eorum Corporum, quæ vel Desiderio vel ministerio susceperint, That in his Book of Principles he affirmeth, Angels, and Thrones, and Dominions, and Powers, and the Governours of the Darkness of this world, and every Name that is named (in St. Paul) to be all of them, the Souls of certain Bodies, such as either by their own Desire and Inclination, or the Divine Allotment, they have received. Now there can be no Question made, but that he who supposed the Souls of men to be Incorporeal, in a strict Philosophick Sense, and such as could not suffer any thing from Fire, did also acknowledge Something Incorporeal in Angels. And thus doth he somewhere declare himself in that Book *Peri Archon, Per Christum creata dixit* (Paulus) *omnia Visibilia & Invisibilia; per quod declaratur, esse etiam in Creaturis quasdam Invisibiles, secundum proprietatem suam, Substantias; Sed hæc quamvis ipsæ non sunt Corporeæ, utuntur tamen Corporibus, licet ipsæ sunt Corporeæ Substantiæ meliores. Illa vero Substantia Trinitatis neque Corpus, neque In Corpore, esse credenda est: sed in toto Incorporea. When Paul affirmeth all things, Visible and Invisible, to have been Created by Christ, or the λόγος, he intimated that even amongst the Creatures, there are some properly Invisible**

Invisible Substances. Which Invisible Substances Created, though they be not Bodies, yet do they use Bodies, themselves being better than Corporeal Substance. But the Substance of the Trinity, is neither Body, nor yet in Body, but altogether Incorporeal. Wherefore Angelical and Humane Souls, are not as Huetius supposeth, called Incorporeal by Origen, only as Subtle Bodies sometimes are, by the more Simple and Unskilful ; but in a strict Philosophick sense ; only he supposed them to differ from the Deity in this, that though they be not Bodies, yet they are always In Bodies, or Clothed with Bodies : whereas the Deity is in Both senses Incorporeal, it having not so much as any Corporeal Indument. So that there is here no contradiction at all to be found in Origen ; he constantly asserting Angels, to have something Incorporeal In them as their Superiour Part, and not in that vulgar sense of a Subtle Body, but in the Philosophick ; nevertheless to Have also a Corporeal Indument or Clothing, as their Out side, or Lower Part : and in that regard only, He calling them Corporeal.

It is true indeed, that there were amongst the *Ancient Fathers*, some, who were so far from supposing *Angels* to be altogether *Incorporeal*, that they ran into the other *Extream*, and concluded them to have *Nothing* at all *Incorporeal* in them, but to be *meer Bodies*. But these either asserted, that there was no such thing at all as any *Incorporeal Substance*, and that not only *Angels*, and *Humane Souls*, but also *God himself*, was a *Body* : or at least they concluded, that nothing *Created* was *Incorporeal* ; and that *God*, though *Himself Incorporeal*, yet could *Create* nothing but *Bodies*. These are here the *Two Extreams*, One, that *Angels* have nothing *Corporeal* at all belonging to them : The Other, that they are altogether *Corporeal* ; or have *Nothing Incorporeal* in them : a *Middle* betwixt both which, is the *Origenick Hypothesis*, the same with the *Pythagorick* ; That in *Angels*, there is a *Complication* of *Incorporeal* and *Corporeal Substance* both together, or that they are *Animals* consisting of *Soul* and *Body*. We shall now make it appear, that the *Greater part* of the *Ancient Fathers*, were for neither of the *Two fore-mentioned Extreams* ; Either That *Angels* were wholly *Incorporeal*, or that they were wholly *Corporeal* ; but rather for the *Middle Hypothesis*, That they *Had Bodies*, and yet *Were not Bodies* ; But as other *Terrestrial Animals*, *Spirits* or *Souls*, *Clothed* with *Etherial* or *Aerial Bodies*. And that the *Generality* of the *Ancient and most Learned Fathers*, did not conceive *Angels* to be *meer Unbodied Spirits* ; is unquestionably *Evident* from hence, because they agreed with the *Greek Philosophers* in that *Conceit* ; that *Evil Demons* or *Devils*, were therefore delighted with the *Blood* and *Nidours* of *Sacrifices*, as having their more *Gross*, *Aiery*, and *Vaporous Bodies* nourished and refreshed with those *Vapours* ; which they did as it were *Luxuriate* and *Gluttonize* in. For thus does *Porphyrus* write concerning them, in his Book *De Abſtinentia*, *ἔτοι οἱ χαλεγοὶς λοιβῇ τε, κνίασῃ τε, δι' ὧν αὐτῶν, τὸ σωματικὸν καὶ πνευματικὸν παίνεται* : *ἔν τῷ τῷ αἵματι καὶ ἀναθυμιάμασι* . These are they, who take pleasure in the *Incense*, *Fumes*, and *Nidours* of *Sacrifices* ; wherewith their *Corporeal* and *Spirituous Part*, is as it were *Pinguified* : for this *Lives* and is *Nourished* by *Vapours* and *Fumigations*. And that before

before *Porphyrius*, many other Pagan Philosophers, had been of the same Opinion, appeareth from this of *Celsus*, *Χρη γδ ἴσως ἐν ἀπιστεῖν Orig. L. 8.*
ἀνδρῶσι σοφοῖς, οἱ δὲ φασι, διότι τῶ μὲν ἀγγέλων δαίμονων τὸ πλεῖστον
γενέσθαι συνετηκός, καὶ προσλαμβανόμενον αἵματι καὶ κνίσει, &c. We ought to
give Credit to wise men, who affirm, that most of these Lower and Cir-
cumterrean Demons, are delighted with Geniture, Bloud, and Nidour;
and such like things, and much gratified therewith: though they be not
able to do any thing more in way of recompence, then sometimes perhaps
to cure the Body; or to foretel good and evil Fortunes to Men and Cities.
 Upon which account himself though a zealous Pagan, perswadeth men, to moderation in the Use of these Sacrifices, as Principally gratifying the Inferiour and Worser Demons only. In like manner *O-*
rigen frequently insisteth upon the same thing, he affirming that *De-*
vils were not only delighted, with the Idolatry of the Pagans in their Sacrifices, but also, *ἀπὸ τῶ θυσῶν ἀναθυμιάσει καὶ ταῖς ἀπο τῶ αἱμάτων Cmt. Cels. L.*
καὶ ὁλοκαυτωμάτων ἀποφορεῖς τρέφεσθαι τὰ σώματα φιληδονούντων τοῖς τοῖς 7. P. 334.
τοῖς, That their very Bodies were Nourished by the Vapours and Fumes,
arising from them; and that these Evil Demons therefore did as it were
Deliciate and Epicurize in them. And before Origen, most of the
Ancient Fathers, as Justine Martyr, Athenagoras, Tatianus, Tertullian,
&c. and also many others after him, endeavour to disparage those
Material and Bloody Sacrifices, upon the same Account, as things
whereby Evil Demons were principally Gratified. We shall here
only cite one passage to this purpose out of St. Basil, or who ever
were the Author of that Commentary upon Isaiah, because there is
something Philosophick in it; δαίμονες διὰ τὸ φιληδονεῖν καὶ ἐμπαθεῖν, αἱ
θυσῖαι φέρονται πᾶσι ὕδεντι καὶ χρεῖαν ἐκθυμιάμεναι, διὰ τὸ καύσεως ἕχατ-
μιζομένους τῷ αἵματι, καὶ ἔτι διὰ τὸ τοιαύτης λεηλοποιήσεως, εἰς τὴν
οἴσασιν αὐτῶν ἀναλαμβανόμενοι. ὅλοι γδ δι' ὅλων τρέφονται τοῖς ἀτμοῖς, καὶ
διὰ μασητικῆς καὶ κοιτίας, ἀλλ' ὥς αἱ τελεῖς πόντων ζώων καὶ ὄνυχες, καὶ ὅσα
τοιαῦτα εἰς ὅλῳ ἐαυτῶν τὴν ἔσταν, τὴν τρεφὴν καὶ ἀδεχέσθαι, Sacrifices are
things of no small pleasure and advantage to Demons, because the Blood be-
ing evaporated by Fire and so attenuated, is taken into the Compages and
Substances of their Bodies: The whole of which is throughout, nourished
with Vapours, not by Eating, and Stomachs, or such like Organs, but as the
Hairs and Nails of all Animals and whatsoever other things Receive
nourishment into their whole Substance. And thus do we see it undeni-
ably manifest, that many of the Ancient Fathers, supposed Devils to
have Bodies; neither can it at all be doubted, but that they con-
cluded the same of Angels too; these being both of the same kind,
and differing but as Good and Evil men. And though they do not
affirm this of Good Angels, but of Devils only, that they were thus
Delighted and Nourished with the Fumes and Vapours of Sacrifices,
and that they Epicurized in them; yet was not the reason hereof, be-
cause they conceived them, to be altogether Incorporeal; but to have
Pure Etherial or Heavenly Bodies: it being proper to those Gross and
Vaporous Bodies of Demons only to be Nourished and Refreshed after
that manner. And Now that all these Ancient Fathers, did not sup-
pose either Angels or Devils, to be altogether Corporeal, or to have
nothing but Body in them, may be concluded from hence, because
many of them plainly declared the Souls of Men to be Incorporeal,

and therefore it cannot be imagined, that they should so far degrade Angels below Men, as not to acknowledge them, to have any thing at all *Incorporeal*.

But we shall now Instance in some few amongst many of these *Ancients*, who plainly asserted both *Devils* and *Angels* to be *Spirits Incorporate*; and not to be meer *Bodies*, but only to have *Bodies*; that is, to consist of *Soul* and *Body*, or *Incorporeal* and *Corporeal Substance* joyned together. That Angels themselves have *Bodies* is every where declared by *St. Austin*, in his Writings; he affirming, that the *Bodies* of Good men after the *Resurrection*, shall be *Qualia sunt Angelorum Corpora*, Such as are the *Bodies* of *Angels*, and that they shall be *Corpora Angelica in Societate Angelorum*, *Angelical Bodies*, fit for *Society* and *Converse* with *Angels*: and declaring the difference, betwixt the *Bodies* of *Angels* and of *Devils*, in this manner, *Damones antequam transgredirentur, Cœlestia Corpora gerebant, quæ conversa sint ex pœna in Aream Qualitatem, ut jam possint ab Igne Pati*, That though *Devils* before the *Transgression* had *Celestial Bodies* as *Angels* now have, yet might these afterwards in way of *Punishment*, be changed into *Aerial ones*, and such as now may suffer by *Fire*. Moreover the same *St. Austin*, some where calleth Good *Angels*, by the name of *Animæ Beatæ atque Sanctæ*, *Happy and Holy Souls*, And though it be true, that in his *Retractions* he recalleth and correcteth this; yet was this only a *Scruplesity* in that *Pious Father*, concerning the meer word, because he no where found in *Scripture*, *Angels* called by the name of *Souls*: it being far from his meaning even there to deny them, to be *Incorporeal Spirits*, joyned with *Bodies*. And certainly he who every where concludes, *Humane Souls* to be *Incorporeal*, cannot be thought to have supposed, *Angels* to have nothing at all but *Body* in them. Again *Claudianus Mamertus*, writing against *Faustus*, who made *Angels* to be meer *Bodies*, without *Souls*, or any thing *Incorporeal*, maintaineth in way of *Opposition*; not that they are meer *Incorporeal Spirits*, without *Bodies* (which is the other *Extream*) but that they consist of *Corporeal* and *Incorporeal*, *Soul* and *Body*, Joyned together; he writing thus of the *Devils*, *Diabolus ex Duplici diversaque Substantia constat: & Corporeus est & Incorporeus*, The Devil consisteth of a double and different Substance; he is *Corporeal*, and he is also *Incorporeal*. And again of *Angels*, *Patet Beatos Angelos, Utriusque Substantiæ, & Incorporeos esse in ea sui parte, qua ipsis Visibilis Deus; & in ea itidem Parte Corporeos, qua hominibus sunt ipsi Visibiles*. It is manifest, that the blessed *Angels*, are of a *Two-fold Substance*; that they are *Incorporeal*, in that part of theirs wherein *God* is *Visible* to them, and again *Corporeal*, in that other Part, wherein themselves are *Visible* to men. Moreover *Fulgentius* writeth concerning *Angels* in this manner; *Planè ex Duplici eos esse Substantia asserunt Magni & Docti Viri. Id est, Ex Spiritu Incorporeo, quo à Dei contemplatione nunquam recedunt; & ex Corpore per quod ex tempore hominibus apparent. Corpora vero Æthereæ, id est, Igneæ, eos dicunt habere, Damones vero Corpus Aereum*. Great and learned men affirm, *Angels* to consist of a *Double Substance*, that is, of a *Spirit Incorporeal*, whereby they contemplate *God*; and of a *Body* whereby they are sometimes *Visible* to men; as also that they have

Etherial

Ethereal or Fiery Bodies, but Devils Aereal. And perhaps this might be the meaning of *Joannes Thessalonicensis*, in that Dialogue of his, read and approved of in the Seventh Council, and therefore the meaning of that Council it self too, when it is thus declared, νοερες μὲν αὐτὰς ἢ καθολικὴ ἐκκλησία γινώσκει, ἔ μὲν ἀσώματους πλὴντι καὶ ἀοράτους, λεησώματους δὲ, καὶ αἰεράδους, ἢ πυράδους, &c. *That the Catholick Church acknowledges Angels, to be Intellectual, but not altogether Incorporeal and Invisible; but to have certain Subtle Bodies, either Aery or Fiery.* For it being there only denied, that they were *Altogether Incorporeal*, one would think the meaning should not be, that they were *Altogether Corporeal*; nor indeed could such an Opinion be fastened upon the *Catholick Church*; but that they were partly *Incorporeal*, and partly *Corporeal*; this being also sufficient in order to that design, which was driven at in that Council. However *Pfellus*, who was a Curious Enquirer into the Nature of *Spirits*, declares it not only as his own Opinion, but also as agreeable to the Sense of the *Ancient Fathers*, ὡς ἐκ ἀσώματων τὸ δαιμόνιον ἔστι φύλον, μετὰ ζώων δὲ γὰρ, *That the Demoniack or Angelick kind of Beings, is not altogether Incorporeal, or Bodiless, but that they are conjoyned with Bodies, or have Cognate Bodies belonging to them.* Who there also further declares the Difference, betwixt the *Bodies* of Good Angels and of Evil Demons, after this manner, τὸ μὲν γὰρ ἀγγελικόν, αὐγὰς πινὰς ἔχειν ὡς ζῶον, τοῖς ἐκτὸς ὀφθαλμοῖς ἔστιν ἀφόρητόν τε καὶ ἀνυπόστατον· τὸ δαιμόνιον δὲ, εἰ μὲν τοῖσιν ὅπου ἦν, ἐκ οἷα εἶπεν, ἔοικεν δὲ ἔν, ἐωζφόρον ἢ ζῶον τὴν ἐκπεσόντα καὶ νομομαζόν· οὐν δὲ ἀλλὰ ζοφῶδες οἶον καὶ ἀμαυρὸν ἔστι, καὶ τοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς λυπηρὸν, γυμνωθέν τῷ συζύγῳ φωτός· καὶ τὸ μὲν ἀγγελικόν παντοκράτειρον ἔστι αὐτὸν· διὸ καὶ διὰ πάντα ἔστι σπερσ διαδύον καὶ δύνον, καὶ τὸ ἡλιακὸς ἀκτίνων ὃν ἀπαύσερον· τὴν μὲν γὰρ διὰ σωματῶν διαφανῶν ἴσταν, ἀποστέγει τὰ γὰρ καὶ ἀλαμπὴ ὡς καὶ κλάσιν ὑπομένειν, ἅτε δὴ ἐνυλον ἔχουσιν· τὰ δὲ ἔστιν ἔστι πρόσταντες, οἷα μηδεμίαν ἔχοντι πρὸς μηδὲν ἀντίστασιν· τὰ δὲ δαιμόνια ζώοντα, καὶ ὑπὸ λεησότητος ἀφανῆ κατέστηκεν, ἀλλ' ὁμοῦς ἐνυλὰ πη, καὶ ἐμπαθῆ, καὶ μάστιγι· ὅσα τὰς ὑπὸ γῆν ὑποδεδυκε τύπας· ταῦτα γὰρ τοσαύτην ἔχει τὴν σύστασιν, ὡς καὶ ἀφανῆς ὑποπτήσιν, καὶ πληθύνοντα ὀδυνοῦσθαι, καὶ πρὸς προσομιλήσαντα καίεσθαι. *The Angelical Body sendeth forth Rays and Splendours, such as would dazle Mortal Eyes, and cannot be born by them. But the Demoniack Body, though it seemeth to have been once such also, (from Iſaias his calling him that fell from Heaven Lucifer) yet is it now Dark and Obscure, Foul and Squalid, and grievous to behold, it being deprived of its Cognate Light and Beauty. Again the Angelical Body, is so devoid of gross Matter, that it can pass through any Solid thing, it being indeed more Impassible, than the Sunbeams; for though these can Permeate Pellucid Bodies, yet are they hindered by Earthy and Opaque, and refracted by them; whereas the Angelical Body is such, as that there is no thing so Imporous or Solid, that can resist or exclude it. But the Demoniack Bodies, though by reason of their Tenuity, they commonly escape our sight, yet have they notwithstanding Gross Matter in them, and are Patible, especially those of them, which inhabit the Subterraneous places; for these are of so Gross a Consistency and Solidity, as that they sometimes fall also under Touch, and being stricken have a Sense of Pain, and are capable of being burnt with Fire. To which purpose, the Thracian there addeth more afterwards from the*

P. 94.

Information of *Marcus* the Monk, a person formerly Initiated in the *Diabolick Mysteries*; and of great *Curiosity*, τὸ δαιμόνιον ἄρα πνεῦμα διό-
λα ὃν καὶ φύσιν αἰσθητὴν καὶ πᾶν ἑαυτὸς μένει, ἀμέσως ὅρα τε καὶ αἰσ-
εῖ, καὶ τὰ τῆς ἀφῆς ὑπομένει πάσῃ, διακείμενον ὀδυνᾶται καὶ τῇ σωματικῇ
τῇ σφραγίδι· ταύτῃ τῶν διενεγκόντων, ὅτι τὰ μὲν ἄλλα τῇ διερεθύντῃ, μόλις
ἢ ἔδαμῶς ἐλθὼν τὸ ὃ διακείμενον ἐνδὺς συμφύεται, καθάπερ ἄερα ἢ καὶ ὕ-
δατος μοδα μεταξὺ πνέου ἐμπέτοντα σφραγίδι· ἀλλ' εἰ καὶ ἴσῃον ἢ λόγου
τῷ τὸ πνεῦμα συμφύεται, πλὴν ἀνιάται κατ' αὐτὸ τὸ γίνεσθαι τὴν διαίρεσιν·
The Demoniack Spirit or Subtle Body, being in every part of it capable of
Sense, does immediately See and Hear, and is also Obnoxious to the affe-
ctions of Touch: insomuch that being suddainly divided or cut in two, it
hath a Sense of Pain, as the Solid Bodies of other Animals have; it differ-
ing from them only in this, that those other Bodies, being once discontinu-
ed, are not easily consolidated together again, whereas the Demoniack Body,
being divided, is quickly redintegrated by Coalescence, as Air or Water. Ne-
vertheless it is not without a Sense of Pain, at that time, when it is thus
divided, &c. Moreover the same *Marcus* affirmeth the Bodies of
these *Demons* to be *Nourished* also, though in a different manner,
from ours, τρέφονται οἱ μὲν δὲ εἰς πνοῆς, ὡς τὸ ἐν ἀρτηρίαις καὶ ἐν νῆδραις
πνεῦμα· οἱ δὲ δὲ ὑπερτίθηται, ἀλλ' ὅς ἐστι κατ' ἡμᾶς, ἀλλ' ὡς περὶ σπύ-
γῃ καὶ ὀρεοκώδεμα, σπῶντες μὲν τῇ ὀρεοκώδεμα ὑπερτίθηται ἔξωθεν·
They are some of them Nourished by Inspiration, as the Spirit contained
in the Nerves and Arteries; others by sucking in the adjacent Moisture;
not as we do by mouths, but as Sponges and Testaceous Fishes. And now
we may venture to conclude, that this *Opinion* of Angels being not
meer *Abstract Incorporeal Substances*, and *Unbodied Minds*, but con-
sisting of Something *Incorporeal*, and Something *Corporeal*, that is,
of *Soul* or *Spirit*, and *Body* Joyned together, is not *only* more agree-
able to *Reason*, but hath also had more suffrages amongst the *Ancient*
Fathers, and those of greater weight too, than either of those
Two other Extrems, viz. That Angels are meer *Bodies*, and have
nothing at all *Incorporeal* in them; or else, that they are altogether
Incorporeal, without any *Bodily Indument* or *Clothing*.

Notwithstanding which this latter Opinion hath indeed prevailed
most in these Latter Ages; *Time* being rightly compared to a *River*,
which quickly sinks the more *Weighty* and *Solid things*, and bears
up only the *Lighter* and more *Superficial*. Though there may be
other *Reasons* given for this also, as partly because the *Aristotelick*
Philosophy when generally introduced into *Christianity*, brought in
its *Abstract Intelligences* along with it; and partly because, some *Spu-*
rious Platonists talking so much of their *Henades* and *Noes*, their
Simple Monads and *Immoveable Unbodied Minds*, as the Chief of
their *Generated* and *Created Gods*; probably some *Christians* might
have a mind, to vie their *Angels* with them. And lastly, because
Angels are not only called in *Scripture Spirits*, but also by Several of
the *Ancients* said to be *Incorporeal*; whilst this in the mean time, was
meant only either in respect of that *Incorporeal Part*, *Soul* or *Mind*,
which they supposed to be in them, or else of the *Tenuity* and *Sub-*
tlety of their *Bodies* or *Vehicles*. For this account does *Psellus* give

P. 30. 33.

hereof, καὶ τοῖς ἡμετέροις καὶ τοῖς δυνάμεν, εἰσὶν ὅτι, τὰ παχύτερα τῇ
σωμάτων

σωμάτων σωματοῦν λέγειν. ὃ δὲ λεηόμενος ὅτι καὶ τὴν οὐρανὸν διαφυλάττει, καὶ τὴν ἀφ' ἧς σώματα, καὶ μόνον οἱ καὶ ἡμεῖς, ἀλλὰ καὶ πολλοὶ τῶν ἐκτὸς ἀξιοῦσι λέγειν. *It is usual both with Christian Writers, and Pagans too, to call the Groffer Bodies Corporeal, and those which by reason of their Subtlety avoid both our Sight and Touch, Incorporeal.* And before Psellus, Joannes Thessalonicensis, in his Dialogue, approved in the Seventh Council; ἐὰν τις εὖ τις ἀσωμάτους καλεμένους τὰς ἀγγέλους, ἢ δαίμονας, ἢ ψυχάς, ὡς μὴ οὕτως ἐκ συμμίξεως τῶν ὑλικῶν τεσσάρων στοιχείων, καὶ τοιαῦτα σώματα παχέα καὶ ἀντίτυπα, οἷα ἡμεῖς θεωροῦμεθα, ἕως αὐτὸς περιήρῃσιν. *If you find Angels, or Demons, or Separate Souls called Sometimes Incorporeal, you must understand this in respect of the Tenuity of their Bodies only; as not consisting of the Groffer Elements, nor being so Solid and Antitypous as those which we are now Imprisoned in.* And before them both, Origen in the Proeme of his *Peri Archon*, where citing a passage out of an *Ancient Book*, Intituled, *The Doctrine of Peter*, wherein our Saviour Christ is said to have told his Disciples, That he was not δαιμόνιον ἀσώματον, an Incorporeal Demon, though rejecting the Authority of that Book; he thus interprets those words; *non idem Sensus ex isto sermone ἀσώματος indicatur, qui Græcis vel Gentilibus auctoribus ostenditur, quum de Incorporeâ Naturâ à Philosophis disputatur. In hoc enim Libello, Incorporeum Dæmonium dixit, pro eo quod ipse ille quicumque est habitus vel circumscriptio Dæmonici Corporis, non est similis huic nostro Crassiori, vel Visibili Corpori: sed secundum sensum ejus qui composuit illam Scripturam, intelligendum est quod dixit; non esse tale Corpus quale habent Dæmones, quod est naturaliter Subtile, & velut Aura Tenue; & propter hoc vel imputatur à multis vel dicitur Incorporeum; sed habere se Corpus Solidum & Palpabile.* The word ἀσώματον, or Incorporeal, is not to be taken here, in that sense wherein it is used, by the Greek and Gentile Writers, when they Philosophised concerning the Incorporeal Nature. But a Demon is here said to be Incorporeal, because of the Disposition of the Demoniack Body, not like to this Groff and Visible Body of ours. So that the sense is, as if Christ should have said, I have not such a Body, as the Demons have, which is naturally Subtile, Thin and Soft, as the Air, and therefore is either supposed to be by many, or at least called Incorporeal, but the Body which I now have, is Solid and Palpable. Where we see plainly that Angels, though supposed to have Bodies, may notwithstanding be called Incorporeal, by reason of the Tenuity and Subtlety of those Bodies, comparatively with the Groffness and Solidity of these our Terrestrial Bodies. But that indeed which now most of all inclineth some to this Perswasion, That Angels have nothing at all Corporeal hanging about them, is a Religious regard to the Authority of the Third Lateran Council, having passed its Approbation upon this Doctrine; as if the Seventh Oecumenical (so called) or Second Nicene, wherein the contrary was before owned and allowed, were not of equal force, at least to counterbalance the other.

But though this Doctrine of Angels, or all Created Understanding Beings Superiour to men, having a Corporeal Indument or Clothing, does so exactly agree with the Old Pythagorick Cabbala, yet have we reason to think, that it was not therefore meerly borrowed or derived,
from

from thence, by the *Ancient Fathers*; but that they were led into it, by the Scripture it self. For first, the *Historick Phenomena* of Angels in the Scripture, are such, as cannot well be otherwise Salved, than by supposing them to have Bodies; and then not to lay any stress upon those words of the Psalmist, *Who maketh his Angels Spirits, and Ministers a flame of fire* (though with good reason by the *Ancient Fathers* interpreted to this sense) because they may possibly be understood otherwise, as sometime they are by *Rabbinical Commentators*: nor to insist upon those passages of *S. Paul*, where he speaks of the *Tongues of Angels*, and of the *Voice of an Arch-Angel*, and such like, there are several other Places in Scripture, which seem plainly to confirm this Opinion. As first, that of our Saviour before mentioned to this purpose, *Luke the 20. the 35. They who shall be accounted worthy, to obtain that world, and the Resurrection from the dead, neither Marry nor are given in Marriage, neither can they die any more; for they are Equal unto the Angels.* For were Angels utterly devoid of all Bodies, then would the Souls of Good men, in a State of Separation, and without any Resurrection, be rather Equal to Angels, than after a Resurrection of their Bodies. Wherefore the Natural meaning of these words seems to be this, (as *St. Austin* hath interpreted them) that the Souls of Good men, after the Resurrection, shall have *Corpora Angelica*, *Angelical Bodies*, and *Qualia sunt Angelorum Corpora*, such Bodies as those of Angels are. Wherein it is supposed, that Angels also have Bodies, but of a very different kind from those of ours here. Again, that of *St. Jude*, where he writeth thus of the Devils; *The Angels which kept not their First Estate* (or rather according to the *Vulgar Latin*, *Suum Principatum*, *Their own Principality*) *but left their Proper Habitation* (or *Dwelling House*) *hath he reserved in everlasting Chains, under darkness, unto the Judgement of the Great Day.* In which words, it is first Implied, that the Devils were Created by God Pure, as well as the other Angels, but that they kept not τὸ ἑαυτοῦ ἀρχὴν, *Their own Principality*, That is, their Lordly Power and Dominion over their Worser and Inferiour part, they having also a certain Duplicity in their Nature, of a Better and Worser Principle, of a Superiour Part, which ought to Rule and Govern, and of an Inferiour, which out to be Governed: nor is it indeed otherwise, easily conceivable, how they should be Capable of Sinning. And this Inferiour Part in Angels, seems to have a respect to something that is Corporeal or Bodily in them also, as well as it hath in men. But then in the next place, *St. Jude* addeth, as the Immediate Result and Natural Consequent of these Angels Sinning, that they thereby Left or Lost, τὸ ἴδιον οἶκον αὐτῶν, *Suum Proprium Domicilium*, That is, not only, their Dwelling Place at Large, those *Ethelial Countries*, and *Heavenly Regions* above, but also their Proper Dwelling House, or Immediate Mansion; to wit their Heavenly Body. For as much as that Heavenly Body, which Good men expect after the Resurrection, is thus called by *St. Paul*, τὸ οἶκον αὐτῶν ἡμῶν τὸ ἐξ ὀρανῶν, *Our Habitation, or Dwelling House that is from Heaven.* The Heavenly Body is the Proper House or Dwelling, Clothing or Indument, both of Angelical and Humane Souls; and this is that which makes them fit Inhabitants for the Heavenly Regions. This I say was the Natural effect and Consequent of these Angels Sinning, their Leaving or Loosing, their Pure Heavenly

De Gen. ad
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Heavenly Body, which became thereupon forthwith Obscured and Incrassated; the Bodies of Spirits Incorporate, always bearing a Correspondent Purity or Impurity to the different disposition of their Mind or Soul. But then again, in the last place, that which was thus in Part, the Natural Result of their Sin, was also by the Just Judgment of God, converted into their Punishment; For their *Ethereal Bodies*, being thus changed into Gross, Aerial, Feculent, and Vaporous ones, themselves were Immediately hereupon, as St. Peter in the Parallel Place expresseth it, ταρταραδυντες, Cast down into Tartarus, and there Imprisoned, or Reserved in Chains Under Darknes, until the Judgment of the Great Day. Where it is observable that the word ταρταρην, used by St. Peter, is the very same, that Apollodorus, and other Greek Writers frequently make use of, in a like case, when they speak of the Titan's being Cast down from Heaven: which seems to have been Really nothing else, but this Fall of Angels Poetically Mythologized. And by Tartarus here in all probability, is meant this Lower Caliginous Air, or Atmosphere of the Earth, according to that of St. Austin, concerning these Angels, Post Peccatum in hanc sunt detrusti Caliginem, ubi tamen & Aer, That after their Sin, they were thrust down down into the Misty darkness of this Lower Air. And here are they, as it were Chained and Fettered also, by that same Weight of their Gross and heavy Bodies, which first sunk them down hither, this not suffering them to reascend up, or return back to those Bright *Ethereal Regions* above. And being thus for the present Imprisoned in this Lower Tartarus, or Caliginous Air or Atmosphere, they are indeed here Kept and Reserved in Custody, unto the Judgment of the Great Day, and General Assizes: however they may notwithstanding in the mean time, seem to Domineer and Lord it for a while here. And Lastly our Saviours, Go ye Cursed into everlasting fire, prepared for the Devil and his Angels, seems to be a clear Confirmation of Devils being Bodied; because First to Allegorize this Fire into nothing but Remorse of Conscience, would indanger the rendering of other Points of our Religion uncertain also; but to say that Incorporeal Substances Ununited to Bodies, can be tormented with Fire, is as much as in us lieth, to expose Christianity and the Scripture, to the Scorn and Contempt of all Philosophers, and Philosophick Wits. Wherefore Pselmus P. 37. laies no small stress upon this Place, ἐμὶ μὲν ὡς τὸ τῶ Σωτῆρι λόγων πεπιζμένῳ ταῦτα, περὶ κολαδῆσθαι φαζόντων τὸς δαίμονας. ὁ πᾶς διὸν παθεῖν ἀσωμάτους οὐκ ἔστι; τὸ γὰρ ἀσώματον ἀμήχανον παθεῖν ὑπὸ σώματος. ἀνάγκη γὰρ σώμασιν αὐτοῖς τὴν κόλασιν ὑποδέχεσθαι πεφυκόσι πάσιν. I am also convinced of this, That Demons have Bodies, from the words of our Saviour affirming, That they shall be Punished with Fire: which how could it be, were they altogether Incorporeal? it being Impossible for that which is both it self Incorporeal, and Vitally Ununited to any Body, to suffer from a Body. Wherefore of necessity it must be granted, by us Christians, that Devils shall receive Punishment of Sense and Pain hereafter, in Bodies capable of Suffering.

Now if Angels in general, that is, all Created Beings Superiour to men, be Substances Incorporeal, or Souls Vitally United to Bodies; though not always the same, but sometimes of one kind and sometimes

times of another; and never quite Separate from all *Body*; it may seem probable from hence, that though there be other *Incorporeal Substances* besides the *Deity*, yet *Vita Incorporea*, a *Life perfectly Incorporeal* in the forementioned *Origenick Sense*, or *Sine Corporeæ Adjectionis Societate Vivere*, to *Live altogether without the Society of any Corporeal Adjection*, is a Privilege properly belonging to the *Holy Trinity* only; and consequently therefore, that *Humane Souls* when by *Death*, they are Develted of these *Gross Earthly Bodies*, they do not then *Live and Act Compleatly*, without the *Conjunction* of any *Body*, and so continue till the *Resurrection* or *Day of Judgment*: this Being a priviledge which not so much as the *Angels* themselves, and therefore no *Created Finite Being*, is capable of; the *Imperfection* of whose *Nature* necessarily requires the *Conjunction* of some *Body* with them, to make them up *Complete*; without which it is unconceivable, how they should either have *Sense* or *Imagination*. And Thus doth *Origen* Consentaneously to his own Principles, Conclude, ἡ τῇ ἑαυτῆς φύσιν ἀσώματον καὶ ἀσέθεν ψυχὴ, ἐν παντὶ σώματι πικρὸν τόπον τυγχάνουσα, δεῖλαι σώματι οἰκεῖν τῇ φύσιν τῷ τόπῳ ἐκείνῳ. ὁ περ ὅπως μὲν φορεῖ, ἀπειδυσαμένη πρὶν εἰσελθεῖν ἀνασφαῖον μὲν, πλείστον ἢ ὡς πρὸς τὰ δόξα. ὅπως ἡ ἐπειδυσαμένη ὡς πρὶν εἶχε, δεομένη κρείττονος ἐνδύματός ἐς τὰς καθαρωτέρας καὶ αἰθεράσι καὶ ὁρατοῖς τόποις. *Our Soul, which in its own Nature is Incorporeal and Invisible, in whatsoever Corporeal place it Existeth; doth always stand in need of a Body, suitable to the Nature of that place respectively. Which Body it sometimes beareth, having Put Off that which before was necessary, but is now Superfluous, for the Following State; and sometimes again Putting On something, to what before it had, now standing in need of some better Clothing, to fit it for those more Pure Etherial and Heavenly places.* But in what there follows, we conceive that *Origen's* sense having not been rightly understood, his words have been altered and perverted, and that the whole place ought to be read thus, Καὶ ἐκεῖθεν μὲν ἐπὶ τὴν τῆς γενέσεως ἐρχομένην, τὸ χεῖρομνον πρὸς τὴν ἐν τῇ ὑστερᾷ κωλύσας, ὡς ἦν ἐν αὐτῇ. ἐκεῖθεν ἡ ὑπὲρ ἐκείνου, ὃ ἦν ἀνασφαῖον τῷ ἐπὶ γῆς μέλλοντι διαζῆν. ἔτα πάλιν οὐκ ἐπὶ τῆς σκηνῆς, καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς οἰκίας ἀνασφαῖας πρὸς τῇ σκηνῇ, καταλύεσθαι μὲν φασιν οἱ λόγοι τὴν ἐπὶ γῆς οἰκίαν τῇ σκηνῇ, τὸ ἡ σκηνῇ ἐπειδυσασθαι οἰκίαν ἀχρεπύσιον, αἰώνιον ἐν τοῖς ὁρατοῖς. λέξαι ἡ οἱ τῇ δεῖν ἀνθρώποι, τὸ μὲν φθαρτὸν ἐνδύσασθαι αὐτὸ ἀφθαρτὸν. *The Sense whereof is this, The Soul descending hither into Generation, Put on first, that Body which was useful for it whilst to continue in the Womb; and then again afterward, such a Body as was necessary for it, to Live here upon the Earth in. Again it having here a Two fold kind of Body, the one of which is called σκηνῇ by St. Paul; (being a more Subtle Body, which it had before) the other the Superinduced Earthly House, necessarily subservient to this Schenosis here; the Scripture Oracles affirm, that the Earthly House of this Schenosis, shall be corrupted or dissolved, but the Schenosis it self, Superindue or Put On a House not made with hands; Eternal in the Heavens: The same declaring that the Corruptible shall put on Incorruption, and the Mortal Immortality. Where it is plain, that Origen takes that σκηνῇ in St. Paul (1 Cor. 5. 1.) for a Subtle Body, which the Soul had before its Terrene Nativity,*

Cont. Cels. L.
7. P. 353.

Nativity, and which Continues with it after death; but in good men will at last *Superindue*, or *Put on* (without Death) the Clothing of *Immortality*. Neither can there be a better *Commentary* upon this place of *Origen*, than those *Excerpts* out of *Methodius* the Martyr in *Photius*, though seeming to be Vitiated also; where, as we conceive, the sense of *Origen* and his Followers, is first contained in those words, *ἔπερν τὸ Σκῆνω, καὶ τὸ Σκῆνος ἡ οἰκία, καὶ ἔπερν ἡμεῖς ἀνδρὶ τὸ Σκῆνω*, *Thus Origen*
That in St. Paul the *τὸ Σκῆνω* is *One thing*; and the *Earthy House* of *plainly in his*
this Σκῆνω *Another thing*; and *We, that is, our Souls* a *Third thing*, *dis-* *Fifth Book,*
tinguish from both. And then it is further declared in this that follows, *(p. 244.)*
τὸ ζῶν κατὰ λυθραῖς τὸ ἀκωμόρως τὴν πρὸ τὸ ἀναστάσεως ἔξωσαν οἰκισιν αἱ ψυ- *That there is*
χαὶ ἀπὸ τῆς θεῶς, ἕως ἂν ἀνακαινοποιηθῶσιν ἡμῶν ἀπὸ τῶν ἀναλίσκωμεν τὴν διαφορὰ ἐ-
οικίαν. *ἔθεν καὶ γενάζομεν μὴ θέλοντες τὸ σῶμα ἀπενδύσασθαι ἀλλ' ἐπ' αὐτῷ πηγείν οἰκί-*
τῶ λοιπῶ ἐπενδύσασθαι ζῶν. *τὸ γὰρ οἰκισθῆναι τὸ ἔξ ἔργου, ὃ ἐπενδύσασθαι* *αὐτῶν ἢ ἔστι*
ἐπιθυμῶμεν ἢ ἀθανασία. *That this short Life of our Earthly Body being* *κατὰ λυθραῖς*
destroyed, our Soul shall then have before the Resurrection, a dwelling from *τῶν, καὶ Σκῆ-*
God, until we shall at last, receive it renewed, restored, and so made an In- *corruptible* *House.* *Wherefore in this we groan, desirous not to put off, all* *οἱ τὴν δικαιο*
Body, but to put on Life or Immortality upon the Body which we shall then *γενάζει βα-*
have. *For that House which is from Heaven, That we desire to put on, is* *ρῶμενοι, μὴ*
Immortality. *Moreover that the Soul is not altogether Naked after* *ἀπενδύσα-*
Death, the same Origen endeavours to confirm further from that of our *δαί, ἀλλὰ*
Saviour concerning the *Rich Man* and *Lazarus*, *ἀλλὰ καὶ ὁ κολαζόμενος* *τῶν Σκῆνω* *ἔ-*
πλῆτος, καὶ ὁ ἐν κόλποις Ἀβραάμ πένης ἀναπαυόμενος, πρὸ τὸ παρσείας τῶν *δαί.* *A dif-*
σωτήρος, καὶ πρὸ τὸ συντελείας τῶν αἰώνων, καὶ διὰ τῶν πρὸ τὸ ἀναστάσεως, δι- *ference, be-*
δάσκουσιν ὅτι καὶ νῦν ἐν τῇ ἀπαλλαγῇ σώματι χρεῖται ἡ ψυχή. *The Rich man* *twixt the*
Punished, and the Poor man refreshed in Abraham's bosom, before, the *Earthy*
Coming of our Saviour, and before the end of the world, and therefore before *House, in*
the Resurrection, plainly teaches, that even now also after Death, the Soul *which The*
useth a Body. He thinketh the same also to be further proved from the *that will be*
Visible Apparition of Samuel's Ghost, *ἀλλὰ καὶ ὁ Σαμὴλ φαινόμενος, ὡς dissolved; and*
δύλον ἔστιν ὁρατός ἂν, παρὶς τὸν ὅτι σῶμα περιέκτετο, Samuel also visibly the *Σκῆνος*
appearing after Death, maketh it manifest, that his Soul was then clothed it self, *wherein good*
with a Body. To which he adds in *Photius*, *τὸ τὸ ψυχῆς ἅμα τῇ ἀπαλλαγῇ* *men groan,*
χῆμα, ὁμοῦδὲς τῇ παχεὶ καὶ γυνερῇ σώματι, &c. *That the Exterior Form* *being burde-*
and Figure of the Souls Body after Death, doth resemble that of the Gross *ned, not that*
Terrestrial Body here in this Life. All the Histories of Apparitions, mak- *they would*
ing Ghosts or the Souls of the Dead, to appear in the same Form, which put it off, but
their Bodies had before. This therefore, as was observed, is that which *put on Im-*
Origen understands, by *τὸ σκῆνος* in *St. Paul*; not this *Gross Terrestrial* *mortality*
Body, but a certain Middle Body betwixt it, and the *Heavenly*, which the *upon it.*
Soul after Death, carries away with it. Now this Opinion of the *Learn-*
ed Origen, was never reckoned up by the *Ancient Fathers*, or his
greatest Adversaries, in the *Catalogue* of his *Errours*; nor does *Methodi-*
us the Martyr, who was so great an *Anti-Origenist*, where he mentions
this Origenick Opinion in *Photius*, seem to tax it otherwise, then as *Pla-*
tonically Implying, the *Soul* to be *Incorporeal.* *Methodius* himself on the
contrary contending, not that the *Soul* *Hath a Body* conjoyned with it
after Death, as a distinct thing from it, but that it self *Is a Body*;
ὁ θεὸς μόνος ἀδελφὸς ἀσώματος ἂν, αἱ δὲ ψυχαὶ ἀπὸ τῶν δημιουργῶν καὶ πατέρων
τῶν ὄλων, σώματα νοερά ὑπάρχουσαι, εἰς λόγον θεωρητὰ μέλη δια-
κεκόσμηται,

καὶ ὁ ὁμιλῶν, ταύτην λαοῦς ὁ τῷ διατύπωσιν· ἔθεν καὶ ἐν τῷ "Αδ' ἡ, γλῶσσαν, καὶ δάκτυλον, καὶ τὰ ἄλλα μέλη ἱερεῖται ἔχον· ὅς ὡς σώματος ἑτέρου συν-
 πέρχοντος αὐταῖς αὐταῖς ἀφ' ἑσ· ἀλλ' ὅτι αὐταὶ φύσις αἱ ψυχαὶ πάντες ἀ-
 πορμυνωθεῖσαι περιελήματος ταιαυταὶ ἔχ' τὴν εἶδαν ὑπέχουσι, *God is alone*
is praised as Incorporeal and Invisible : but Souls are made by him, (who
is the Father of all things) Intellectual Bodies, ornamentally branched
out (as it were) into Members distinguishable by Reason, and having the
same Form and Signature, with the outward Body. Whence is it, that
in Hades (or Hell) we Read of a Tongue, and a Finger, and other Mem-
bers, not as if there then were another Invisible Body Coexisting with
these Souls, but because the Souls themselves are in their own Nature (when
stripped naked of all Clothing) according to their very Essence such. We say
therefore; if one of these two Opinions must needs be entertained, that
either the Soul it self Is a Body, or else that it Hath a Body after Death ;
the Latter of them which was Origen's, ought certainly much to be
prefer'd before the Former, whether held in Tertullian's sense, that all
Substance, and consequently God himself, is Body ; or else in that of Me-
thodius, that all Created Substance is such ; God alone being Incorporeal.

But we have already showed, that Origen was not Singular in this Opinion, Irenæus before him having asserted the same thing, that Souls after Death, are Adapted to certain Bodies, (where the word in the Greek probably was *περὶ σῶμα*) which have the same Character with these Terrestrial ones ; and Philoponus after him, who was no Pagan but Christian Philosopher, Dogmatizing in like manner. We might here add, that Joannes Theſſalonicensis, in that Dialogue of his, read in the Seventh Synod, seemeth to have been of the same Perswasion also, when he affirmeth of Souls, as well as Angels and Demons, that they were, *ὁρατοὶ ὡς πλάτων αἰσθητὰς πλεονάμεις, τὰ εἶδ' ἡ οὐκ ὡς αὐτῶν σωμάτων*, Often seen by many Sensibly, in the Form of their own Bodies. However it is a thing, which Pſellus took for granted, where speaking of Devils, Insinuating their Temptations into mens Souls, by affecting immediately the Phantastick Spirit, he writeth after this manner, *ὁ λέγων, πῶς ὁ μὲν ἂν ἰσχυρῶς δέχεται κρυφῶς, αἰσθ' ὃ γινόμενον, εἰς τὸ πᾶν ἀκούσθ' ὅς ψιφίαν ὑποφωεῖ· καὶ εἰ ἐννῶν αὐτῷ συνελθεῖ πνέματι τ' ψυχῆς, ὁ δὲ ἂν ἐδεῖτο ψόφου, ἀλλ' ἦν ὃ ἔχ' βέλυσιν λόγου ἀψόφου κελύθου πρὸς τὸ δεχόμενον ἐξηγόμενος, ὃ φασὶ καὶ ταῖς ψυχαῖς ὁμιλοῦσθαι τῶν σωμάτων εἶναι· καὶ ὃ καὶ ταύτας ἀπλήτως ὁμιλεῖν ἀλλήλαις*. When one man speaks to another from afar off, he must (if he would be heard) make a loud cry or noise, whereas if he stood near to him, he might softly whisper into his ear. But could he immediately approach to the Spirit (or Subtle Body of the Soul,) he should not then need so much as to make a Whisper, but might silently and without noise, communicate whatsoever thoughts of his own to him, by Motions made thereupon. And this is said to be the way, that Souls, going out of these Bodies converse together ; they communicating their thoughts to one another without any Noise. For Pſellus here plainly supposeth, Souls after Death, to have πνεῦμα, that is, a certain Subtle Body, adhering to them, by Motions upon which, they may silently converse with each other. It is true indeed, that St. Austin in his Twelfth Book De Genesi ad Literam, does not himself close with this Opini-
 on,

P. 94.

on, of the Souls Having a Body after Death, but much less of its Being a Body: nevertheless does he seem to leave every man to his own Liberty therein, in these words; *Si autem Quæritur, dum Anima de Corpore exierit, Utrum ad aliqua loca Corporalia feratur, an ad Incorporalia Corporalibus similia; an verò nec ad ipsa, sed ad illud quod & Corporibus & Similitudinibus Corporum est Excellentius; Cuius quidem responderim; ad Corporalia loca eam vel non ferri nisi cum aliquo Corpore, vel non localiter ferri. Jam utrum habeat aliquod Corpus, Ostendat qui Potest; Ego autem non puto. Spiritalem enim arbitror esse non Corporealem, ad Spiritualia vero pro meritis fertur, aut ad Loca Pœnalia similia Corporibus.* But if it be demanded, when the Soul goes out of this Body, whether it be carried into any Corporal Places, or to Incorporals like to Corporals, or else to neither, but to that which is more excellent than both Bodies, and the likenesses of Bodies; the Answer is ready; that it cannot be carried to Corporal Places, or not Locally carried any whither, without a Body. Now whether the Soul have some Body, when it goes out of this Body, let them that can show: but for my part, I think otherwise. For I suppose the Soul to be Spiritual and not Corporal, and that after Death it is either carried to Spiritual things, or else to Penal Places like to Bodies, such as have been represented to some in Extasies, &c. Where St. Austin himself, seems to think, the Punishment of Souls after Death, and before the Resurrection, to be Phantastical, or only in Imagination. Whereas there could not be then so much as Phantastick Punishments neither, nor any Imagination at all in Souls, without a Body; if that Doctrine of Aristotle's be true, that Phancy or Imagination, is nothing else but a Weaker Sense; that is, a thing which results from a Complication of Soul and Body both together. But it is observable that in the forecited place, that which St. Austin chiefly opposed, was the Souls Being a Body, as Tertullian, Methodius, and others had asserted; but as for its Having a Body, he saith only this, *Ostendat qui potest, Let him that can shew it; He granting in the mean time, that the Soul cannot be Locally carried any whither at all after Death, nor indeed be in any place, without a Body.* However the same St. Austin, as he elsewhere condemneth, the Opinion of those, who would take the Fire of Hell Metaphorically, acknowledging it to be Real and Corporeal; so does he somewhere think it not improbable, but after Death, and before the Resurrection, the Souls of men may suffer, from a certain Fire, for the consuming and burning up of their dross, *Post istius sanè Corporis Mortem, donec ad illum Veniatur, qui post Resurrectionem Corporum futurus est Damnationis & Remunerationis Ultimus Dies; Si hoc temporis Intervallo, Eiusmodi Ignem dicuntur perpeti quem non sentiant illi, qui non habuerint tales mores & amores in huius Corporis Vita, ut Eorum Ligna, & Fœnum, & Stipula Consumantur: alii vero sentiunt qui eiusmodi secum adificia portaverunt, &c. non redarguo, quia forsitan Verum est.* If in this Interval of Time, betwixt the Death of the Body, and the Resurrection or Day of Judgment, the Souls of the Dead be said to suffer such a Fire as can do no Execution, upon those who have no Wood, Hay, nor Stubble to burn up; but shall be felt by such as have made such Buildings or Superstructures, &c. I reprehend it not, because perhaps it is True. The Opinion here mentioned, is thus Expressed by Origen, in his Fifth

De Civ. D.
Lib. 2. c. 26.

C. Cels. L. 3.
240.

Book against *Celsus*, which very place *St. Austin* seems to have had respect to, ὁ συνιδὼν ὅτι ὡς περ Ἑλλήνων πῶν ἔδοξε, τὸ πῦρ καὶ δάσενον ἐπαγγέλλαι τὰς κώρυκας· εἰκὸς δ' ὅτι καὶ ἐκείνους τῶν δομένων τὸ διὰ τὴν πύρρως δίκης καίοντο μὲν καὶ ὁ καὶ καίοντο τὰς μὴ ἐχούσας ὕλην δομένῃν ἀναλύεσθαι ὑπὸ ἐκείνῃ τῇ πύρρως· καίοντο ὅ καὶ κατακαίοντο τὰς ἐν τῇ διὰ τῶν προφάσεων καὶ λόγων καὶ νοημάτων τρεπτικῶς λεγομένην οἰκοδομὴν ξύλα, χεῖτον, ἢ καλὰ μιν οἰκοδομήσαντας· *Celsus did not understand, That this Fire as well according to the Hebrews and Christians, as to some of the Greeks, will be Purgatory to the World; as also to every one of those persons, who stand in need of such Punishment and Remedy by Fire; which Fire can do no Execution upon those, who have no combustible Matter in them, but will be felt by such as in the Moral structure, of their Thoughts, Words, and Actions, have built up Wood, Hay, and Stubble. Now since Souls cannot suffer from Fire, nor any thing else in way of Sense or Pain, without being Vitally United to some Body, we may conclude, that St. Austin when he wrote this, was not altogether abhorrent, from Souls having Bodies after Death.*

C. Cels. L. 5.
244.

Hitherto have we declared, How the *Ancient Asserters* of *Incorporeal Substance*, as *Unextended*, did repel the *Affaults* of *Atheists* and *Corporealists* made against it; but especially, How they quitted themselves of that *Absurdity*, of the *Illocality* and *Immobility* of *Finite Created Spirits*, by Supposing them always to be *Vitally United* to some *Bodies*, and consequently, by the *Locality* of those their respective *Bodies*, determined to *Here* and *There*: according to that of *Origen*, ἡ ψυχὴ ἡμῶν δεῖται σώματος, διὰ τὰς τοπικὰς μεταβάσεις, *Our Soul stands in need of a Body, in order to Local Motions.* We shall in the next place declare, what *Grounds of Reason* there were, which induced those *Ancients*, to assert and maintain a thing so repugnant to *Sense* and *Imagination*, and consequently to all *Vulgar Apprehension*, as a *Substance* in it self *Unextended*, *Indistant*, and *Indivisible*, or *Devoid of Magnitude* and *Parts*. Wherein we shall only represent the *Sense* of these *Ancient Incorporealists*, so far as we can, to the best advantage, in order to their *Vindication*, against *Atheists* and *Materialists*; our selves in the mean time, not asserting any thing; but leaving every one that can, to make his own *Judgment*; and so either to close with this, or that other following *Hypothesis*, of *Extended Incorporeals*.

Now it is here observable, That it was a thing formerly taken for granted on both sides, as well by the *Asserters*, as the *Deniers* of *Incorporeal Substance*, That there is but *One kind* of *Extension* only; and Consequently that whatsoever hath *Magnitude* and *Parts*, or *One Thing Without Another*, is not only *Intellectually* and *Logically*, but also *Really* and *Physically* *Divisible* or *Discernible*, as likewise *Antitypous* and *Impenetrable*; so that it cannot *Coexist* with a *Body*, in the same *Place*, from whence it follows, that whatsoever *Arguments* do evince, That there is some other *Substance* besides *Body*, the same do therefore *Demonstrate*; according to the *Sense* of these *Ancients*, (as well *Corporealists* as *Incorporealists*) that there is *Something Unextended*; it being supposed by them both alike, that whatsoever is

Extended

Extended, is Body. Nevertheless we shall here principally propound such Considerations of theirs, as tend directly to Prove, That there is something *Unextendedly Incorporeal*: And that an *Unextended Deity* is no *Impossible Idea*; to wit from hence, because there is something *Unextended* even in our very Selves. Where not to repeat the forementioned Ratiocination of *Simplicius*, That *whatsoever can Act and Reflect upon its Whole Self*, cannot possibly be Extended, nor have Parts Distant from one another; *Plotinus* first argues after this manner, τί ποῦν φήσουσιν, οἱ τιῷ ψυχῷ σῶμα εἶναι λέγοντες, πρῶτον μὲν P. 460. ὥστε ἕκαστος μέρος τῆς ψυχῆς τὸ ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ σώματι, πότερ' ἕκαστον ψυχῷ, οἷα θεὸς ἢ ὄλιγ; καὶ πάλιν τὸ μέρος τὸ μέρος; εἰδὲν ἄρα τὸ μέγεθος συνεβάλλετο τῇ εἰσῇ αὐτῆς. καίτοι εἰδὲν ποῦς ὅλος. ἀλλὰ καὶ ὅλον πολλὰ ἢ, ὅπερ σώμασι παρεῖναι ἀδύνατον, ἐν πλείοσι τὸ αὐτὸ ὅλον εἶναι, καὶ τὸ μέρος ὅπερ τὸ ὅλον ὑπερέχον· εἰ ἢ ἕκαστον τῶν μερῶν, ἢ ψυχὴν φήσουσιν, ἢ ἀψύχων ψυχῇ αὐτοῖς ὑπερέχον. *What then will they say, who contend, that the Soul is a Body (or Extended?) whether or no will they grant concerning every Part of the Soul in the same Body (as that of it which is in the Foot, and that in the Hand, and that in the Brain, &c.) and again every Part of those Parts, that each of them is Soul, such as the Whole? If this be consented to, then is it plain, that Magnitude or such a Quantity, would confer nothing at all, to the Essence of the Soul, as it would do, were it an Extended Thing: but the Whole, would be in many Parts or Places; which is a thing that cannot possibly belong to Body; That the same Whole, should be in more; and That a Part, should be, what the whole is. But if they will not grant, every Part of their Extended Soul, to be Soul, then according to them must the Soul be Made up, and Compounded of Soul-less Things. Which Argument is else where again thus propounded by him, εἰ ἢ En. 4. L. 7. c. 2. ἕκαστον ζῶν ἔχει, καὶ ἐν ἀρκεί· εἰ ἢ μὲνενός αὐτῶν ζῶν ἔχειλος ἢ συνόδος πεποικίλη ζῶν, ἄτοπον· μάλλον ἢ ἀδύνατον συμφορῆσιν σωμάτων ζῶν ἐργάζεσθαι, καὶ νῦν γενῶν τὰ ἀντίτα· If every one of the Parts of this Extended Soul, or Mind, have Life in it, then would any one of them alone be sufficient. But to say, that though none of the Parts alone have Life in them, yet the Conjunction of them altogether, maketh Life, is absurd; it being impossible, that Life and Soul should result from a Congeries of Lifeless and Souless things; or that Mindless things put together, should beget Mind. The sum of this Argumentation is this, That either every part of an Extended Soul is Soul, and of an Extended Mind, Mind; or not. Now if no Part of a Soul, as supposed to be Extended, alone be Soul or have Life and Mind in it, then is it certain that the Whole resulting from all the Parts, could have no Life nor Mind; because Nothing can (Causally) come from Nothing. It is true indeed, that Corporeal Qualities and Forms, according to the Atomick Physiology, result from a Composition and Contexture of Atoms or Parts, each of which taken alone by themselves, have nothing of that Quality or Form in them,*

— — Ne ex Albis Alba rearis;

Aut ea quæ Nigrant, nigro de Semine nata.

You are not to think, that White things are made out of White principles, nor Black things out of Black; but the Reason of the difference here

here is plain, because these *Qualities* and *Forms* are not *Entities Really* distinct from the *Magnitude, Figure, Site, and Motion* of Parts, but only such a Composition of them, as cause different *Phancies* in us; but *Life* and *Understanding, Soul and Mind*, are *Entities Really* distinct from *Magnitude, Figure, Site, and Motion* of Parts, they are neither meer *Phancies*, nor *Syllables* of things, but *Simple and Uncompounded Realities*. But if every supposed *Part* of a *Soul* be *Soul*, and of a *Mind, Mind*; then would all the rest of it besides any *One Part*, be *Superfluous*: or indeed every supposed *Part* thereof, would be the *Same with the Whole*; from whence it follows, that it could not be *Extended*, or have any *Real Parts* at all, since no *Part* of an *Extended* thing, can possibly be the *Same with the Whole*.

Again the same Philosopher endeavours further to prove, that the *Humane Soul* it self, is *Unextended* and *Indivisible*, from its *Energies* and *Operations*, and that as well those of *Sensation* as of *Intellection*, **First** therefore from *External Sensations*, he Reasons in this manner,

P. 461. εἴτι μέλλει αἰσθάνεσθαι τινος ἐν αὐτῷ δὲ εἶναι, καὶ τὰ αὐτὰ πάντως ἀντιλαμβάνεσθαι· καὶ εἰ διὰ πολλῶν αἰσθητικῶν πλεον τὰ εἰσπίττα, ἢ πολλὰ αὐτῷ ἐν ποίησι, καὶ δι' ἐνὸς ποικίλον, οἷον πρὸς ὥτον· ὅ δ' ἄλλο μὲν εἶναι ἄλλο ὅ φασιν αἰσθάνεσθαι, ἀλλὰ ταῦτον ὅμῃ πέντων· καὶ εἰ τὸ μὲν δι' ὁμμάτων τὸ δ' δι' αἰσθῆς, ἐν τῷ δὲ εἶναι εἰς ὃ ἀμφω· ἢ πᾶς ἐν εἰποι ὅτι ἕτερον ταῦτα, μὴ ἐς τὸ αὐτὸ ὅμῃ τῷ αἰσθῆσι ἐλθόντων· *That which perceiveth in us, must of necessity be One thing, and by One and the same Indivisible, perceive all; and that whether they be more things, entering through several Organs of Sense, as the many Qualities of one Substance; or One Various and Multiform thing, entering through the same Organ; as the Countenance or Picture of a man. For it is not One thing in us, that perceives the Nose, another thing the Eyes, and another thing the Mouth; but it is one and the self same thing, that perceiveth all. And when one thing enters through the Eye, another through the Ear, these also must of necessity come all at last to one Indivisible, or else they could not be compared together, nor one of them affirmed to be different from another? The several Sentiments of them meeting no where together in One. He concludes therefore, that this One thing in us, that sensibly perceives all things, may be resembled to the Centre of a Circle, and the several Senses, to Lines drawn from the Circumference, which all meet in that one Centre. Wherefore that which perceives and apprehends all things in us, must needs be Really One, and the very same; that is, Unextended and Indivisible. Which Argument, is yet further pursued by him, more particularly thus. If that which sensibly perceiveth in us, be Extended, so as to have Distant Parts, one without another, then one of these Three things must needs be affirmed; That either Every Part of this Extended Substance of the Soul perceives a Part of the Object only; or every Part of it the Whole Object, or else all comes to some One Point, which alone perceives, both the several Parts of the Object, and the Whole, all the other, being but as Circumferential Lines leading to this Center. Now of the Former of those Three Plotinus thus; μετὰ οὗτοι τῶν, Συμμερίζοιτο ἂν· ἄρα ἄλλο ἄλλως μέρεσ, καὶ μηδὲν ἡμῶν ὅλως τῷ αἰσθῆσι ἀντιληψὶν ἔχον· ὥστε ἂν εἰ ἐγὰρ μὲν ἄλλως· οὐ δ' ἄλλως αἰσθῆσι· *If the Soul be a Magnitude, then must it be divided together with the Sensible Object, so that one Part of the Soul must**

must perceive one Part of the Object, and another, another; and nothing in It, the Whole Sensible: just as if I should have the sense of one thing, and you of another. Whereas it is plain by our Internal Sense, That it is One and the Self same thing in us, which perceives, both the Parts and the Whole. And of the Second, he writeth in this manner, εἰ δὲ ὅτις πᾶντος αἰσθῆσθαι. εἰς ἅπασα διαρρέει τὸ μέγεθος πεφυκότες ἅπασες καὶ αἰσθῆσθαι καὶ ἕκαστον αἰσθῆσθαι συμμεσθῆσθαι ἕκαστον οὐδὲν αὐτὸ ἅπασας ἐν τῷ ἐκτεταμένῳ ἡμῶν εἶναι. But if every Part of the Extended Soul, perceive the Whole Sensible Object, since Magnitude is Infinitely Divisible, there must be in every man Infinite Sensations, and Images of one and the same Object. Whereas we are Intimately Conscious to our selves, That we have but only One Sensation of One Object at the same time. And as for the Third and Last Part of the Disjunction, That what Sensibly Perceives in every one, is but One Single Point, either Mathematical or Physical. It is certain first that a Mathematical Point, having neither Longitude, Latitude, nor Profundity, is no Body nor Substance, but only a Notion of our own Mind, or a Mode of Conceiving in us. And then as for a Physical Point or Minimum, a Body so Little that there cannot possibly be any Less, Plotinus asserting the Infinite Divisibility of Body, here explodes the thing it self. However he further intimates, that If there were any such Physical Minimum, or Absolutely Least Body or Extensum, this could not possibly receive upon it a Distinct Representation and Delineation, of all the several Parts of a Whole Visible Object at once, as of the Eyes, Nose, Mouth, &c. in a man's Face or Picture; or of the Particularities of an Edifice: nor could such a Parvitude or Atom as this, be the Cause of all Animal Motions. And this was one of Aristotle's Arguments, whereby he would prove Unextended Incorporeals, πῶς τὸ ἀμεγέθει τὸ μέγιστον. If the Soul were Indivisible as a Point, how could it Perceive, that which is Divisible? that is, take notice of all the Distinct Parts of any Extended Object, and have a Description of the whole of them at once upon it self? The Sum of the whole Argumentation is this, That If the Soul be an Extended Substance, then must it of necessity be either a Physical Point or Minimum, the Least Extensum that can possibly be, (if there be any such Least, and Body or Extension be not Infinitely Divisible) or else it must consist of more such Physical Points, joyned together. As for the former of these, it hath been already declared to be Impossible, that one Single Atom, or Smallest Point of Extension, should be able distinctly to perceive all the variety of things: to which might be added, That to suppose every Soul to be but one Physical Minimum, or Smallest Extensum, is to imply such an Essential Difference in Matter or Extension, as that some of the Points thereof, should be Naturally devoid of all Life, Sense, and Understanding, and others again Naturally Sensitive and Rational. Which Absurdity though it should be admitted, yet would it be utterly Unconceivable, how there should come to be, One such Sensitive and Rational Atom in every man and no more, and how this should constantly remain the same, from Infancy to Old-Age, whilst other Parts of Matter Transpire perpetually. But as for the Latter; If Souls be Extended Substances, consisting of More Points, one without another; all Concurring in every Sensation,

sation, then must every one of those *Points*, either Perceive a *Point* and *Part* of the *Object* only, or else the *Whole*. Now if every *Point* of the *Extended Soul*, Perceive only a *Point* of the *Object*, then is there no *One Thing* in us, that *Perceives the Whole*; or which can compare one *Part* with another. But if every *Point* of the *Extended Soul*, Perceive the *Whole Object* at once, consisting of many *Parts*, then would there be *Innumerable Perceptions* of the same *Object* in every *Sensation*; as many, as there are *Points* in the *Extended Soul*. And from both those *Suppositions*, it would alike follow, that no man is *One Single Percipient* or *Person*, but that there are *Innumerable distinct Percipients* and *Persons* in every man. Neither can there be any other *Supposition* made, besides those *Three* forementioned; as That the whole *Extended Soul*, should Perceive both the *Whole Sensible Object*, and All its several *Parts*, no *Part* of this *Soul* in the meantime having any *Perception* at all by it self; because the *Whole* of an *Extended Being*, is nothing but *All the Parts* taken together; and if none of those *Parts* have any *Life*, *Sense*, or *Perception* in them, it is *Impossible*, that there should be any in the *Whole*. But in very truth, to say that the *Whole Soul* Perceiveth all, and no *Part* of it any thing; is to acknowledge it, not to be *Extended*, but to be *Indivisible*; which is the *Thing* that *Plotinus* contends for.

And that *Philosopher* here further insists upon *Internal Sensations* also, and that Συμπόθεα, or ὁμοπόθεα, That *Sympathy*, or *Homopathy*, which is in all *Animals*, to the same purpose: It being *One* and the *Same* thing in them, which *Perceives Pain*, in the most distant *Extremities* of the *Body*; as in the *Sole* of the *Foot*, and in the *Crown* of the *Head*, and which moves one *Part* to succour and relieve another labouring under it, which could not possibly be by *Traduction* of all, to one *Physical Point*, as the *Centre*, for divers *Reasons*. Εἰ τοίνυν ἡ διάδοσις ἐκ οἷοντε τῷ αἰσθάνει τῷ τοῖς τῷ αἰσθάνει, μὴ ὅτι σώματος οἷον οἷον, ἄλλος παθόντος, ἄλλο γινώσκον ἐχόν (πάντες γὰρ μέγας τὸ μὲν ἄλλο, τὸ δὲ ἄλλο ὅτι) δὲ τοῖς τῷ αἰσθάνει τὸ αἰσθάνομενον, οἷον πανταχῶς αὐτῷ τὸ αὐτὸ εἶναι. τὸ τὸ δὲ ἄλλω πῶς ὄντων ἢ σώματι ποιεῖν περὶ τῆς. Since therefore these *Sympathetick Senses*, cannot possibly be made by *Traduction*, at last to *One thing*; and *Body* being *Bulkie* or *Out-swelling Extension*, *One Part* thereof *Suffering*, another cannot *Perceive* it, (for in all *Magnitude*, *This* is *One thing*, and *That* *Another*) it followeth, that what *Perceives* in us, must be every where, and in all the *parts* of the *Body*, *One* and the *Same* thing with it self. Which therefore cannot be it self *Body*, but must of necessity be some other *Entity* or *Substance* *Incorporeal*. The *Conclusion* is, that in *Men* and *Animals*, there is *One thing* *Indivisibly* the *Same*, that *Comprehendeth* the *Whole Outside* of them, *Perceiveth* both the *Parts*, and the *Whole* of *Sensible Objects*, and all transmitted through several *Senses*; *Sympathizeth* with all the *Distant Parts* of the *Body*; and *Acteth* entirely upon all. And this is properly called, *I My Self*, not the *Extended Bulk* of the *Body*, which is not *One* but *Many Substances*, but an *Unextended* and *Indivisible Unity*, wherein all *Lines* *Meet*, and *Concentre*, not as a *Mathematical Point*, or *Least Extensum*; But as one *Self Active*, *Living*, *Power*, *Substantial*, or *Inside-Being*, that *Containeth*, *Holdeth*, and *Connecteth* all together.

Lastly,

Lastly, the forementioned Philosopher endeavours yet further to prove, the *Human Soul* to be *Unextended* and *Devoid of Magnitude*, and *Indivisible*, from its *Rational Energies* or *Operations*, its νοητῶν νοήσεις, and ἀμεγέδων ἀνπλήψς, *Intellections of Intelligibles*, and *Apprehensions of things Devoid of Magnitude*, πῶς γὰρ μέγεθος ὂν τὸ μὴ μέγεθος νοῦς; ἢ τὰς μεμεισμένον τὸ μὴ μεμεισμένον; For how could the Soul (saith he) if it were a *Magnitude*, *Understand that which hath no Magnitude*? and *with that which is Divisible*, *Conceive what is Indivisible*? Now it is certain, that we have *Notions* of many things which are ἀφάνταστα, altogether *Unimaginable*, and therefore have nothing of *Length*, *Breadth*, and *Thicknes*s in them, as *Virtue*, *Vice*, &c. ἀμέγεθες ὃ οὐ Plot. p. 463, μαι ἢ τὸ καλὸν ἢ τὸ δίκαιον, ἢ ἡ τῶτων ἀρεὲ νόησις· ὥστε ἢ περιεσφόντα ἢ τὰς ἀμερεῖ αὐτῆς ὑποδέξεται, καὶ ἐν αὐτῇ ἐν ἀμερεῖ κείσεται. *Justice and Honesty*, and the like, are things *Devoid of Magnitude*, and therefore *must the Intellections of them*, needs be such too. So that the Soul *must receive these*, by what is *Indivisible*; and *Lodge them in that which is Indivisible*. We have also a *Notion* not only of *meer Latitude* or *Breadth*, *Indivisible* as to *Thicknes*s; and of *Longitude* or a *Line*, *Indivisible* both as to *Breadth*, and *Thicknes*s; but also of a *Mathematical Point*, that is every way *Indivisible*, as to *Length*, *Breadth*, and *Thicknes*s. We have a *Conception* of the *Intension* of *Powers* and *Virtues*, wherein there is nothing of *Extension* or *Magnitude*. And indeed all the *Abstract Essences* of things, (or the αὐτοτέλειαι) which are the *First Objects* of *Intellection*, are *Indivisible*: εἰ γὰρ ἂν ἐν ὕλῃ εἰδῶν τὰς νοήσεις φήσκειν εἶναι, ἀλλὰ χωριζομένων γε γίνονται. τὸ γὰρ χωρίζοντος, ἢ γὰρ μετὰ σαρκῶν, &c. And though we apprehend *Forms* that are in *Matter* too, yet do we *Apprehend them as Separated and Abstracted from the same*; there being nothing of *Flesh* in our *Conception* of a *Man*, &c. Nay, the Soul *Conceives Extended things themselves*, *Unextendedly* and *Indivisibly*; for as the *Distance* of a whole *Hemisphere* is contracted into a narrow *Compass* in the *Pupil* of the *Eye*, so are all *Distances* yet more contracted in the *Soul* it self, and there *Understood Indistantly*; For the *Thought* of a *Mile Distance*, or of *Ten thousand Miles*, or *Semidiameters* of the *Earth*, takes up no more *Room* in the *Soul*, nor *Stretches* it any more, than does the *Thought* of a *Foot* or *Inch*, or indeed of a *Mathematical Point*. Were that which perceiveth in us a *Magnitude*, then could it not be, ἴσον παντὶ αἰσθητῷ, *Equal to every sensible*, and alike perceive, both *Lesser* and *Greater Magnitudes*, than it self: but least of all could it perceive, such things as have no *Magnitude* at all. And this was the other *Part of Aristotle's Argumentation*, to Prove the *Soul* and *Mind* to be *Unextended* and *Indivisible*, πῶς γὰρ νοῦς τὸ ἀμεγές μεμεισμένον; For how could it perceive, that which is *Indivisible*, by what is *Divisible*? He having before Demanded, *How*, is could apprehend things *Divisible*, and of a *Great Extension*, by a *meer Point* or *Absolute Parvitude*. Where the *Soul*, or that which *Perceives* and *Understands*, is according to *Aristotle*, neither *Divisible*, as a *Continued Quantity*, nor yet *Indivisible*, either as a *Mathematical*, or as a *Physical Point*, and *Absolute Parvitude*; but as that which hath in it self, no *Out-Swelling Distance*, nor *Relation* to any *Place*, otherwise than

as it is Vitrally United to a Body; which, (where ever it be,) it always *Sympathizes* with, and *Acts* upon.

Besides which, these *Ancient Asserters* of *Unextended Incorporeals*, would in all probability confirm that Opinion from hence; Because we can not only Conceive *Extension* without *Cogitation*, and again *Cogitation* without *Extension*; from whence it may be Inferred, that they are *Entities Really Distinct*, and *Separable* from one another, (we having no other Rule, to Judge of the *Real Distinction* and *Separability* of things then from our *Conceptions*) but also are not able to Conceive *Cogitation* with *Extension*. We cannot conceive a *Thought*, to be of such a certain *Length*, *Breadth*, and *Thicknes*, *Mensurable* by *Inches* and *Feet*, and by *Solid Measures*. We cannot Conceive *Half*, or a *Third Part*, or a *Twentieth Part* of a *Thought*, much less of the *Thought* of an *Indivisible Thing*; neither can we Conceive every *Thought* to be of some certain *Determinate Figure*, either *Round* or *Angular*; *Spherical*, *Cubical*, or *Cylindrical*, or the like. Whereas if whatsoever is *Unextended*, be *Nothing*, *Thoughts* must either be meer *Non-Entities*, or else *Extended* too, into *Length*, *Breadth* and *Thicknes*; *Divisible* into *Parts*; and *Mensurable*; and also (where *Finite*,) of a certain *Figure*. And consequently all *Verities* in us (they being but *Complex Axiomatical Thoughts*) must of necessity be *Long*, *Broad*, and *Thick*, and either *Spherically* or *Angularly Figurate*. And the same must be affirmed, of *Volitions likewise*, and *Appetites* or *Passions*, as *Fear* and *Hope*, *Love* and *Hatred*, *Grief* and *Joy*; and of all other things belonging to *Cogitative Beings*, (*Souls* and *Minds*) as *Knowledge* and *Ignorance*, *Wisdom* and *Folly*, *Verine* and *Vice*, *Justice* and *Injustice*, &c. that these are either all of them *Absolute Non-Entities*; or Else *Extended* into *Three Dimensions* of *Length*, *Breadth*, and *Profundity*; and *Mensurable* not only by *Inches* and *Feet*, but also by *Solid Measures*, as *Pints* and *Quarts*: and last of all (where they are *Finite* as in men) *Figurate*. But if this be *Absurd*, and these things belonging to *Soul* and *Mind*, (though doubtless as great *Realities* at least, as the things which belong to *Bodies*) be *Unextended*, then must the *Substances* of *Souls* and *Minds* themselves be *Unextended* also. Thus *Plotinus* of *Mind*, $\eta\sigma\epsilon\varsigma\ \delta\ \delta\iota\alpha\varsigma\tau\epsilon\varsigma\ \alpha\phi'\ \epsilon\omega\upsilon\tau\epsilon\varsigma$, *Mind is not Distant from it self*: and indeed were it so, it could not be *One thing*, (as it is) but *Many*; every *Conceivable Part* of *Distant* and *Extended Substance*, being a *Substance* by it self. And the same is to be said of the *Humane Soul*, though it *Act* upon *Distant Parts* of that *Body*, which it is united to, that it self notwithstanding, is not *Scattered* out into *Distance*, nor *Dispersed* into *Multiplicity*, nor *Infinitely Divisible*; because then it would not be *One Single Substance*, or *Mnade*, but a *Heap of Substances*. *Soul* is no more *Divisible*, than *Life*; of which the forementioned *Philosopher* thus, $\alpha\epsilon\gamma\gamma\epsilon\ \tau\omega\ \zeta\omega\eta\ \mu\epsilon\tau\epsilon\delta\epsilon\iota\varsigma\ ;\ \alpha\lambda\lambda'\ \epsilon\iota\ \tau\omega\ \pi\acute{\alpha}\nu\ \eta\nu\ \zeta\omega\eta\ ,\ \tau\omega\ \mu\epsilon\tau\epsilon\delta\epsilon\iota\varsigma\ \zeta\omega\eta\ \epsilon\nu\ \epsilon\varsigma\tau\alpha\iota$, *Will you divide a Life into two? then the whole of it being but a Life, the half thereof, cannot be a Life*. Lastly, if *Soul* and *Mind*, and the things belonging to them, as *Life* and *Cogitation*, *Understanding* and *Wisdom*, &c. be *Out-spread* into *Distance*, having one *Part* without another, then can there be no *Good Reason* given, why they should not be, as well

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Really and Physically, as Intellectually Divisible; and One Part of them separable from another: since as Plotinus, πῶτος μεγέθους τὸ μὲν ἄλλο, τὸ δὲ ἄλλο, In all Magnitude or Extension, This is One thing, and That Another. At least no Theist ought to deny, but that the Divine Power, could Cleave, or Divide a Thought, together with the Soul wherein it is into Many Pieces; and remove them to the Greatest Distances from one another, (for as much as this implies no manner of Contradiction, and whatsoever is Conceivable by us, may be done by Infinite Power) in which case, neither of them alone, would be Soul or Mind, Life or Thought, but all put together, make up one entire Mind, Soul, Life, and Thought.

Wherefore, the Sense of the Ancient *Incorporealists*, seems to have been as follows. That there are in Nature, *Two Kinds of Substances specifically* Differing from one another. The First ὄσχοι, *Bulks or Tumours, a meer Passive Thing.* The Second δυνάμεις, *Self-Active Powers or Virtues, or φῶς ενεργητικόν, the Energetick Nature.* The Former of these, is nothing else but *Magnitude or Extension*, not as an *Abstract Notion* of the Mind, but as a *Thing Really Existing* without it. For when it is called, *Res Extensa*, the meaning is not, as if the *Res* were *One thing*, and the *Extension* thereof *Another*, but that it is *Extension, or Distance, Really Existing, or the Thing* thereof (without the Mind) and not the *Notion*. Now this in the Nature of it, is Nothing but *Aliud Extra Aliud, One thing without Another*, and therefore perfect *Alterity, Disunity, and Divisibility*. So that no *Extensum* whatsoever, of any Sensible Bigness, is Truly and Really, *One Substance*, but a *Multitude or Heap of Substances*, as *Many* as there are *Parts* into which it is *Divisible*. Moreover one Part of this *Magnitude, always Standing Without another*, it is an *Essential Property* thereof to be *Antitypous or Impenetrable*, that is, to *Justle or Shoulder out*, all other *Extended Substance* from *Penetrating* into it, and *Co-Existing* with it, so as to *Possess* and take up the same Room or Space. One yard of Distance, or of Length, Breadth, and Thickness, cannot possibly be added to another, without making the Whole *Extension* Double to what it was before, since one of them must of necessity stand without the other. One *Magnitude* cannot *Imbibe or Swallow up* another, nor can there be any *Penetration of Dimensions*. Moreover *Magnitude or Extension* as such, is meer *Outside or Outwardness*, it hath nothing *Within*, no *Self-Active Power* or *Virtue*, all its *Activity*, being either *Keeping out or Hindering*, any other *Extended Thing*, from *Penetrating* into it: (which yet it doth merely by its being *Extended*, and therefore not so much by any *Physical Efficiency*, as a *Logical Necessity*.) or else *Local Motion*, to which it is also but *Passive*; no *Body or Extension* as such, being able to *Move* it self, or *Act* upon it self.

Wherefore were there no other *Substance* in the *World* besides this *Magnitude or Extension*, there could be no *Motion or Action* at all in it; no *Life, Cogitation, Consciousness, No Intellection, Appetite or Volition* (which things do yet make up the Greatest part of the *Universe*) but all would be a dead *Heap or Lump*: nor could any one *Sub-*

stance, *Penetrate* another, and *Co-Exist* in the same Place with it. From whence it follows of necessity, that besides this *Outside Bulky Extension*, and *Tumourous Magnitude*, there must be another kind of *Entity*, whose *Essential Attribute* or *Character*, is *Life*, *Self-Activity*, or *Cogitation*. Which first, that it is not a meer *Mode* or *Accident* of *Magnitude* and *Extension*, is plain from hence, because *Cogitation* may be as well *Conceived* without *Extension*, as *Extension* without *Cogitation*; whereas no *Mode* of any thing can be *Conceived* without that whereof it is a *Mode*. And since there is unquestionably, much more of *Entity* in *Life* and *Cogitation*, than there is in meer *Extension* or *Magnitude*, which is the *Lowest* of all Being, and next to *Nothing*; it must needs be *Imputed*, to the meer *Delusion* and *Imposture* of *Imagination*, that men are so prone to think, this *Extension* or *Magnitude*, to be the only *Substance*, and all other things besides, the meer *Accidents* thereof, *Generable* out of it, and *Corruptible* again into it. For though that *Secondary* and *Participated Life*, (as it is called) in the *Bodies* of *Animals*, be indeed a meer *Accident*, and such as may be *Present* or *Absent* without the *Destruction* of its *Subject*; yet can there be no *Reason* given, why the *Primary* and *Original Life* it self, should not be as well a *Substantial Thing*, as meer *Extension* and *Magnitude*. Again that *Extension* and *Life*, or *Cogitation*, are not *Two Inadequate Conceptions* neither, of one and the self same *Substance*, considered brokenly and by *piecemeal*; as if either all *Extension* had *Life* and *Cogitation* *Essentially* belonging to it, (as the *Hylozoists* conclude) or at least all *Life* and *Cogitation* had *Extension*; and consequently all *Souls* and *Minds*, and even the *Deity* it self were, either *Extended Life* and *Cogitation*; or *Living* and *Thinking Extension* (there being nothing in *Nature* *Unextended*; but *Extension* the only *Entity*, so that whatsoever is devoid thereof, is *ipso facto*, *Absolutely Nothing*) This, I say, will also appear from hence, because as hath been already declared, we cannot *Conceive* a *Life* or *Mind* or *Thought*, nor any thing at all belonging to a *Cogitative Being* as such (as *Wisdom*, *Folly*, *Vertue*, *Vice*, &c.) to be *Extended* into *Length*, *Breadth*, and *Thicknes*, and to be *Mensurable* by *Inches*, *Feet*, and *Yards*. From whence it may be concluded, that *Extension*, and *Life* or *Cogitation*, are no *Inadequate Conceptions* of One and the self same thing, since they cannot be *Complicated* together into one, but that they are distinct *Substances* from each other. *Lives* and *Minds*, are such *Tight* and *Compact Things* in themselves, and have such a *Self-Unity* in their *Nature*, as that they cannot be lodged, in that which is wholly *Scattered* out from it self into *Distance*, and *Dispersed* into *Infinite Multiplicity*; nor be spread all over upon the same as coextended with it. Nor is it conceivable, how all the several *Parts* of an *Extended Magnitude*, should *Joynly* concur and contribute, to the *Production* of One and the same *Single* and *Indivisible Cogitation*; or how that whole *Heap* or *Bundle* of things, should be *One Thinker*. A *Thinker*, is a *Monade*, or one *Single Substance*, and not a *Heap* of *Substances*: whereas no *Body* or *Extended thing*, is *One*, but *Many Substances*, every *Conceivable* or *Smallest part* thereof, being a *Real Substance* by it self.

But this will yet further appear, if we consider, what kind of *Acti-*

on *Cogitation* is. The *Action* of an *Extended Thing* as such, is nothing but *Local Motion*, Change of Distance, or Translation from Place to Place, a meer *Outside* and *Superficial* thing; but it is certain, that *Cogitation*, (*Phancy*, *Intellection*, and *Volition*) are no *Local* Motions; nor the meer *Fridging* up and and down, of the Parts of an *Extended Substance*, changing their *Place* and *Distance*; but it is Unquestionably, an *Internal Energie*; that is, such an *Energie* as is *Within* the very *Substance* or *Essence*, of that which *Thinketh*; or in the *Inside* of it. From which Two kinds of *Energies*, we may now conclude, that there are also Two kinds of *Entity* or *Substance* in Nature; the *One* meer *Outside*, and which hath Nothing *Within* it; the Other such a kind of *Entity*, as hath an *Internal Energie*; Acteth *From* it self, and *Within* it self, and *Upon* it self; an *Inside Thing*, whose *Action* is *Within* the very *Essence* or *Substance* thereof. It being plain, that the *Cogitative*. or *Thinking Nature*, is such a thing, as hath an *Essential Inside* or *Profundity*. Now this *Inside* of *Cogitative Beings*, wherein they thus Act or Think Internally within themselves, cannot have any *Length*, *Breadth*, or *Thickneß* in it, because if it had, it would be again a meer *Outside thing*. Wherefore had all *Cogitative Beings*, (*Souls* and *Minds*) *Extension* and *Magnitude* never so much belonging to them, as some suppose them to have, yet could this for all that, be Nothing but the meer *Outside* of their Being, besides which, they must of necessity have also, an *Unextended Inside*, that hath no *Outswelling Tumour*, and is not *Scattered* into *Distance*, nor *Dispersed* into *Multiplicity*, which therefore could not possibly Exist a *Part* in a *Part*, of the supposed *Extension*, as if one *Half* of a *Mind* or *Thought*, were in One *Half* of that *Extension*, and another in another; but must of necessity be All *Undividedly*, both in the *Whole* of it, and in every *Part*. For had every *Twentieth* or *Hundredth* Part of this *Extensum*, not the *Whole* of a *Life* or *Mind* in it, but only the *Twentieth* or *Hundredth* Part thereof, then could none of them have any true *Life* or *Mind* at all, nor consequently the *Whole* have any. Nor indeed is it otherwise conceivable, how a whole Quantity of *Extended Substance* should be *One thing*, and have *One Personality*, one *I My Self* in it all, were there not *One Indivisible thing*, Presiding over it, which *Held* it all together, and *Diffused* it self thorough all. And thus do we see, how this *Whole in the Whole* and in every *Part* (do men what they can) will like a *Ghost* still haunt them, and follow them every where. But now it is Impossible, that *One* and the self same *Substance*, should be both *Extended* and *Unextended*. Wherefore in this *Hypothesis* of *Extended Understanding Spirits*, having *One Part* without Another, there is an *Undiscerned Complication* of *Two Distinct Substances*, *Extended* and *Unextended*, or *Corporeal* and *Incorporeal*, both together; and a *Confusion* of them into *One*. Where notwithstanding, we must acknowledge, that there is so much of Truth aimed at; as that all *Finite Incorporeal Substances*, are always Naturally united to *Some Bodies*, so that the *Whole* of these *Created Animals*, is *Compleated* and *Made up* of Both these together, an *Extended Inside*, and an *Unextended Outside*; both of them *Substances* indeed Really distinct, but yet *Vitally United*, each to other.

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The Sum of all is, That there are *Two kinds of Substances* in Nature, the *First Extension or Magnitude*, Really Existing without the Mind, which is a thing that hath no *Self-Unity* at all in it, but is *Infinite Alterity* and *Divisibility*, as it is also meer *Outside* and *Outwardness*, it having nothing *Within*; nor any other *Action* belonging to it, but only *Locally to Move*, when it is Moved. The *Second*, *Life and Mind*; or the *Self Active Cogitative Nature*, an *Inside Being*, whose *Action* is not *Local Motion*, but an *Internal Energy*, *Within* the *Substance* or *Essence* of the *Thinker* himself, or in the *Inside* of him; which therefore (though *Unextended*, yet) hath a certain *Inward Recess*, *Bátos*, or *Essential Profundity*. And this is a thing which can *Act* all of it Entirely, upon either a *Greater or Lesser Quantity* of *Extended Substance* or *Body*, and its *Several Parts*, Penetrating into it, and *Co-existing* in the same Place with it. Wherefore it is not to be looked upon, either as a *Mathematical*, or as a *Physical Point*, as an *Absolute Parvitude* or the *Least Extensum* possible; it having not only such an *Essential Inside*, *Bátos*, or *Profundity* in it, wherein it *Acteth* and *Thinketh* within it self, but also a certain *Amplitude* of *Active Power ad Extra*, or a *Sphere of Activity* upon *Body*. Upon which account, it was before affirmed by *Plotinus*, that an *Unextended Incorporeal*, is a thing *Bigger* than *Body*; because *Body* cannot Exist otherwise, than a *Point* of it in a *Point* of *Space*, whereas this *One and the same Indivisible*, can at once both comprehend a *Whole Extensum* within it, and be *All* of it in every *Part* thereof. And Lastly, all *Finite Incorporeals*, are always *Naturally United* to some *Body* or other; from both which together, is *Completed* and *Made up*, in every *Created Understanding Being*, one entire *Animal*, consisting of *Soul* and *Body*, and having Something *Incorporeal*, and something *Corporeal* in it; an *Unextended Inside*, and an *Extended Outside*; by means whereof, it is determined to *Here* and *There*, and Capable of moving *Locally*, or *Changing Place*.

Thus have we represented the sense of the *Ancient Unextended Incorporealists* to the best advantage that we could; in way of Answer to the premised *Atheistick Argument*, against *Incorporeal Substance*; and in order to the *Vindication* of them from the *Contempt* of *Atheists*; And we do affirm, that the forementioned *Argumentations* of theirs, do evince, That there is some other *Substance* besides *Body*, which therefore according to the *Principles* of these *Atheists* themselves, must be acknowledged to be *Unextended*, it being concluded by them that whatsoever is *Extended* is *Body*. But whether they do also, absolutely prove, that there is, *σὺν ἀμεγέλει, ἀδιάσπαστον, ἀμερὲς, and ἀδιαίρετον*, A *Substance Devoid of Magnitude, Indistant, Without Parts, and Indivisible*; this we shall leave others to make a *Judgment* of. However it is certain that *Atheists* who maintain the contrary, must needs assert, that every *Thought*, and whatsoever belongeth to *Soul*, *Mind*, (as *Knowledge, Virtue, &c.*) is not only *Mentally* and *Mathematically Divisible*, so that there may be *Half*, a *Third Part*, or a *Quarter* of a *Thought*, and the *Rest*, supposed; but also *Physically Separable*, or *Discerpible*, together

gether with the Soul wherein it is. They must also deny, that there is any *Internal Energy* at all, or any other Action besides that *Outside Superficial Action*, of *Local Motion*, and Consequently make all Cogitation nothing but *Local Motion*, or Translation. And Lastly, they must maintain, that no Substance can Co-exist with any other *Substance* (as Soul with Body) otherwise than by *Juxta-Position* only, and by Possessing the Pores, or filling up the Intervals thereof; as a Net with the water.

And this is the First Answer to the forementioned *Atheistick Argument*, against *Incorporeal Substance*. That though whatsoever is *Extended* be Body, yet Every thing is not *Extended*, but that *Life* and *Mind* or *Cogitation*, are an *Unextended*, Indistant and Indivisible *Nature*. But as we have already intimated, There are other Learned Asserters of *Incorporeal Substance*, who left, *God* and *Spirits*, being thus made *Unextended*; should quite Vanish into Nothing; Answer that *Atheistick Argumentation* after a different manner; by granting to these Atheists, that Proposition, that *whatsoever Is*, is *Extended*; and what is *Unextended* is *Nothing*; but then denying that other of theirs, That *whatsoever* is *Extended* is *Body*: They asserting, Another *Extension*, Specifically Differing from that of Bodies. For whereas *Corporeal Extension*, is not only *Impenetrable*, so as that no one Part thereof, can Enter into another, but also both *Mentally* and *Really Divisible*; one Part being in its Nature Separable from another; they affirm, that there is another *Incorporeal Extension*, which is both *Penetrable*, and also Indiscernible; so that no One Part thereof, can possibly be Separated from another, or the whole; and that to such an *Incorporeal Extension*, as this, belongeth *Life*, *Cogitation*, and *Understanding*, the Deity having such an *Infinite Extension*, but all Created *Spirits*, a *Finite* and *Limited* one: which also is in them supposed to be *Contractible* and *Dilatable*. Now it is not our part here, to oppose *Theists*, but *Atheists*: wherefore we shall leave these *Two Sorts* of *Incorporealists* to dispute it out friendly amongst themselves; and indeed therefore with the more *Moderation*, *Equanimity*, and *Toleration* of Dissent Mutually; because it seemeth, that Some are in a manner Fatally Inclined, to think one way in this Controversie, and Some another. And what ever the Truth of the Case be, it must be acknowledged, that this Latter *Hypothesis*, may be very useful and Serviceable to retain some in *Theism*, who can by no means admit, of a *Deity*, or Any thing else, *Unextended*. Though perhaps, there will not be wanting others also; who would go in a middle way betwixt these Two, or Compound them together; by supposing the *Deity* to be indeed altogether *Unextended*, and all of it Every where; but *Finite Incorporeals* or *Created Spirits*, to have an *Unextended Inside*, a *Life* or *Mind*, Diffusing it self into a certain *Amplitude of Outward Extension*, whereby they are Determined to a Place; yet so as to be all in every Part thereof; which *Outward Extension*, is therefore not to be Accounted *Body*, because *Penetrable*, *Contractible*, and *Dilatable*; and because no one Part thereof is *Separable* from the rest, by the Rushing or Incurfion of any *Corporeal* thing upon them. And thus is the

Atheists

Atheists Argument, against Incorporeal Substance, Answered Two manner of ways; First, That there Is Something Unextended; and Secondly, That If there were none, yet must there of necessity be, a Substance otherwise Extended than Body is, so as to be neither Antitypous nor Discerpible. And Our selves would not be Understood here, Dogmatically to Assert any thing in this Point, save only what all Incorporealists do agree in; To wit, That besides Body, which is Impenetrably and Divisibly Extended, there is in Nature another Substance, that is both Penetrable of Body and Indiscerpible; or which doth not Consist, of Parts Separable from one another. And that there is at least, such a Substance as this, is unquestionably manifest, from what hath been already declared.

But the *Atheist* will in the next place, give an Account of the *Original* of this *Error* (as He calls it) of *Incorporeal Substance*, and Undertake to show, from what *Mistake* it proceeded; which is yet another *Pretended Confutation* thereof. Namely, that it sprung Partly from the *Abuse* of *Abstract Names* and *Notions*, Men making *Substances* of them, and Partly from the *Scholastick Essences*, Distinct from the Things themselves, and said to be *Eternal*. From both which *Delusions* and *Dotages* together, the *Atheist* conceives, that Men have been first of all much Confirmed in the *Belief* of *Ghosts* and *Spirits*, *Demons* and *Devils*, *Invisible Beings* called by several Names. Which *Belief* had also another *Original*, mens *Mistaking* their own *Phancies* for *Realities*. The Chief of all which affrightful *Ghosts* and *Spectres*, according to these *Atheists* is the *Deity*, the *Oberon*, or *Prince* of *Fairies* and *Phancies*. But then whereas men by their *Natural Reason*, could not conceive otherwise, of these *Ghosts* and *Spirits*, then that they were a kind of *Thin*, *Aerial Bodies*; their *Understandings* have been so *Enchanted* by these *Abstract Names* (which are indeed the *Names of Nothing*) and those *Separate Essences* and *Quiddities* of *Scholasticks*, as that they have made *Incorporeal Substances* of them. The *Atheistick Conclusion* is; That they who assert an *Incorporeal Deity*, do Really but make a *Scholastick Separate Essence*, or the meer *Abstract Notion* of an *Accident*, a *Substantial Thing*, and a *Ghost* or *Spirit*, presiding over the whole world.

To which our Reply in General first of all is, That all this, is Nothing but *Idle Romantick Fiction*, The *Belief* of a *Deity* and *Substance Incorporeal*, standing upon none of those *Imaginary Foundations*. And then as for that *Impudent Atheistick Pretence*, That the *Deity* is *Nothing* but a *Figment* or *Creature* of Men's *Fear* and *Imagination*, and therefore the *Prince* of *Fairies* and *Phancies*. This hath been already Sufficiently Confuted, in our *Answer* to the *First Atheistick Argumentation*. Where we have also over and above shew'd, that there is not only a *Natural Prolepsis* or *Anticipation* of a *God* in the *Minds* of Men, but also that the *Belief* thereof, is Supported by the strongest and most Substantial Reason; His *Existence* Being indeed Demonstrable, with *Mathematical Evidence*, to such as are capable; and not blinded with *Prejudice*, nor *Enchanted* by the *Witchcraft* of *Vice*, and *Wickedness*, to the *Debauching* of their *Understandings*. It hath been

been also shewed, that the Opinion of other *Ghosts* and *Spirits* besides the *Deity*, Sprung not meerly from *Fear* and *Phancy* neither, as *Childrens Bugbears*, but from *Real Phenomena*; *True Sensible Apparitions*, with the *Histories* of them in all Ages, without which the Belief of such things could never have held up so Generally and Constantly in the World. As likewise that there is no Repugnancy at all to Reason, but that there may be as well, *Aerial* and *Etherial*, as there are *Terrestrial Animals*; and that the *Dull and Earthy Stupidity* of mens Minds, is the Only thing which makes them, so prone to think, that there is no *Understanding Nature*, Superior to Mankind; but that in the world, all is *Dead* about Us; and to disbelieve the *Existence* of any thing, which themselves Cannot, either *See* or *Feel*. Assuredly, The *Deity* is no *Phancy*; but the Greatest *Reality* in the world, and that without which, there could be *Nothing* at all *Real*; it being the only *Necessary Existent*; and Consequently *Atheism* is either meer *Sottishness*, or else a strange kind of *Irreligious Fanaticism*.

We now further add, that the Belief of *Ghosts* and *Spirits Incorporeal*, and consequently of an *Incorporeal Deity*, sprung neither from any Ridiculous Mistake of the *Abstract Names* and *Notions* of meer *Accidents*, for *Substances*, nor from the Scholastick *Essences*, said to be *Eternal*. For as for the Latter, none of those Scholasticks ever Dream'd, that there was any *Universal Man*, or *Universal Horse*, Existing alone by it self, and Separate from all Singulars; nor that the *Abstract Metaphysical Essences* of men, after they were Dead, Subsisting by themselves, did Walk up and down amongst Graves, in *Airy Bodies*. It being absolutely impossible, that the *Real Essence* of any thing should be *Separable* from the thing it self, or *Eternal*, when that is not so. And were the *Essences* of all things, look'd upon by these *Scholasticks*, as *Substances Incorporeal*, then must they have made all things, (even Body it self,) to be *Ghosts*, and *Spirits*, and *Incorporeals*; and *Accidents* also, (they having their *Essences* too) to be *Substantial*. But in very Truth, these *Scholastick Essences*, said to be *Eternal*, are nothing but the *Intelligible Essences* of things, or their *Natures* as *Conceivable*, and *Objects* of the Mind. And in this Sense, is it an acknowledged Truth, that the *Essences* of things, (as for example of a *Sphere*, or *Triangle*) are *Eternal*, and such as were never *Made*, because there could not otherwise be, *Eternal Verities* concerning them. So that the True meaning of these *Eternal Essences*, is indeed no other than this, *That Knowledge is Eternal*; or that there is an *Eternal Mind*, that comprehendeth the *Intelligible Natures* and *Ideas* of all things, whether Actually existing, or Possible only; their Necessary relations to one another, and all the *Immutable Verities* belonging to them. Wherefore though these *Eternal Essences* themselves, be no *Ghosts* nor *Spirits*, nor *Substances Incorporeal*, they being nothing but *Objective Entities* of the Mind, or *Noemata*, and *Ideas*; yet does it plainly follow, from the Necessary Supposition of them (as was before declared) That there is *One Eternal Unmade Mind*, and Perfect *Incorporeal Deity*, a Real and *Substantial Ghost* or *Spirit*, which comprehending It self, and all the Extent of its own Power, the *Possibilities* of things, and their *Intelligible Natures*, together with an Exem-

plar or Platform of the whole World ; Produced the same accordingly.

But our *Atheistick Argumentator*, yet further urges, That those *Scholasticks* and *Metaphysicians*, who because *Life* or *Cogitation*, can be considered alone *Abstractly*, without the *Consideration* of *Body*, therefore conclude it not to be the *Accident* or *Action* of a *Body*, but a *Substance* by it self, (and which also after men are Dead, can Walk amongst the Graves) that these, (I say) do so far Abuse, those *Abstract Names* and *Notions* of meer *Accidents*, as plainly to make *Substances Incorporeal* of them. To which therefore we Reply also, That were the *Abstract Notions* of *Accidents* in General, made *Incorporeal Substances*, by those Philosophers aimed at ; then must they have supposed all the *Qualities* or *Affections* of *Bodies*, such as *Whiteness* and *Blackness*, *Heat* and *Cold*, and the like, to have been *Substances Incorporeal* also ; a thing yet never heard, or thought of. But the Case is far otherwise, as to *Conscious Life*, or *Cogitation*, though it be an *Abstract* also ; because this, is no *Accident* of *Body*, as the *Atheist* (Serving his own *Hypothesis*,) securely takes it for granted, nor indeed, of any thing else ; but an *Essential Attribute*, of another *Substance*, distinct from *Body*, (or *Incorporeal* ;) after the same manner, as *Extension* or *Magnitude*, is the *Essential Attribute* of *Body*, and not a meer *Accident*.

And now having so copiously Confuted, all the most Considerable *Atheistick Grounds*, we are necessitated to dispatch those that follow, being of lesser Moment, with all possible Brevity and Compendiousness. The *Four* next, which are the *Fifth*, *Sixth*, *Seventh*, and *Eighth*, *Atheistick Argumentations*, pretend to no more than only this, to disprove a *Corporeal Deity* ; or from the Supposition, That there is no other *Substance* in the World besides *Body*, to infer the *Impossibility* of a *God*, that is, of an *Eternal Unmade Mind*, the *Maker* and *Governour* of the Whole World : all Which therefore signify nothing at all, to the Asserters of a *Deity Incorporeal*, who are the only *Genuine Theists*. Nevertheless, though none but *Stoicks*, and such other *Corporealists*, as are notwithstanding *Theists*, be directly concerned in an Answer to them ; yet shall we first, so far consider the *Principles* of the *Atheistick Corporealism*, contained in those Two Heads, the *Fifth* and *Sixth*, as from the *Absolute Impossibility* of these *Hypotheses* to Demonstrate, a *Necessity* of *Incorporeal Substance* ; from whence a *Deity* will also follow.

Here therefore, are there *Two Atheistick Hypotheses*, founded upon the Supposition ; That *All is Body* ; The First, in the way of *Qualities*, *Generable* and *Corruptible*, which we call the *Hylepathian* ; The Second in the way of *Unqualified Atoms* ; which is the *Atomick*, *Corporealism* and *Atheism*. The Former of these, was the most Ancient, and the First *Sciography*, or *Rude Delineation* of *Atheism*. For *Aristotle* tells us, That the most *Ancient Atheists*, were those who supposed, *Matter* or *Body*, that is *Bulkie Extension*, to be the only *Substance*, and *Unmade thing*, that out of which all things

things were Made, and into which all things are again Resolved; Whatsoever is else in the world, being nothing, but the *Passions, Qualities, and Accidents* thereof, *Generable and Corruptible, or Producible out of Nothing, and Reducible to Nothing* again. From whence the Necessary Consequence is, That there is no *Eternal Unmade Life or Understanding*; or that *Mind, is no God, or Principle in the Universe, but Essentially a Creature.*

And this *Hylopathian Atheism*, which supposeth whatsoever is in the Universe, to be either the Substance of *Matter and Bulk, or else the Qualities and Accidents* thereof, *Generable and Corruptible*, hath been called also by us *Anaximandrian*. Though we deny not, but that there might be formerly, some Difference amongst the Atheists of this Kind; nor are we ignorant, that *Simplicius* and others, conceive *Anaximander*, to have asserted besides Matter, *Qualities* also *Eternal and Unmade, or an Homœomery, and Similar Atomology*, just in the same manner as *Anaxagoras* afterwards did, save only, that He would not acknowledge any *Unmade Mind or Life*; *Anaximander* supposing all *Life and Understanding* whatsoever, all *Soul and Mind*, to have Risen up, and been Generated from a Fortuitous *Commixture* of those *Similar Atoms, or the Qualities of Heat and Cold, Moist and Dry, and the like, Contempered together.* And we confess, that there is some probability for this Opinion. Notwithstanding which, because there is no Absolute certainty thereof, and because all these Ancient Atheists agreed in this, that *Life and Understanding, are either First and Primary, or else Secondary Qualities of Body, Generable and Corruptible*; Therefore did we not think fit, to *Multiply Forms of Atheism*, but rather to make but one kind of *Atheism*, of all this, calling it indifferently, *Hylopathian, or Anaximandrian.*

The *Second Atheistick Hypothesis*, is that *Form of Atheism* described Under the *Sixth Head*, which likewise supposing *Body* to be the only Substance; and the *Principles thereof*, devoid of *Life and Understanding*; does reject all Real *Qualities*, according to the Vulgar Notion of them, and Generate all things whatsoever, besides Matter meerly from the Combinations, of *Magnitudes, Figures, Sites, and Motions, or the Contextures of Unqualified Atoms, Life and Understanding* not excepted: Which therefore according to them being no *Simple Primitive and Primordial thing, but Secondary, Compound and Derivative*, the meer *Creature of Matter and Motion*, could not possibly be a God or *First Principle in the Universe.* This is that *Atomick Atheism*, called *Democritical*; *Leucippus* and *Democritus* being the First Founders thereof. For though there was before them, another *Atomology*, which made *Unqualified Atoms, the Principles of all Bodies, it supposing besides Body, Substance Incorporeal, yet were these, as Laertius declareth, the First that ever made, ἀσπλάγητον ἄπειρος, Senseless Atoms the Principles of all things whatsoever, even of Life and Understanding, Soul and Mind.*

Indeed it cannot be denied, but that from these *Two Things* granted, That all is Body, and That the *Principles of Body, are devoid of*

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all Life and Understanding, it will follow unavoidably, that there can be, no *Corporeal Deity*. Wherefore the *Stoicks* who professed to acknowledge no other *Substance* besides Body, and yet nevertheless, had a strong Persuasion of the Existence of a God, or an *Eternal Unmade Mind*, the *Maker of the whole World*, denied that other Proposition of the *Atheistick Corporealists*, that the *Principles of all Bodies* were devoid of Life and Understanding, they asserting an *Intellectual Fire, Eternal and Unmade*, the *Maker of the whole Mundane System*, Which *Postulatum*, of a *Living Intellectual Body Eternal*, were it granted to these *Stoicks*, yet could not this their *Corporeal God* notwithstanding, be *Absolutely Incorruptible*, as *Origen* often inculcateth, ὁ θεὸς τοῖς Στωικοῖς ἔστι σῶμα, ἐν αἰδ' ἐμμένοις λέγειν αὐτὸν τελεῖον, καὶ δι' ὅλων ἀλλοιωτὸν καὶ μεταελητὸν, καὶ ἀπαξάπλως δυνάμενον φθαρῆναι, καὶ τὸ μηδὲν εἶναι τὸ φθῆσθαι αὐτόν. *God to the Stoicks, is a Body, and therefore Mutable, Alterable, and Changeable, and he would indeed be perfectly Corruptible, were there any other Body to act upon him. Wherefore he is only Happy in this, that he wants a Corrupter or Destroyer.* And thus much was therefore rightly urged, by the *Atheistick Argumentator*, that no *Corporeal Deity*, could be *Absolutely* in its own Nature *Incorruptible*, nor otherwise than by *Accident* only *Immortal*, because of its *Divisibility*. For were there any other Matter without this World, to make Inroads or Incurfions upon it, or to *Disunite* the Parts thereof, the *Life and Unity of the Stoical Corporeal God*, must needs be *Scattered and Destroyed*. And therefore of this *Stoical God*, does the same *Origen* thus further write, ὁ τῶν Στωικῶν θεός, ἅτε σῶμα τυχεῖων, ὅτε μὲν ἡγεμονικὸν ἔχει τὴν ὅλην εἰσὶν, ὅταν ἡ ἐκπύρωσις ᾖ· ὅτε δ' ἐπὶ μέρος γίνεσθαι αὐτῆς, ὅταν ἡ διασφραγίς· ἔστι γὰρ διδύμῳ εἶναι τρεφᾶσθαι τὴν φυσικὴν τῆς δι' ἐννοιαν, ὡς πᾶν ἀφ' ὧν καὶ ἀπλῶς, καὶ ἀσυνδίτῃς, καὶ ἀδιαίρετῃς· *The God of the Stoicks being a Body, hath sometimes the whole for its Hegemonick in the Conflagration; and sometimes only a part of the Mundane Matter. For these Men were not able to reach, to a clear Notion of the Deity, as a Being every way Incorruptible, Simple, Uncompounded, and Indivisible. Notwithstanding which, these Stoicks, were not therefore to be ranked amongst the Atheists, but far to be preferred before them, and accounted only a kind of Imperfect Theists.*

But we shall now make it evident, that in both these *Atheistick Corporealisms*, (agreeing in those Two things, That *Body is the only Substance*, and That the *Principles of Body are not Vital*) there is an *Absolute Impossibility*; not only because, as *Aristotle* objecteth, they supposed no *Active Principle*; but also because their bringing of Life and Understanding (being *Real Entities*) out of *Dead and Senseless Matter* is also the Bringing of *Something* out of *Nothing*. And indeed the *Atomick Atheist*, is here of the two rather the more *Absurd and Unreasonable*, for as much as he discarding all *Real Qualities*, and that for this very Reason, because *Nothing can come out of Nothing*, doth himself notwithstanding, produce *Life, Sense, and Understanding* (Unquestionable Realities) out of meer *Magnitudes, Figures, Sites, and Motions*; that is, indeed, *Out of Nothing*. Wherefore there being an *Absolute Impossibility*, of both these *Atheistick Hypotheses*, (neither of

of which is able to save the *Phænomenon* of Life and Understanding) from that confessed Principle of theirs, that *Matter* as such, hath no Life nor Understanding belonging to it, it follows unavoidably, that there must be some other Substance besides *Body* or *Matter*, which is Essentially *Vital* and *Intellectual*: *οὐ γὰρ πάντα χεῖται ἐπαισθη ζωῇ*, Because all things cannot possibly have a *Peregrine, Adventitious and Borrowed Life*, but something in the Universe, must needs have Life Naturally and Originally. All Life cannot be merely *Accidental, Generable and Corruptible*, producible out of nothing and *Reducible to Nothing* again, but there must of Necessity be, some *Substantial Life*, Which Point (That all Life, is not a meer *Accident*, but that there is Life Substantial) hath been of late with much Reason and Judgment, insisted upon, and Urged by the Writer Of the *Life of Nature*. Neither must there be only, such a *Substantial Life*, as is Naturally *Immortal* for the future, but also such as is *Eternal*, and was never Made; all other *Lives* and *Minds* whatsoever, (none of which could possibly be Generated out of *Matter*) being derived from this *Eternal Unmade Fountain*, of Life and Understanding.

Which thing, the Hylozoick Atheists being well aware of; namely, that there must of Necessity be, both *Substantial* and *Eternal Unmade Life*; but supposing also *Matter* to be the only Substance; thought themselves necessitated, to attribute to all *Matter* as such, Life and Understanding, though not *Animalish* and *Conscious*, but *Natural* only: they conceiving, that from the *Modification* thereof alone by *Organization*, all other *Animalish Life*, not only the *Sensitive* in *Brutes*, but also the *Rational* in *Men*, was derived. But this *Hylozoick Atheism*, thus bringing all *Conscious* and *Reflexive Life* or *Animality*, out of a Supposed *Senseless Stupid and Inconscious Life* of Nature, in *Matter*, and that merely from a different *Accidental Modification* thereof, or *Contexture* of Parts, does again plainly bring something out of Nothing, which is an Absolute Impossibility. Moreover this *Hylozoick Atheism*, was long since and in the first Emerision thereof Solidly Confuted by the *Atomick Atheists*, after this manner; If *Matter* as such, had Life, Perception, and Understanding belonging to it, then of Necessity must every *Atom* or *Smallest Particle* thereof, be a *Distinct Percipient* by it self; from whence it will follow, that there could not possibly be, any such *Men* and *Animals* as now are, Compounded out of them, but every *Man* and *Animal*, would be a *Heap* of *Innumerable Percipients*, and have *Innumerable Perceptions* and *Intellections*; whereas it is plain, that there is but one Life and Understanding, one *Soul* or *Mind*, one *Perceiver* or *Thinker* in every one. And to say, that these innumerable *Particles of Matter*, Do all *Confederate* together; that is, to make every *Man* and *Animal*, to be a *Multitude* or *Common-wealth* of *Percipients* and *Persons* as it were clubbing together; is a thing so *Aburd* and *Ridiculous*, that one would wonder, the *Hylozoists* should not rather chuse, to recant that their *Fundamental Error*, of the Life of *Matter*, than endeavour to seek Shelter and Sanctuary for the same, under such a *Pretence*. For though *Voluntary Agents* and *Persons*, may Many of them, resign up their wills to One, and by that means, have all but as it were One

Artificial

Artificial Will, yet can they not possibly resign up their *Sense* and *Understanding* too, so as to have all but one Artificial Life, Sense, and Understanding: much less could this be done, by *Senseless Atoms*, or *Particles of Matter* supposed, to be devoid of all *Consciousness* or *Animality*. Besides which, there have been other Arguments already suggested, which do sufficiently Evince, that *Sense* and *Understanding* cannot possibly belong to Matter any way, either *Originally* or *Secondarily*, to which more may be added else where.

And now from these Two things, That *Life* and *Understanding* do not *Essentially* belong to *Matter* as such, and that they cannot be Generated out of *Dead* and *Senseless Matter*, it is Demonstratively Certain, that there must be some other *Substance*, besides *Body* or *Matter*. However, the *Anaximandrian* and *Democritick Atheists* taking it for granted, that the First Principles of *Body*, are devoid of all *Life* and *Understanding*, must either acknowledge a Necessity, of some other *Substance* besides *Body*, or else deny the Truth of that Axiom, so much made use of by themselves, That *Nothing can come out of Nothing*. And this was our *Second Undertaking*, to shew that from the very Principles of the *Atheistick Corporealism*, represented in the *Fifth* and *Sixth* Heads, *Incorporeal Substance* is, against those Atheists themselves Demonstrable.

Our *Third* and *Last* was this, That there being undeniably *Substance Incorporeal*, the Two next following *Atheistick Argumentations*, built upon the contrary Supposition, are therefore altogether *Insignificant* also, and do no Execution at all. The first of which (being the *Seventh*) Impugning only, such a *Soul of the World*, as is Generated out of *Matter*, is not properly Directed against Theism neither, but only such a Form of Atheism (sometime before mentioned) as indeed cometh nearest to Theism. Which though concluding all things to have sprung Originally, from *Senseless Matter*, *Night* and *Chaos*; yet supposes things from thence to have ascended Gradually, to higher and higher perfection; First, *Inanimate Bodies*, as the *Elements*, then *Birds* and other *Brute Animals* (according to the fore-mentioned *Aristophanick Tradition*, with which agreeth this of *Lucretius*,

Principio Genus Alitum, variaeque Volucres.)

Afterward *Men*; and in the last place *Gods*; and that not only the *Animated Stars*, but *Jupiter* or a *Soul of the world*, Generated also out of *Night* and *Chaos*, as well as all other things. We grant indeed, that the *True* and *Real Theists* amongst the *Ancient Pagans* also, held the *World's Animation*, and whosoever denied the same, were therefore accounted *Absolute Atheists*. But the *World's Animation*, in a larger Sense, signifies no more than this, That all things are not *Dead* about us, but that there is a *Living Sentient* and *Understanding Nature Eternal*, that first Framed the *World*, and still Presideth over it: and it is certain, that in this Sense, all *Theists* whatsoever, must hold the *World's Animation*. But the Generality of *Pagan Theists* held the

World's

World's Animation also in a stricter Sense; as if the World were Truly and Properly an *Animal*, and therefore a *God*, Compleated and made up, of *Soul and Body together*, as other *Animals* are. Which *Soul* of this great *World-Animal*, was to some of them the *Highest* or *Supreme Deity*, but to others only a *Secondary God*, they supposing an *Abstract Mind* *Superiour* to it. But *God's* being the *Soul of the World* in this *Latter Paganick Sense*, and the *World's* being an *Animal* or a *God*; are things Absolutely disclaimed and renounced by us. However this *Seventh Atheistick Argument*, is not directed against the *Soul* of the world in the Sense of the *Paganick Theists* neither, this being, as they think, already Confuted, but in the Sense of the *Atheistick Theogonists*; not an *Eternal Unmade Soul* or *Mind*, but a *Native* and *Generated One* only, such as resulted from the *Disposition* of *Matter*, and *Contexture* of *Atoms*, the *Offspring* of *Night and Chaos*: the *Atheists* here pretending, after their Confutation of the True and Genuine *Theism*, to take away all *Shadows* thereof also, and so to free Men from all manner of *Fear*, of being obnoxious to any Understanding Being, *Superiour* to themselves. Wherefore we might here omit the Confutation of this *Argument*, without any detriment at all, to the *Cause of Theism*. Nevertheless because this in General, is an *Atheistick Assertion*, That there is no *Life* and *Understanding*, presiding over the Whole World, we shall briefly examine the Supposed Grounds thereof, which alone will be a sufficient Confutation of it. The *First* of them therefore is this, that there is no other *Substance* in the world besides *Body*; The *Second*, That the Principles of *Bodies*, are devoid of all *Life* and *Understanding*; and the *Last*, That *Life* and *Understanding* are but *Accidents* of *Bodies* resulting from such a Composition or Contexture of *Atoms*, as produceth soft *Flesh*, *Blood*, and *Brains*, in *Bodies* Organized, and of *Humane Form*. From all which, the Conclusion is, that there can be no *Life* and *Understanding* in the Whole, because it is not of *Humane Form*, and *Organized*, and hath no *Blood*, and *Brains*. But neither is *Body*, the only *Substance*, Nor are *Life* and *Understanding* *Accidents* resulting from any *Modification* of *Dead* and *Lifeless Matter*; Nor is *Blood* or *Brains*, that which *Understandeth* in us; but an *Incorporeal Soul* or *Mind*, *Vitally* united to a *Terrestrial Organized Body*; which will then understand with far greater advantage, when it comes to be Clothed with a *Pure*, *Spiritual* and *Heavenly One*. But there is in the Universe also, a higher kind of *Intellectual Animals*, which though consisting of *Soul* and *Body* likewise, yet have neither *Flesh*, nor *Blood*, nor *Brains*, nor *Parts* so *Organized* as ours are. And the most Perfect *Mind* and *Intellect* of all, is not the *Soul* of any *Body*, but *Complete* in it self, without such *Vital Union* and *Sympathy* with *Matter*. We conclude therefore, that this Passage of a *Modern Writer*; *We Worms*, cannot conceive how, *God* can *Understand* without *Brains*; is *Vox Pecudis*, the *Language* and *Philosophy*, rather of *Worms* or *Brute Animals*, than of *Men*.

The next, which is the *Eighth Atheistick Argumentation*, is briefly this, that whereas the *Deity* by *Theists* is generally supposed, to be a *Living Being* *Perfectly Happy*, and *Immortal* or *Incorruptible*; there can

can be no such *Living Being Immortal*, and Consequently, none *Perfectly Happy*. Because all *Living Beings* whatsoever, are *Concretions of Atoms*, which as they were at first *Generated*, so are they again liable to *Death and Corruption*; Life being no *Simple Primitive Nature*, nor *Substantial thing*, but a meer *Accidental Modification of Compounded Bodies* only, which upon the *Disunion of their Parts*, or the *Disordering of their Contexture*, vanisheth again into *Nothing*. And there being no *Life Immortal*, *Happiness* must needs be a meer *Insignificant Word*, and but a *Romantick Fiction*. Where first, This is well, that the *Atheists* will confess, that according to their Principles, there can be no such thing at all, as *Happiness*; because no *Security of Future Permanency*; all *Life* perpetually coming *Out of Nothing*, and whirling back into *Nothing* again. But this *Atheistick Argument*, is likewise Founded, upon the *Former Error*; That *Body* is the *Only Substance*, the *First Principles* whereof are devoid of all *Life and Understanding*; whereas it is certain, that *Life* cannot possibly result, from any *Composition of Dead and Lifeless things*; and therefore must needs be a *Simple and Primitive Nature*. It is true indeed, that the *Participated Life*, in the *Bodies of Animals* (which yet is but improperly called *Life*, it being *Nothing*, but their being *Actuated*, by a *Living Soul*) is a meer *Accidental thing*, *Generable and Corruptible*; since that *Body* which is now, *Vitally united to a Living Soul*, may be *Disunited* again from it, and thereby become a *Dead and Lifeless Carcase*: but the *Primary or Original Life* it self is *Substantial*, nor can there be any *Dead Carcase of a Humane Soul*. That which hath *Life Essentially* belonging to the *Substance* of it, must needs be *Naturally Immortal*, because no *Substance* can of it self *Perish*, or *Vanish into Nothing*. Besides which, there must be also, some, not only *Substantial*, but also *Eternal Unmade Life*, whose *Existence* is *Necessary*, and which is *Absolutely Unannihilable* by any thing else; which therefore must needs have, *Perfect Security* of its own future *Happiness*; And this is an *Incorporeal Deity*. And this is a *Brief Confutation*, of the *Eighth Atheistick Argument*.

BUT the *Democritick Atheist* proceeds, endeavouring further to Disprove a *God*, from the *Phænomena of Motion and Cogitation*; in the *Three following Argumentations*. First therefore, whereas *Theists*, commonly bring an *Argument from Motion*, to Prove a *God*, or *First Unmoved Mover*, the *Atheists* contend on the contrary; that from the very *Nature of Motion*, the *Impossibility of any such First Unmoved Mover*, is clearly *Demonstrable*. For, it being an *Axiom of undoubted Truth*, concerning *Motion*, That, *Whatsoever is Moved, is Moved by some other thing*; Or, That *Nothing can Move it self*; it follows from thence *Unavoydably*, That there is *No Æternum Immobile*, *No Eternal Unmoved Mover*; but on the contrary, that there was *Æternum Motum*, an *Eternal Moved*; Or, That *One thing* was *Moved by Another*, from *Eternity* *Ininitely*, Without any *First Mover* or Cause,

Cause, Because, as *Nothing could move it self*; So could nothing ever *Move Another*, but what was it self before *Moved*, by Something else.

To which we Reply; That this Axiom, *Whatsoever is Moved, is Moved by Another, and not by It self*, was by *Aristotle*, and those other Philosophers, who made so much use thereof, restrained to the *Local Motion of Bodies only*; That *no Body Locally Moved*, was ever Moved Originally from it self, but from something else. Now it will not at all follow from hence, That therefore *Nihil Movetur nisi à Moto*, That *No Body was ever Moved but by some other Body*, that was also before Moved, by Something else; or, That of necessity, *One Body was moved by another Body*, and that by *another*, and so backwards, *Infinitely*, without any *First Unmoved* or *Self-Moving* and *Self-Active Mover*; as the *Democritick Atheist* fondly Conceits. For the Motion of Bodies might proceed (as Unquestionably it did) from something else, which is not Body, and was not Before Moved. Moreover the *Democritick Atheist*, here also without any Ground imagines, That were there but One *Push* once given to the world, and no more; this Motion would from thence forward, always continue in it, one Body still moving another, to all Eternity. For though this be indeed a Part of the *Cartesian Hypothesis*, that according to the *Laws of Nature*, A Body Moving, will as well continue in Motion, as a Body Resting in Rest, until that Motion be Communicated and Transferred to some other Body; yet is the Case different here, Where it is supposed, not only one Push to have been given to the world at first, but also the same *Quantity of Motion or Agitation*, to be constantly Conserved and Maintained. But to let this pass, because it is something a Subtle Point; and not so rightly Understood by many of the *Cartesians themselves*. We say, that it is a thing Utterly *Impossible*, That One Body should be Moved by Another *Infinitely*, without any first *Cause* or *Mover*, which was *Self Active*; and that not from the Authority of *Aristotle* only, Pronouncing *ἔτε δυνατόν εἶναι ἢ ἀρχὴ τῆς κινήσεως ἢ οὐκ εἰς ἀπείρον*, &c. That in the *Causes of Motion*, there could not Possibly be an *Infinite Progress*; but from the Reason there subjoyned by *Aristotle*, Because, *εἴπερ μὴδὲν ἔστι τὸ πρῶτον, ὅπως αὐτίον ἔδεν ἔστι*, If there were no *First Unmoved Mover*, there could be no *Cause of Motion* at all. For were all the *Motion*, that is in the World, a *Passion*, from something else, and yet no *First Unmoved Active Mover*; then must it be a *Passion* from no *Agent*, or without an *Action*; and Consequently proceed from Nothing, and either *Cause it self*, or be *Made without a Cause*. Now the Ground of the *Atheists Error* here, is only from hence, because He taketh it for granted, That there is no other *Substance* besides *Body*, nor any other *Action* but *Local Motion*; from whence it comes to pass, that to Him, this Proposition, *No Body can Move it self*, is one and the same with this, *Nothing can Act from It self*, or be *Self-Active*.

And thus is the *Atheistick Pretended Demonstration* against a *God*, or *First Cause*, from *Motion*, abundantly Confuted; we having made it Manifest, that there is no *Consequence* at all in this Argument,

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That

That because No Body can Move it Self, therefore there can be no First *Unmoved Mover*; as also having discovered, the *Ground* of the *Atheists Error* here, their taking it for granted, that there is *Nothing* but *Body*; and lastly having plainly showed, that it implies a *Contradiction*, there should be *Action* and *Motion* in the *World*, and yet *Nothing Self-Moving* or *Self-Active*: So that it is *Demonstrative*-ly certain from *Motion*, that there is a *First Cause* or *Unmoved Mover*. We shall now further add, That from the Principle acknowledged by the *Democritick Atheists* themselves, That *No Body can move it self*, it follows also undeniably, that there is some *Other Substance besides Body*, something *Incorporeal*, which is *Self-Moving* and *Self-Active*, and was the *First Unmoved Mover* of the *Heavens* or *World*. For if no *Body* from *Eternity*, was Ever able to Move it self, and yet there must of necessity be some *Active Cause* of that *Motion* which is in the *World* (since it could not Cause it self) then is there unquestionably, some *Other Substance besides Body*, which having a *Power* of Moving Matter, was the *First Cause* of *Motion*, it Self being *Unmoved*.

Moreover it is certain from hence also, That there is another Species of *Action*, distinct from *Local Motion*, and such as is not *Heterochinesse*, but *Autochinesse* or *Self-Activity*. For since the *Local Motion* of *Body* is *Essentially Heterochinesse*, not Caused by the Substance it self Moving, but by something else Acting upon it, that *Action* by which *Local Motion* is First Caused, cannot be it self *Local Motion*, but must be *Autochinesse* or *Self-Activity*, That which is not a *Passion* from any other Agent, but springs from the immediate Agent it self; which Species of *Action* is called *Cogitation*. All the *Local Motion* that is in the *World*, was First Caused by some *Cogitative* or *Thinking Being*, which not Acted upon by any thing without it, nor at all *Locally Moved*, but only *Mentally*; is the *Immoveable Mover* of the *Heaven*, or *Vortices*. So that *Cogitation* is in *Order of Nature*, before *Local Motion*, and *Incorporeal* before *Corporeal Substance*, the Former having a *Natural Imperium* upon the Latter. And now have we not only Confuted the *Ninth Atheistick Argument*, from *Motion*, but also *Demonstrated* against the *Democritick Atheists* from their own Principle, that there is an *Incorporeal* and *Cogitative Substance*, the First *Immoveable Mover* of the *Heavens*, and *Vortices*; that is, an *Incorporeal Deity*.

But the *Democritick Atheist*, will yet make a further Attempt, to prove that there can be *Nothing Self-Moving* or *Self-Active*, and that no *Thinking Being* could be a *First Cause*; He laying his Foundation in this Principle, That *Nothing taketh its Beginning from it self*, but from the *Action* of some other Agent without it. From whence he would infer, that *Cogitation* it self is *Heterochinesse*, the *Passion* of the *Thinker*, and the *Action* of something without it; no *Cogitation* ever rising up of it self without a Cause: and that *Cogitation* is indeed, *Nothing* but *Local Motion*, or *Mechanism*; and all *Living Understanding Beings* *Machines*, Moved from without: and then make this Conclusion. That therefore no *Understanding Being* could possibly be a *First Cause*. He further adding also, that no *Un-*

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derstanding Being as such, can be *Perfectly Happy* neither, as the *Deity* is supposed to be, because *Dependent* upon Something without it; and this is the *Tenth Atheistick Argumentation*.

Where we shall First consider, that which the *Democritick Atheist* makes his *Fundamental Principle*, or *Common Notion* to disprove all *Autochinesse* or *Self-Activity* by. That *Nothing taketh Beginning from it self*, but from the *Action of some other thing without it*. Which *Axiom*, if it be Understood of *Substantial Things*, then is it indeed acknowledged by us to be unquestionably true, it being the same with this, That *No Substance which once was not, could ever possibly cause it self or bring it self into Being*; but must take its *Beginning from the Action of something else*; but then it will make *Nothing* at all against *Theism*. As it is likewise True, That *No Action whatsoever*, (and therefore no *Cogitation*,) *taketh Beginning from it self*, or causeth it self to be, but is always produced by some *Substantial Agent*, but this will no way advantage the *Atheist* neither. Wherefore if he would direct his Force against *Theism*, he ought to understand this Proposition thus, That *No Action whatsoever, taketh Beginning from the Immediate Agent*, (which is the Subject of it) but from the *Action of some other thing without it*; or, That *Nothing can Move or Act otherwise*, then as it is *Moved and Acted upon*, by something else. But this is only to beg the *Question*, or to Prove the thing in Dispute, Identically, That *Nothing is Self-Active*, because *Nothing can Act from it self*. Whereas it is in the mean time, undeniably certain, That there could not possibly be any *Motion* or *Action* at all in the Universe, were there not something *Self-Moving* or *Self-Active*, for as much as otherwise all that *Motion* or *Action* would be a *Passion* from *Nothing*, and be *Made without a Cause*.

And whereas the *Atheists* would further prove, that no *Cogitation*, *Taketh its Beginning* from the *Thinker*, but always from the *Action of some other thing without it*, after this manner; Because it is not Conceivable, why This *Cogitation*, rather than that, should start up at any time, were there not some *Cause* for it, without the *Thinker*. Here in the first place we freely grant, that our *Humane Cogitations*, are indeed commonly Occasioned, by the *Incurfions of Sensible Objects* upon us; as also, that the *Concatenations* of those *Thoughts* and *Phantasms* in us, which are distinguished from *Sensations*, (whether we be asleep or awake) do many times depend upon *Corporeal and Mechanical Causes* in the Brain. Notwithstanding which, that all our *Cogitations*, are *Obtruded*, and *Imposed* upon us from without; and that there is no *Transition* in our *Thoughts* at any time, but such as had been before in *Sense*; (which the *Democritick Atheist* averrs) this is a Thing, which we absolutely deny. For, had we no *Mastery* at all over our *Thoughts*, but they were all like *Tennis-Balls*, *Banded*, and *Struck* upon us, as it were by *Rackets* from without; then could we not steadily and constantly carry on any *Designs* and *Purposes* of Life. But on the contrary that of *Aristotle's*, is most true, (as will be elsewhere further Proved) that Man and all *Rational Beings*, are in some sense, ἀρχὴ πρῶτης, a *Principle of Actions*, subordinate to the *Deity*;

which they could not possibly be, were they not also, a *Principle of Cogitations*, and had some Command over them; but these were all as much determined, by Causes without, as the *Motions* of the Weathercock are. The *Rational Soul* is it self an *Active* and *Bubling Fountain of Thoughts*; that perpetual and Restless Desire, which is as *Natural* and *Essential* to us, as our very *Life*, Continually Raising up and Protruding, New and New Ones, in us; which are as it were Offered to us. Besides which, we have also, a further *Self Recollective Power*, and a Power of *Determining* and *Fixing* our Mind and Intention, upon some certain Objects, and of Ranging our Thoughts accordingly. But the Atheist is here also to be taught, yet a Further Lesson; that an Absolutely Perfect Mind, (such as the *Deity* is supposed to be,) doth not (as *Aristotle* writeth of it) ὅτε μὲν νοεῖν ὅτε ἢ νοεῖν, Sometimes Understand, and sometime not Understand; it being Ignorant of Nothing, nor Syllogizing about any thing; but comprehending all *Intelligibles*, with their Relations and Verities at once, within it self; and its *Essence* and *Energie*, being the same. Which Notion, if it be above the Dull Capacity of *Atheists*, who measure all *Perfection* by their own *Scantling*, this is a thing, that We cannot help.

But as for that Prodigious Paradox of Atheists, that *Cogitation* it self, is nothing but *Local Motion* or *Mechanism*, we could not have thought it possible that ever any man should have given entertainment to such a Conceit; but that this was rather, a meer Slander raised upon Atheists; were it not certain from the Records of Antiquity, That whereas the old *Religious Atomists*, did upon Good Reason, reduce all *Corporeal Action* (as Generation, Augmentation, and alteration) to *Local Motion*, or *Translation* from place to place; (there being no other *Motion* besides this Conceivable in Bodies) the ancient *Atheizers* of that *Philosophy* (*Leucippus* and *Democritus*) not contented herewith, did Really carry the business still on further, so as to make *Cogitation* it self also; Nothing but *Local Motion*. As it is also certain, that a Modern Atheistick Pretender to Wit, hath publicly owned this same Conclusion, That *Mind is Nothing else but Local Motion in the Organick parts of Mans Body*. These men have been sometimes indeed a little Troubled, with the *Phancy*, *Apparition*, or *Seeming of Cogitation*, that is The *Consciousness* of it, as knowing not well what to make thereof; but then they put it off again, and satisfy themselves worshipfully with this, that *Phancy* is but *Phancy*, but the *Reality of Cogitation*, nothing but *Local Motion*; as if there were not as much Reality in *Phancy* and *Consciousness*, as there is in *Local Motion*. That which inclined these men so much, to this Opinion, was only because, they were Sensible and Aware of this, that if there were any other *Action*, besides *Local Motion* admitted, there must needs be some other *Substance* acknowledged, besides *Body*. *Cartesius* indeed undertook to defend Brute Animals, to be Nothing else but *Machines*, but then he supposed that there was Nothing at all of *Cogitation*, in them, and Consequently nothing of true *Animality* or *Life*, no more, than is in Artificial *Automaton*, as a Wooden Eagle, or the like; Nevertheless, this was justly thought to be Paradox enough.

But

But that *Cogitation* it self, should be *Local Motion*, and *Men* nothing but *Machines*; this is such a *Paradox*, as none but either a Stupid and Be-fotted, or else an *Enthusiastick*, Bigotical, or Fanatick Atheist, could possibly give entertainment to. Nor are such men as these, fit to be Disputed with, any more than a *Machine* is.

But whereas the *Atheistick Objecter*, adds also over and above, in the last place, that no *Understanding Being* can be *Perfectly Happy* neither, and therefore not a *God*, because *Essentially Dependent* upon something else without it; This is all one as if he should say, That there is no such thing as *Happiness* at all in *Nature*; Because it is certain, that without *Consciousness* or *Understanding* nothing can be *Happy* (since it could not have any *Fruition* of it self) and if no *Understanding Being* can be *Happy* neither, then must the *Conclusion* needs be, that of the *Cyrenaicks*, that *ἡδονὴ ἀνθρώπων*, *Happiness* is a *meer Chimera*, a *Phantastick Notion* or *Fiction* of *Ides Minds*; a thing which hath no *Existence* in *Nature*. These are the men, who afterwards Argue from *Interesse* also against a *God* and *Religion*. Notwithstanding that they confess their own Principles to be so far, from promising *Happiness* to any, as that they absolutely Cut off, all Hopes thereof. It may be further observed also in the last place, that there is another of the Atheists Dark Mysteries here likewise couched, That there is no *Scale* or *Ladder* of *Entity* and *Perfection* in *Nature*, one above another; the whole Universe from top to bottom, being Nothing but One and the same *Senseless Matter*, diversly *Modified*. As also, that *Understanding* as such, rather speaks *Imperfection*; it being but a *meer Whifling*, *Evanid*, and *Phantastick thing*; so that the most absolutely Perfect, of all things in the Universe, is *Grave*, *Solid*, and *Substantial Senseless Matter*: of which more afterwards. And thus is the Tenth Atheistick Argumentation also Confuted.

But the *Democritick* and *Epicurean Atheists*, will make yet a further *Assault*, from the *Nature* of *Knowledge*, *Understanding*, after this manner; If the World were Made by a *God*, or an *Antecedent Mind* and *Understanding*, having in it self an *Exemplar* or *Platform* thereof, before it was made, then must there be *Actual Knowledge*, both in order of *Nature*, and *Time*, before *Things*; whereas *Things* which are the *Objects* of *Knowledge* and *Understanding*, are unquestionably in order of *Nature* before *Knowledge*; this being but the *Signature* of them, and a *Passion* from them. Now the only *Things*, are *Singular Sensibles* or *Bodies*. From whence it follows, that *Mind* is the *Youngest* and most *Creaturely Thing* in the world; or that the *World* was before *Knowledge* and the *Conception* of any *Mind*; and no *Knowledge* or *Mind*, before the world as its *Cause*. Which is the *Eleventh Atheistick Argumentation*.

But we have Prevented our selves here in the *Answer* to this *Argument*, (which would make all *Knowledge*, *Mind*, and *Understanding* *Junior* to the *World*, and the very *Creature* of *Sensibles*;) having already Fully Confuted it; and clearly Proved, That *Singular Bodies*, are not the only *Things*, and *Objects* of the *Mind*, but that it containeth

taineth its *Immediate Intelligibles within it self* ; which *Intelligibles* also are *Eternal*, and That *Mind* is no *Phantastick Image* of *Sensibles*, nor the *Stamp* and *Signature* of them, but *Archetypal* to them ; the *First Mind* being That of a *Perfect Being*, comprehending it self, and the *Extent* of its own *Omnipotence*, or the *Possibilities* of all things. So that *Knowledg* is *Older* than all *Sensible things* ; *Mind Senior* to the *World*, and the *Architeſt* thereof. Wherefore we shall refer the *Reader* for an *Answer* to this *Argument*, to *Page 729.* and so onwards, where the *Existence of a God*, (that is, a *Mind before the World*) is *Demonſtrated* also, from this very *Topick*, viz. the *Nature of Knowledge and Understanding*.

We shall in this place only add ; that as the *Atheiſts* can no way *Salve* the *Phenomenon* of *Motion*, so can they much less that of *Cogitation*, or *Life* and *Understanding*. To make which yet the more *Evident*, we shall briefly represent, a *Syllabus* or *Catalogue* of the many *Atheiſtick Hallucinations* or *Delirations*, concerning it. As *First*, That *Senseless Matter* being the only *Subſtance*, and all things else but *Accidental Modifications* thereof ; *Life* and *Mind* is all a meer *Accidental Thing*, *Generable* and *Corruptible*, *Producible* out of *Nothing*, and *Reducible* to *Nothing* again ; and that there is no *Subſtantial Life* or *Mind* any where. In *Opposition* to which, we have before proved, That there muſt of neceſſity be some *Subſtantial Life*, and that *Humane Souls* being *Lives Subſtantial*, and not meer *Accidental Modifications* of *Matter*, they are conſequently in their own *Nature Immortal*, ſince No *Subſtance* of it ſelf ever vaniſheth into *Nothing*.

Again the *Democriticks*, and other *Atheiſts* conclude, that *Life* and *Mind*, are no *Simple* and *Primitive Natures*, but *Secondary* and *Compounded things* ; they reſulting from certain *Concretions* and *Contextures* of *Matter*, and either the *Commixtures* and *Contemporations* of *Qualities*, or elſe the *Combinations* of thoſe *Simple Elements* of *Magnitude*, *Figure*, *Site*, and *Motion* ; and ſo being *Made up*, of that which hath *Nothing* of *Life* or *Mind* in it. For as *Fleſh* is not *Made*, out of *Fleſhy Particles*, nor *Bone* out of *Bony*, (as *Anaxagoras* of old dreamed) ſo may *Life* as they conceive, be as well *Made* out of *Lifeleſs Principles*, and *Mind* out of that which hath no *Mind* or *Understanding* at all in it : juſt as *Syllables* Pronounceable, do reſult from *Combinations* of *Letters*, ſome of which are *Mutes*, and cannot by themſelves be Pronounced at all, others but *Semi-Vocal*. And from hence do theſe *Atheiſts* Infer, that there could be no *Eternal Unmade Life* or *Mind*, nor any that is *Immortal* or *Incorruptible* ; ſince upon the *Difſolution* of that *Compages* or *Contexture* of *Matter*, from whence they *Reſult*, they muſt needs *Vanish into Nothing*. Wherefore according to them, there hath probably, ſometime heretofore been, no *Life* nor *Understanding* at all in the *Univerſe*, and there may Poſſibly be *None* again. From whence the *Concluſion* is, That *Mind* and *Understanding*, is no *God* ; or *Principle* in the *Univerſe* ; it being *Effentially Faſtious*, *Native* and *Corruptible* ; or as they expreſs it in *Plato*, *ψυχὴς ἐκ ψυχῶν*, *Mortal from Mortal things* : as alſo, That the *Souls* of men, cannot ſubſiſt Separately, after *Death*,

Death, and walk up and down in *Airy Bodies*; no more than the *Form* of a *House* or *Tree*, after the Dissolution thereof, can subsist by itself Separately, or appear in some other Body. But all this *Foole-ry* of *Atheists*, hath been already Confuted, we having before shewed, that *Life* and *Understanding* are *Active Powers*, *Vigours*, and *Perfections*, that could never possibly result from meer *Passive Bulk*, or *Dead* and *Senseless Matter*, however *Modified* and *Compounded*; because *Nothing* can come *Effectively* from *Nothing*. Neither is there any Consequence at all in this, that because *Flesh* is not made out of *Fleshy Principles*, nor *Bone* out of *Bony*, *Red* out of *Red things*, nor *Green* out of *Green*; therefore *Life* and *Understanding*, may as well be *Compounded*, out of things *Dead* and *Senseless*: because these are no *Syllables* or *Complexions*, as the others are, nor can either the *Qualities* of *Heat* and *Cold*, *Moist* and *Dry*; or else *Magnitudes*, *Figures*, *Sites*, and *Motions*, however *Combined* together, as *Letters* Spell them out, and make them up; but they are *Simple* and *Primitive things*. And accordingly it hath been proved, that there must of necessity be, some *Eternal Unmade Life* and *Mind*: For though there be no necessity that there should be any *Eternal Unmade Red*, or *Green*, because *Red* and *Green* may be Made out of things not *Red* nor *Green*, they and all other *Corporeal Qualities* (so called) being but several *Contextures* of *Matter*, or *Combinations*, of *Magnitudes*, *Figures*, *Sites*, and *Motions*, causing those several *Phancies* in us: and though there be no necessity, that there should be *Eternal Motion*, because if there were once no *Motion* at all in *Matter*, but all *Bodies* *Rested*, yet might *Motion* have been Produced by a *Self-Moving* or *Self Active Principle*; And Lastly, though there be no necessity that there should be *Eternal Unmade Matter* or *Body* neither, because had there been once no *Body* at all, yet might it be Made or Produced by a *Perfect Omnipotent Incorporeal Being*: nevertheless is there an *Absolute Necessity*, that there should be *Eternal Unmade Life*, and *Mind*, because were there once no *Life* nor *Mind* at all, these could never have been produced out of *Matter* altogether *Lifeless* and *Mindless*. And though the *Form* of a *House* cannot possibly Exist Separately from the *Matter* and *Substance* thereof, it being a Meer *Accidental Thing*, resulting from such a Compages of *Stone*, *Timber* and *Mortar*, yet are *Humane Souls* and *Minds*, no such *Accidental Forms* of *Compounded Matter*, but *Active Substantial* things, that may therefore subsist Separately from these *Bodies*, and Enliven other *Bodies* of a different *Contexture*. And however some that are no *Atheists*, be over prone to conceive, *Life*, *Sense*, *Cogitation*, and *Consciousness* in *Brutes*, to be Generated out of *Dead*, *Senseless*, and *Unthinking Matter*, (they being disposed thereunto by certain Mistaken Principles, and ill Methods of Philosophy) nevertheless is this unquestionably in it self, a *Seed of Atheism*; because if any *Life*, *Cogitation*, and *Consciousness*, may be Produced out of *Dead* and *Senseless Matter*, then can no Philosophy hinder, but that all might have been so.

But the *Democritick Atheists*, will yet venture further to deny, that there is any thing in Nature *Self-Moving* or *Self-Active*, but that
whatsoever

whatsoever *Moveth* and *Acteth*, was before *Moved* by something else, and *Made to Act* thereby; and again, that from some other thing; and So backward Infinitely; from whence it would follow, that there is no *First in the Order of Causes*, but an *Endless Retro-Infinity*. But as this is all one, as to Affirm, that there is no such thing at all as *Life in the World*, but that the Universe is a *Compages of Dead and Stupid Matter*, so has this *Infinity in the Order of Causes* been already exploded for an *Absolute Impossibility*.

Nevertheless the *Atheists* will here advance yet an *Higher Paradox*; That all *Action* whatsoever, and therefore *Cogitation*, *Phancy*, and *Consciousness* it self, is Really Nothing else but *Local Motion*; and Consequently not only Brute-Animals, but also Men themselves meer *Machins*, Which is an equal, either *Sottishness* or *Impudence*, as to assert, a *Triangle* to be a *Square*, or a *Sphere*, a *Cube*, *Number* to be *Figure*, or any thing else to be any thing: and it is Really all one as to affirm, that there is indeed no such thing in our selves, as *Cogitation*: there being no other *Action* in Nature, but *Local Motion* and *Mechanism*.

Furthermore the *Democritick* and *Epicurean Atheists*, Universally agree in this, that not only *Sensations*, but also all the *Cogitations* of the *Mind*, are the meer *Passions* of the *Thinker*, and the *Actions* of *Bodies* Existing without, upon him: though they do not all declare themselves, after the same manner herein. For First, the *Democriticks* conclude, that *Sense* is Caused by certain *Grosser Corporeal Effluvia*, streaming from the Surfaces of *Bodies* Continually, and entering through the *Nerves*; But that all other *Cogitations* of the *Mind*, and mens either sleeping or waking *Imaginations*, proceed from another sort of *Simulachra*, *Idols* and *Images*, of a more Fine and Subtle Contexture, coming into the Brain, not through those open Tubes, or Channels of the *Nerves*, but immediately through all the smaller Pores of the Body: so that, as we never have *sense* of Any thing, but by means of those *Grosser Corporeal Images*, obtruding themselves upon the *Nerves*; so have we not the least *Cogitation* at any Time in our *Mind* neither, which was not Caused by those *Finer Corporeal Images*, and *Exuvius Membranes*, or *Effluvia*, rushing upon the Brain, or Contexture of the Soul. *Ἀδύνατον ἢ ἀκρίβητος τὴν αἰσθάνειαν ἢ τὴν νόησιν εἰδῶτων ἔξωθεν περιόντων· μηδὲν γὰρ ἔστιν ἑκάστην μηδετέραν χωρὶς τῆς περιπαύσεως*, *Leucippus* and *Democritus* determined, that as well *Noesis* as *Aisthesis*, Mental Cogitation as External Sensation, was Caused by certain Corporeal Idols, coming from Bodies without; since neither Sensation nor Cogitation, could otherwise possibly be produced. And thus does *Laertius* also represent the sense of these *Atheistick Philosophers*, that the *Effluvia* from Bodies called *Idols*, were the only Causes, τῶν καὶ ψυχῶν κινήματων ἢ βελημμάτων ἐκείνων ἢ ἰδῶν ἢ παθῶν, Of all the *Motions*, *Passions*, and *Affections*, and even the very *Volitions* of the Soul. So that as we could not have the least Sensation, Imagination, nor Conception, of any thing otherwise than from those Corporeal Effluvia, rushing upon us from Bodies without, and begetting the same in us, at such a time; so neither could we have

have any *Passion*, *Appetite*, or *Volition*, which we were not in like manner, *Corporeally Passive* to. And this was the Ground of the *Democritick Fate*, or *Necessity* of all *Humane Actions*, maintained by them, in opposition to the τὸ ἐφ' ἡμῶν, or *Liberty of Will*, which cannot be conceived without *Self-Activity*, and something of *Contingency*. They supposing *Humane Volitions* also, as well as all the other *Cogitations*, to be *Mechanically Caused* and *Necessitated*, from those *Effluvious Images* of Bodies, coming in upon the *Willers*. And however *Epicurus* sometime pretended to Assert *Liberty of Will*, against *Democritus*, yet forgetting himself, did he also here securely Philosophize, after the very same manner,

Nunc age quæ moveant Animum res, accipe paucis ;
Quæ veniunt veniant in Mentem, percipe paucis.
Principiò hoc dico Rerum Simulachra vagari, &c.

Lucret. L. 4.
p. 358 360.

But others there were amongst the *Ancient Atomists*, who could not conceive *Sensations* themselves, to be thus Caused by *Corporeal Effluvia*, or *Exuvius Membranes*, streaming from Bodies Continually, and that for Divers Reasons alledged by them; but only by a *Pressure* from them upon the *Optick Nerve* by Reason of a *Tension* of the Intermediary Air or *Æther* (being that which is called *Light*) whereby the distant Object is Touched and Felt, οὐκ δὲ παυμένης, as it were by a Staff. Which Hypothesis concerning the *Corporeal Part* of *Sense*, is indeed much more Ingenious, and agreeable to Reason than the Former. But the *Atheizers* of this *Atomology*, as they supposed *Sense* to be Nothing else but such a *Pressure* from Bodies without, so did they conclude *Imagination* and *Mental Cogitation*, to be but the *Reliques* and *Remainders* of those *Motions* of *Sense* formerly Made, and Conserved afterwards in the Brain (like the *Tremulous Vibrations* of a Clock or Bell, after the striking of the Hammer, or the Rouling of the Waves, after that the Wind is ceased) Melting, Fading, and Decaying insensibly by degrees. So that according to these, *Knowledge* and *Understanding*, is Nothing but *Fading* and *Decaying Sense*; and all our *Volitions* but *Mechanick Motions* caused from the *Actions* or *Trussions* of Bodies upon us. Now though it be true, that in *Sensation*, there is alwayes a *Passion Antecedent*, made upon the Body of the Sentient from without; yet is not *Sensation* it self this very *Passion*, but a *Perception* of that *Passion*; much less can *Mental Conceptions* be said to be the *Action* of *Bodies* without, and the meet *Passion of the Thinker*; and least of all *Volitions* such, there being plainly here, something ἐφ' ἡμῶν, *In our own Power*, (by means whereof, we become a *Principle of Actions*, accordingly deserving *Commendation* or *Blame*,) that is, something of *Self-Activity*.

Again according to the *Democritick* and *Epicurean Atheists*, all *Knowledge* and *Understanding* is Really the same thing with *Sense*: the Difference between these Two, to some of them being only this, That what is commonly called *Sense*, is *Primary and Original Knowledge*; and *Knowledge* but *Secondary*, or *Fading* and *Decaying Sense*: but to others, that *Sense* is Caused by those more *Vigorous Idols*, or *Efflu-*

via from Bodies, intromitted through the Nerves ; but Understanding and Knowledge, by those more Weak and Thin, Umbratile and Evaniid ones, that penetrate the other smaller Pores of the Body : so that both ways, Understanding and Knowledge, will be but a Weaker Sense. Now from this Doctrine of the Atheistick Atomists, that all Conception and Cogitation of the Mind whatsoever, is Nothing else but Sense and Passion from Bodies without, this Absurdity first of all follows unavoidably, that there cannot possibly be, any Error, or False Judgment, because it is certain, that all Passion is True Passion, and all Sense or Seeming, and Appearance, True Seeming and Appearance. Wherefore though some Sense and Passion, may be more Obscure than other, yet can there be none False ; it self being the very Essence of Truth. And thus Protagoras, one of these Atheistick Atomists, having First asserted, That Knowledge is Nothing else but Sense, did thereupon admit this as a Necessary Consequence, That $\pi\alpha\sigma\alpha \delta\delta\epsilon\alpha \acute{\alpha}\lambda\eta\theta\eta\varsigma$, Every Opinion is True ; because it is Nothing but Seeming and Appearance, and every Seeming and Appearance is truly such : and because it is not possible, for any one to Opine that which is Not, or to Think otherwise than he Suffers. Wherefore Epicurus being Sensible of this Inconvenience, endeavoured to Salve this Phenomenon of Error and False Opinion or Judgement, consistently with his own Principles, after this manner, That though all Knowledge be Sense and all Sense True, yet may Error arise notwithstanding, Ex Animi Opinatu, From the Opination of the Mind, adding something of its own, over and above, to the Passion and Phansie of Sense. But herein he shamefully contradicts himself ; For if the Mind in Judging, and Opining, can Superadd any thing of its own, over and above, to what it Suffers, then is it not a meer Passive Thing, but must needs have a Self-Active Power of its own, and consequently will prove also Incorporeal, because no Body can Act otherwise, than it Suffers, or is Made to Act by something else without it. We conclude therefore, That since there is such a thing as Error, or False Judgement, all Cogitations of the Mind cannot be meer Passions ; but there must be something of Self-Activity in the Soul it Self, by means whereof, it can give its Assent, to things not clearly Perceived, and so Err.

Again from this Atheistick Opinion, That all Knowledge is Nothing else but Sense, either Primary or Secondary, it follows also ; That there is no Absolute Truth nor Falshood, and that Knowledge is of a Private Nature, Relative, and Phantastical only, or meer Seeming ; that is, Nothing but Opinion : because Sense is plainly, Seeming, Phantastie, and Appearance ; a Private thing and Relative to the Sentient only. And here also did Protagoras, according to his wonted Freedom, admit this Consequence, That Knowledge being Sense, there was no Absoluteness at all therein, and That nothing was True otherwise, than $\tau\acute{\epsilon}\tau\alpha \kappa\epsilon \tau\acute{\iota}\nu\iota$, To this and to that man so Thinking ; That every man did, but $\tau\acute{\alpha} \epsilon\alpha\upsilon\tau\acute{\omicron} \mu\acute{\omicron}\nu\omicron\nu \delta\omicron\delta\acute{\alpha}\lambda\lambda\epsilon\iota$, Opine only his Own things ; That $\pi\acute{\omicron}\lambda\upsilon\tau\omicron\nu \chi\epsilon\mu\acute{\iota}\alpha\tau\omicron\nu \mu\acute{\epsilon}\tau\epsilon\gamma\epsilon\upsilon \acute{\alpha}\nu\theta\omega\pi\omicron\tau\omicron$, Every man was the Measure of Things, and Truth to himself ; and Lastly, $\tau\acute{\omicron} \phi\alpha\upsilon\lambda\omicron\mu\epsilon\upsilon\omicron\nu \epsilon\kappa\delta\omicron\varsigma\phi \tau\acute{\epsilon}\tau\alpha \kappa\epsilon \epsilon\upsilon\alpha\iota \kappa\epsilon \phi\alpha\lambda\epsilon\iota\tau\omicron\iota$, That whatsoever Seemed to every one, was True to him to whom it Seemed. Neither could Democritus himself, though a man of more discretion than Protagoras, dissemble this Consequence from

from the same Principle asserted by him, that Understanding is *Phantastical*, and Knowledge but *Opinion*; he owning it sometimes before he was aware, as in these words of his, γινώσκῃν καὶ ἀνθρώπων τῷδε τῷ κανόνι, ὅτι αὐτὸς ἀπὸλλανται. *We ought to Know Man, according to this Rule, That he is such a thing, as hath Nothing to do with Absolute Truth*; and again, αὐτῇ (or ἐπὶ) ἔδεν ἵσμεν ὧς ἔδενος, ἀλλ' ἐπευ-
 ρωῖν ἐκάστων ἢ δόξαις. *We know nothing Absolutely, concerning any thing; and all our Knowledge is Opinion.* Agreeably to which, he determined, that mens Knowledge was diversified by the Temper of their Bodies, and the Things without them. And Aristotle Judiciously observing both these Doctrines, That there is no Errour or False Judgment, but every Opinion True; and again, That Nothing is Absolutely True but Relatively only; to be Really and Fundamentally One and the same; imputeth them both together, to *Democritus*, in these words of his, ἔδεν εἶναι ἀληθές· ὅλας ἢ διὰ τὸ ὑπολαμβάνειν φερέ-
 σιν μὲν τὴν αἰσθησιν, τὸ φαινόμενον καὶ τὴν αἰσθησιν ἔξ ἀνάγκης ἀληθές εἶναι; *Democritus held, that there was Nothing Absolutely True: but because he thought Knowledge or Understanding, to be Sense; therefore did he conclude that whatsoever Seemed according to Sense, must of necessity be True (not Absolutely, but Relatively) to whom it so Seemed.* These Gross Absurdities did the *Atheistick Atomists* plunge themselves into, whilst they endeavoured to Salve the *Phænomenon* of Cogitation, Mind, or Understanding, agreeably to their own Hypothesis. And it is certain, that all of them, *Democritus* himself not excepted, were but meer Blunderers in that Atomick Physiolog, which they so much pretended to, and never rightly Understood the Same. For as much as that with Equal Clearness teaches these Two things at once, That Sense indeed is *Phantastical* and *Relative* to the *Sentient*; But that there is a Higher Faculty, of *Understanding* and *Reason* in us, which thus discovers the *Phantast*ry of Sense, and reaches to the *Absoluteness* of Truth; or is the *Criterion* thereof.

But the *Democritick* and *Epicurean Atheists* will further Conclude, that the only Things or Objects of the Mind, are *Singular Sensibles*, or *Bodies Existing* without it; which therefore must needs be in Order of Nature, before all Knowledge, Mind, and Understanding whatsoever; this being but a *Phantastick Image* or Representation of them. From whence they Infer, that the *Corporeal World*, and these *Sensible things*, could not possibly be Made, by any Mind or Understanding; because *Essentially Junior* to them, and the very Image and Creature of them. Thus does Aristotle Observe, concerning both *Democritus* and *Protagoras*, that they did ὑπολαμβάνειν τὰ ὄντα μόνον εἶναι τὰ αἰσθητὰ, Suppose the only Things or Objects of the Mind to be Sensibles; and that this was the Reason, why they made Knowledge to be Sense, and therefore Relative and Phantastical: But we have already Proved, that Mind and Understanding is not the *Phantastick Image* of Sensibles or Bodies; and that it is in its own Nature not *Ecypal*, but *Archetypal*, and *Architectionical* of all. That it is Senior to the World, and all Sensible Things, it not looking abroad, for its Objects any where without, but containing them within it self; The first Original Mind, being an Absolutely perfect Being, Comprehending it self, and the Extent of its

own *Omnipotence*, or all *Possibilities of things*, together with the *Best Platform* of the whole, and producing the same accordingly.

But it being plain, that there are besides *Singulars*, other *Objects* of the *Mind Universal*; from whence it seems to follow, that *Sensibles*, are not the only *Things*; some *Modern Atheistick Wits*, have therefore invented, this further device to maintain the Cause, and carry the Business on; That *Universals* are nothing else but *Names* or *Words*, by which *Singular Bodies* are called, and Consequently, that in all *Axioms* and *Propositions*, *Sententious Affirmations* and *Negations* (in which the *Predicate* at least is *Universal*) we do but *Add* or *Subtract*, *Affirm* or *Deny*, *Names* of *Singular Bodies*: and that *Reason* or *Syllogism*, is Nothing but the *Reckoning* or *Computing*, the *Consequences* of these *Names* or *Words*. Neither do they want the *Impudence*, to *Affirm*, that besides those *Passions* or *Phantasies*, which we have from things by *Sense*; we know Nothing at all of any thing, but only the *Names*, by which it is called. Then which there cannot be a greater *Sottishness* or *Madness*: For if *Geometry*, were nothing but the *Knowledge* of *Names* by which *Singular Bodies* are called, as it self could not deserve that *Name* of a *Science*; so neither could its *Truths* be the same in *Greek* and in *Latine*: and *Geometricians*, in all the several distant *Ages* and *Places* of the *World*, must be supposed to have had, the same *Singular Bodies* before them, of which they *Affirmed* and *Denied*, those *Universal Names*.

In the Last place, the *Epicurean* and *Anaximandrian Atheists*, agreeably to the *Premised Principles*, and the *Tenor* of their *Hypothesis*, do both of them endeavour to *Depreciate* and *Undervalue*, *Knowledge* or *Understanding*, as a thing which hath not any *Higher Degree* of *Perfection* or *Entity* in it, than is in *Dead* and *Senseless Matter*. It being according to them, but a *Passion* from *Singular Bodies* Existing without, and therefore both *Junior*, and *Inferior* to them; a *Tumult* raised in the *Brain*, by *Motions* made upon it, from the *Objects* of *Sense*; That which Essentially includeth in it, *Dependence* upon Something else; at best, but a *Thin* and *Evanid Image* of *Sensibles*, or rather an *Image* of those *Images* of *Sense*; a meer *Whistling* and *Phantastick* thing; upon which account they conclude it, not fit to be attributed, to that which is the *First Root* and *Source* of all things, which therefore is to them no other, than *Grave* and *Solid*, *Senseless Matter*; the only *Substantial*, *Self-Existent*, *Independent* thing, and Consequently the most *Perfect* and *Divine*. *Life* and *Understanding*, *Soul* and *Mind* are to them, no *Simple* and *Primitive Natures*, but *Secondary* and *Derivative*, or *Syllables* and *Complexions* of things, which Sprung up afterwards, from certain *Combinations* of *Magnitudes*, *Figures*, *Sites*, and *Motions*, or *Contemperations* of *Qualities*; *Textures* either of *Similar* or *Dissimilar Atoms*. And as themselves are *Juniors* to *Senseless Matter* and *Motion*, and to those *Inanimate Elements*, *Fire*, *Water*, *Air* and *Earth*, the *First*, and most *Real Productions* of *Nature* and *Chance*; so are their *Effects*, and the *Things* that belong to them, comparatively with those other *Real Things* of *Nature*, but *Slight*, *Ludicrous*, and *Umbratil*; as Land-
skip

skip in Picture, compared with the Real Prospect, of High Mountains, and Low Valleys, Winding or Meandrous Rivers, Towering Steeples, and the Shady Tops of Trees and Groves: as they are accordingly, commonly disparaged, under those Names of *Notional* and *Artificial*. And thus was the Sence of the *Ancient Atheists* represented by *Plato*; φασι τοι μὲν μέγιστα καὶ κάλλιστα ἀπεργάζεσθαι φύσιν καὶ τύχην, τὰ δὲ συμπε- De Leg L. 10. ρερα τέχνην· ἣν δὲ παρὰ φύσεως λαμβάνουσιν, τὴν τῶν μεγάλων καὶ πρώτων· 889· γένεσιν ἔργων, πλάττειν καὶ τελευτᾶναι πάντα τὰ συμπεπερα, ἃ δὲ τεχνικὰ περσασσόμεν· They say, that the Greatest and most Excellent Things of all, were made by Senseless Nature, and Chance: but all the Smaller and more Inconsiderable, by Art, Mind, and Understanding; which taking from Nature, those First and Greater Things as its Ground-work to Act upon, doth Frame and Fabricate all the other Lesser Things, which are therefore Commonly called Artificial. And the Mind of these Atheists, is there also further declared, by that Philosopher after this manner. The First, most Real, Solid and Substantial things in the whole World, are those Elements, Fire, Water, Air and Earth, made by Senseless Nature and Chance, without any Art, Mind, or Understanding: and next to these the Bodies of the Sun, Moon, and Stars, and this Terrestrial Globe, produced out of the foresaid Inanimate Elements, by Unknowing Nature or Chance likewise, without any Art, Mind or God. The Fortuitous Concourse of Similar or Dissimilar Atoms, begetting this whole System and Compages of Heaven and Earth; τέχνην δὲ ἔργον οὐ τότων ὑτέρων γενομένων, ἀλλὰ συνῶν οὐ συνῶν, ὑπερῶν γενομένων παιδίας πινὸς ἀληθείας καὶ ζφόδρα μετεχέσας, ἀλλ' εἰδὼν ἅψα συνῶν ἑαυτῶν, οἷον ἡ γερφικὴ, καὶ τὰ ἐξῆς· But that afterwards, Art or Mind and Understanding, being Generated also in the last place, out of those same Senseless and Inanimate Bodies or Elements, (it rising up in certain Smaller Pieces of the Universe, and Particular Concretions of Matter, called Animals) Mortal from Mortal things, did produce certain other Ludicrous things, which partake little of Truth and Reality, but are meer Images, Umbrages and Imitations, as Picture and Land-skip, &c. but above all, those Moral Differences of Just and Unjust, Honest and Dishonest, the meer Figments of Political Art, and Slight Umbratil Things, compared with Good and Evil Natural; that consist in nothing, but Agreement and Disagreement with Sense, and Appetite: τὰ γὰρ καλὰ φύσιν μὲν ἄλλα νόμῳ δὲ ἕτερα, τὰ δὲ δίκαια οὐδὲ τὸ ἀδίκαιον φύσιν· For, as for Things Good and Honest, those that are such by Nature, differ from those which are such by Law; but as for Just and Unjust, there is by Nature no such thing at all. The Upshot and Conclusion of all is, That there is no such Scale or Ladder in Nature, as Theists and Metaphysicians suppose, no Degrees of Real Perfection and Entity one above another, as of Life and Sense, above Inanimate Matter, of Reason and Understanding above Sense; from whence it would be Inferred, that the Order of things in Nature, was in Way of Descent, from Higher and Greater Perfection, Downward to Lesser and Lower, which is indeed to Introduce a God. And that there is no such Scale or Ladder of Perfection and Entity, they endeavour further to prove from hence, because according to that Hypothesis, it would follow, that every the Smallest and most Contemptible Animal, that could see the Sun, had a Higher degree of Entity and Perfection

in it, than the Sun it self; a thing ridiculouſly Abſurd: or elſe according to *Cotta's* Inſtance; *Idcirco Formicam anteponebam eſſe huic Pulcherimæ Urbi, quod in Urbe Senſus ſit nullus, in Formica non modo Senſus, ſed etiam Mens, Ratio, Memoria.* That therefore every *Ant* or *Piſmire*, were far to be preferred, before this moſt beautiful City of *Rome*; becauſe in the City, there is no Senſe; whereas an *Ant* hath not only Senſe, but alſo Mind, Reaſon and Memory; that is, a certain *Sagacity* ſuperiour to Senſe. Wherefore they conclude that there is no ſuch Scale or Ladder in Nature, no ſuch Climbing Stairs of Entity and Perfection, one above another, but that the whole *Univerſe* is One Flat and Level, it being indeed all, Nothing but the ſame Uniform Matter, Under ſeveral Forms, Dreffes, and Diſguiſes; or Variegated by Diverſity of Accidental Modifications: one of which, is that of ſuch Beings as have Phancy in them, commonly called *Animals*; which are but ſome of Sportful or Wanton Natures, more trimly Artificial and Finer *Gamaieus*, or Pretty Toys; but by reaſon of this Phancy, they have no Higher Degree of Entity and Perfection in them, than is in Senſeleſs Matter: as they will alſo, be all of them quickly transformed again, into other ſeemingly dull, Unthinking and Inanimate Shapes. Hitherto the Senſe of *Atheiſts*.

Conf L. 5.
Pro. 4.

But the Pretended Grounds, of this *Atheiſtick Doctrin*e, (or rather *Madneſs*) have been already alſo confuted, over and over again. Knowledge and Underſtanding, is not a meer Paſſion from the thing Known, Exiſting without the *Knower*, becauſe to Know and Underſtand, as *Anaxagoras* of old determined, is *negitiv*, to Maſter and Conquer the thing Known, and conſequently not meerly to Suffer from it, or Paſſively to Lie Under it, this being *negitiv*, to be Maſtered and Conquered by it. The Knowledge of *Univerſal Theorems* in Sciences, is not from the Force of the thing Known exiſting without the *Knower*, but from the Active Power, and Exerted Vigour or Strength, of that which Knows. Thus *Severinus Boetius*; *Videſne ut in cognoscendo, cuncta ſua potius Facultate, quàm Eorum quæ Cognoscuntur Utantur? Neque id injuria, nam cum omne Judicium Judicantis Actus exiſtat, neceſſe eſt ut ſuam quiſque Operam, non ex Alienâ, ſed ex propriâ Potestate perficiat.* See you not, how all things in Knowing, uſe their own Power and Faculty, rather, than that of the thing Known? For ſince Judgment is the Action of that which Judgeth, every thing muſt of neceſſity perform its own Action, by its own Power, Strength, and Faculty, and not by that of another. Senſe it ſelf is not a meer Paſſion; or Reception of the Motion from Bodies without the *Sentient*, for if it were ſo, then would a Looking-Glaſs, and Other Dead things See: but it is a Perception of a Paſſion, made upon the Body of the *Sentient*, and therefore hath ſomething of the Soul's own Self-Activity in it. But Underſtanding and the Knowledge of *Abſtraſt Sciences*, is neither Primary Senſe, nor yet the Fading and Decaying Remainers, of the Motions thereof, but a Perception of another kind, and more Inward than that of Senſe; not Sympathetical but Unpaſſionate, the *Noemata* of the Mind, being things diſtinct from the *Phantaſmata* of Senſe and Imagination; which are but a Kind of Confuſed Cogitations. And though the Objects of Senſe be only Singular Bodies, Exiſting without the *Sentient*, yet are not

not these *Sensibles* therefore, the only *Things* and *Cogitables*; but there are other *Objects* of *Science*, or *Intelligibles*, which the *Mind* containeth within it Self. That *Dark Philosophy* of some, tending so directly to *Atheism*, That there is Nothing in the *Mind* or *Understanding* which was, not First in *Corporeal Sense*, and derived in way of *Passion* from *Matter*, was both *Elegantly* and *Solidly* Confuted by *Boetius* his *Philosophick Muse*, after this manner,

Boët Conf.
L. 5. M. 4.

Quondam Porticus attulit,
Qui Sensus & Imagines,
Credant Mentibus imprimi;
Mos est equore paginae,
Pressas Figere literas.
Nihil motibus explicat,
Notis subdita Corporum,
Rerum reddit imagines,
Cernens omnia Notio?
Aut quæ cognita dividit?
Alternumque legens iter,
Nunc decidit in Infima;
Veris falsa redarguit?
Longe Causa potentior,
Impressas patitur notas.
Et Vires Animi movens,
Cum vel Lux oculos ferit,
Tum Mentis Vigor excitus,
Ad Motus similes vocans,

Obscuros nimium Senes,
E Corporibus extimis,
Ut quondam Celeri stylo
Quæ nullas habeat notas,
Sed Mens si propriis vigens
Sed tantum patiens jacet
Cassasque in Speculi vicem
Unde hæc sic animis viget
Quæ vis singula prospicit?
Quæ divisa recolligit?
Nunc Summis Caput inserit,
Tum sese referens sibi
Hæc est Efficiens magis
Quam quæ Materiæ modo
Præcedit tamen Excitans
Vivo in corpore Passio.
Vel Vox auribus instrepit:
Quas intus species tenet,
Notis applicat exteris.

It is true indeed, that the *ΝΟΥΤΩΝ*, or *Thing Understood*, is in order of Nature before the *Intellection* and *Conception* of it, and from hence was it, that the *Pythagoreans* and *Platonists* concluded, that *Νῆς*, *Mind* or *Intellect*, was not the very First and Highest Thing in the Scale of the Universe, but that there was another *Divine Hypostasis*, in order of Nature before it, called by them "Εν and τ' ἀγαθόν, *One* and *The Good*, as the *ΝΟΥΤΩΝ* or *Intelligible* thereof. But as those Three *Archical Hypostases* of the *Platonists* and *Pythagoreans*, are all of them Really but *One Θεῖον* or *Divinity*: And the First of those Three, (Superiour to that which is properly called by them, *Mind* or *Intellect*) is not supposed therefore to be Ignorant of it self: So is the First *Mind* or *Understanding*, no other, than that of a Perfect Being, Infinitely Good, Fecund, and Powerful, and virtually Containing all things; comprehending it self and the Extent of its own Goodness, Fecundity, Vertue, and Power; that is, all Possibilities of things, their Relations to one another, and Verities; a *Mind* before Sense, and Sensible Things. An Omnipotent Understanding Being, which is it self its own Intelligible, is the First Original of all things. Again, that there must of necessity be some other Substance besides Body or Matter, and which in the Scale of Nature is Superiour to it, is evident from hence, because otherwise, there could be no Motion at all therein, no Body being ever able to move it self. There must be something Self-Active and Hylarchical, something that can Act both from

from it self, and upon Matter, as having a *Natural Imperium*, or Command over it. *Cogitation* is in order of Nature, before *Local Motion*. *Life* and *Understanding*, *Soul* and *Mind*, are no *Syllables* or *Complexions* of things, *Secondary* and *Derivative*, which might therefore be made out of things devoid of *Life* and *Understanding*; but *Simple*, *Primitive*, and *Uncompounded* Natures: they are no *Qualities* or *Accidental Modifications* of *Matter*, but *Substantial Things*. For which Cause *Souls* or *Minds* can no more be Generated out of *Matter*, than *Matter* it Self, can be Generated out of Something else: and therefore are they both alike (in some sense) Principles, Naturally Ingenerable and Incorruptible; though both *Matter*, and all *Imperfect Souls* and *Minds*, were at first Created by one *Perfect Omnipotent Understanding Being*. Moreover Nothing can be more Evident than this, that *Mind* and *Understanding* hath a *Higher Degree* of *Entity* or *Perfection* in it, and is a *Greater Reality* in Nature, than meer *Senseless Matter* or *Bulkie Extension*. And Consequently the things which belong to *Souls* and *Minds*, to *Rational* and *Intellectual Beings* as such, must not have Less, but *More Reality* in them, than the things which belong to *Inanimate Bodies*. Wherefore the Differences of *Just* and *Unjust*, *Honest* and *Dishonest*, are greater *Realities* in Nature, than the Differences of *Hard* and *Soft*, *Hot* and *Cold*, *Moist* and *Dry*. He that does not perceive any *Higher Degree* of *Perfection*, in a *Man*, than in an *Oyster*, nay than in a *Clod* of *Earth* or *Lump* of *Ice*, in a *Piece* of *Past*, or *Pye-Crust*, hath not the Reason or Understanding of a *Man* in him. There is unquestionably, a *Scale* or *Ladder* of *Nature*, and *Degrees* of *Perfection* and *Entity*, one above another, as of *Life*, *Sense*, and *Cogitation*, above *Dead*, *Senseless* and *Unthinking Matter*; of *Reason* and *Understanding* above *Sense*, &c. And if the *Sun* be Nothing but a *Mass* of *Fire*, or *Inanimate Subtle Matter* Agitated, then hath the most Contemptible Animal, that can see the *Sun*, and hath *Consciousness* and *Self enjoyment*, a *Higher Degree* of *Entity* and *Perfection* in it, than that whole *Fiery Globe*; as also than the *Materials*, (*Stone*, *Timber*, *Brick* and *Mortar*) of the most Stately Structure, or *City*. Notwithstanding which, the *Sun* in other regards, and as its vastly Extended *Light* and *Heat*, hath so great an Influence, upon the Good of the whole *World*, *Plants* and *Animals*; may be said to be a far more *Noble* and *Useful* thing in the *Universe*, than any one *Particular Animal* whatsoever. Wherefore there being plainly a *Scale* or *Ladder* of *Entity*; the *Order* of Things was unquestionably, in way of *Descent*, from *Higher Perfection*, Downward to *Lower*; it being as Impossible, for a *Greater Perfection* to be produced from a *Lesser*, as for *Something* to be Caused by *Nothing*. Neither are the *Steps* or *Degrees* of this *Ladder*, (either upward or downward) *Infinite*; but as the *Foot*, *Bottom*, or *Lowest Round* thereof, is *Stupid* and *Senseless Matter*, devoid of all *Life* and *Understanding*; so is the *Head*, *Top*, and *Summity* of it, a *Perfect Omnipotent Being*, Comprehending it self, and all Possibilities of things. A *Perfect Understanding Being*, is the *Beginning* and *Head* of the *Scale* of *Entity*; from whence things *Gradually Descend* downward; lower and lower, till they end in *Senseless Matter*. Νῆς πᾶτων νεγυνέσθαι, *Mind is the Oldest of all things*, Senior to the Elements,

lements, and the whole Corporeal World; and likewise according to the same Ancient Theists, it is κύριος καὶ φύσιν, by Nature Lord over all, or hath a Natural Imperium and Dominion over all; it being the most Hegemonical thing. And thus was it also affirmed by Anaxagoras, Νῆς βασιλεὺς ὁρατῶν τε καὶ γῆς, that Mind is the Sovereign King of Heaven and Earth.

We have now made it evident, that the Epicurean and Anaximandrian Atheists, who derive the Original of all things from Senseless Matter, devoid of all Manner of Life, can no way Salve the Phenomenon of Cogitation (Life and Understanding, Soul and Mind) no more than they can that of Local Motion. And the Reason why we have insisted so much upon this Point, is because these Atheists, do not only pretend to Salve this Phenomenon of Cogitation without a God, and so to take away the Argument for a Deity from thence; but also to Demonstrate the Impossibility of its Existence, from the very Nature of Knowledge, Mind, and Understanding. For if Knowledge, be in its own Nature, Nothing but a Passion from Singular Bodies Existing without the Knower; and if Life and Understanding, Soul and Mind, be Junior to Body, and Generated out of Senseless Matter, then could no Mind or Understanding Being, Possibly be a God, that is a First Principle, and the Maker of all things. And though Modern Writers, take little or no Notice of this, yet did Plato anciently, make the very State of the Controversie, betwixt Theists and Atheists principally to consist in this very thing, viz. Whether Life and Understanding, Soul and Mind, were Juniors to Body, and Sprung out of Senseless Matter, as Accidental Modifications thereof, or else were Substantial things, and in order of Nature Before it. For after the Passages before Cited, he thus concludeth, κινδυνεύει δὲ λέγων ταῦτα, ὅτι καὶ ὕδωρ καὶ γῆν καὶ αἴερα, πρῶτα ἡγεῖσθαι τῶν πάντων εἶναι, καὶ τὴν φύσιν ὀνομαζέμεν ταῦτα αὐτὰ, ψυχὴν δὲ ὅσα τῶν ὕστερον· εἰοικε δὲ καὶ κινδυνεύειν, ἀλλὰ ὄντως σημαίνειν ταῦτα ἡμῶν τῶ λόγῳ. Ἄρ' ἐν πρὸς Διὸς οἶον πηγὴν τινὰ ἀνοήτης δόξης ἀνδρῶν ἡμετέρων; ὅπου τῶν θεῶν φύσεως ἐφύλαττο ζήτημάτων. These men seem to suppose, Fire, Water, Air and Earth, to be the very First things in the Universe, and the Principles of all, calling them only Nature; but Soul and Mind, to have sprung up afterwards out of them. Nay, they do not only Seem to suppose this, but also in Express Words declare the same. And thus (by Jupiter) have we discovered, the very Fountain of that Atheistick Madnes, of the Ancient Physiologers; to wit, their making Inanimate Bodies, Senior to Soul and Mind. And accordingly, that Philosopher addresses himself to the Confutation of Atheism, no otherwise than thus, by proving Soul not to be Junior to Senseless Body, or Inanimate Matter, and Generated out of it; ὁ πρῶτον γενέσεως καὶ φθορῆς αἴτιον ἀπάντων, τὸ τοῦ πρῶτον, ἀλλὰ ὕστερον ἀπεφθίναντο εἶναι γεγονὸς, οἱ τὴν τῶ ἀσεβῶν ψυχῶν ἀπερχομένων λόγῳ· ὁ δὲ ὕστερον πρότερον· ὅθεν ἡμαρτήκασι θεοὶ θεῶν τ' ὄντως ἐσθλὰς ψυχῶν ἡβουκέναι κινδυνεύουσι μὲν ὅλως ἑυμπαντες, οἷον τὸ ἐν τῇ ψυχῇ καὶ δυνάμει ἢν ἐχθ· τῶν τε ἄλλων αὐτῆς πέρε καὶ δὴ καὶ γενέσεως, ὡς ἐν πρώτοις θεῶν, σωματῶν ἐμπεροθεν πάντων γινομένη, καὶ μεταβολῆς πάσης ἀρχή· That which is the First Cause of the Generation and Corruption of all Things; the Atheistick Doctrine supposeth, not to have been

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First Made; but what is indeed the Last thing, to be the First, And hence is it, that they erre concerning the Essence of the Gods. For they are ignorant what kind of thing Soul is, and what power it hath; as also especially concerning its Generation and Production, That it was First of all made before Body, it being that which Governs the Motions, Changes, and Transformations thereof. But if Soul be First in Order of Nature before Body, then must those things which are Cognate to Soul, be also before the Things which appertain to Body; and so Mind and Understanding, Art and Law be before Hard and Soft, Heavy and Light: and that which these Atheists call Nature. (the Motion of Inanimate Bodies) Junior to Art and Mind, it being Governed by the same. Now that Soul is in order of Nature before Body, this Philosopher demonstrates only from the Topick or Head of Motion, because it is Impossible, that one Body should Move another Infinitely, without any First Cause or Mover; but there must of Necessity be something Self-Moving, and Self-Active, or which had a power of Changing it Self, that was the first Cause of all Local Motion in Bodies. And this being the very Notion of Soul, that it is such a thing, as can Move or Change it self (in which also the Essence of Life consisteth.) He thus inferreth, *ἡ ἀνάγκη δὲ αὐτῶν ψυχῶν πρὸ πάντων πρῶτον γεννημένην τε ἀρχὴν κινήσεως.* It is therefore sufficiently demonstrated from hence, that Soul is the Oldest of all things in the Corporeal World; it being the Principle of all the Motion, and Generation in it. And his Conclusion is, *οὐδὲν ἄρα ἐγενόμην ἐν ἡμῶν ψυχῶν μὲν πρῶτον γεννημένην, σῶμα δὲ δεύτερον, τε καὶ ὑστερον, ψυχῆς ἀρχόντος, ἀρχόμενον καὶ φύλον.* It hath been therefore rightly affirmed by us, that Soul is Older than Body, and was Made Before it, and Body Younger and Junior to Soul; Soul being that which Ruleth, and Body that which is Ruled. From whence it follows that the Things of Soul also, are Older than the things of Body; and therefore Cogitation, Intellection, Volition, and Appetite, in order of Nature before Length, Breadth and Profundity. Now it is Evident, that Plato in all this Understood, not only the Mundane Soul, or his Third Divine Hypostasis, the Original of that Motion that is in the Heavens and the whole Corporeal Universe, but also all other Particular Lives and Souls whatsoever, or that whole Rank of Beings called Soul; he supposing it all to have been at first made, before the Corporeal System, or at least to have been in order of Nature Senior to it, as Superiour and more excellent, (that which Ruleth being Superiour to that which is Ruled) and no Soul or Life whatsoever, to be Generated out of Senseless Matter.

Wherefore we must needs here condemn that Doctrine of some Professed Theists and Christians of Latter Times, who Generate all Souls, not only the Sensitive in Brutes, but also the Rational in Men, out of Matter. For as much as hereby, not only that Argument for the Existence of a God, from Souls, is quite taken away; and nothing could hinder but that Senseless Matter might be the Original of all things; if Life and Understanding, Soul and Mind sprung out of it; but also the Atheist will have an advantage, to prove the Impossibility of a God from hence. Because if Life and Understanding, in their own Nature be Factitious, and Generable out of Matter, then

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are they no *Substantial Things*, but *Accidental* only, from whence it will plainly follow, that no Mind could possibly be a *God*, or *First Cause* of all things, it being not so much as able to Subsist by it Self. Moreover if Mind as such, be *Generable*, and *Educible out of Nothing*, then must it needs be in its own Nature *Corruptible* also, and *Reducible to Nothing* again; whereas the Deity is both an *Unmade* and *Incorruptible Being*. So that there could not possibly be according to this *Hypothesis*, any other *God*, than such a *Jupiter*, or *Soul of the World*, as the *Atheistick Theogonists* acknowledged, that Sprung out of *Night*, *Chaos*, and *Non-Entity*, and may be again Swallowed up into that *Dark Abyss*. Senseless Matter therefore, being the only *Unmade* and *Incorruptible thing*; and the Fountain of all things, Even of *Life* and *Understanding*; it must needs be acknowledged to be the Only Real *Numen*.

Neither will the Case be much different, as to some others; who though indeed they do not professedly Generate, the *Rational*, but only the *Sensitive Soul*, both in Men and Brutes; yet do nevertheless maintain, the *Humane Soul* it self, to be but a meer *Blank*, or *White Sheet of Paper*, that hath nothing at all in it, but what was *Scribled* upon it, by the *Objects of Sense*; and Knowledge or Understanding to be nothing but the *Result of Sense*, and so a *Passion* from Sensible Bodies existing without the Knower. For hereby, as they plainly make Knowledge and Understanding, to be in its own Nature, *Junior to Sense*, and the very *Creature of Sensibles*; so do they also imply, the *Rational Soul* and Mind it self, to be as well *Generated* as the *Sensitive*, wherein it is *Virtually Contained*: or to be nothing but a *Higher Modification of Matter*; agreeably to that *Leviathan-Doctrine*, That men differ no otherwise from *Brute Animals*, then only in their *Organization*, and the Use of *Speech* or *Words*.

In very truth, Whoever maintaineth, that any *Life* or *Soul*, any *Cogitation* or *Consciousness*, *Self-Perception* and *Self-Activity*, can spring out of Dead, Senseless and Unactive Matter, the same can never possibly have any *Rational Assurance*, but that his own Soul, had also a like Original, and Consequently is *Mortal* and *Corruptible*. For if any *Life* and *Cogitation* can be thus Generated, then is there no Reason, but that all Lives may be so; they being but *Higher Degrees* in the same Kind: and neither *Life*, nor any thing else, can be in its own Nature *Indifferent*, to be either *Substance* or *Accident*, and sometimes one, sometimes the other: but either all *Life*, *Cogitation*; and *Consciousness*, is *Accidental*, *Generable* and *Corruptible*; or else none at all.

That which hath inclined so many, to think the *Sensitive Life* at least, to be nothing but a *Quality* or *Accident of Matter*, *Generable* out of it, and *Corruptible* into it, is that strange Protean Transformation of Matter, into so many seemingly Unaccountable Forms and Shapes, together with the Scholastick Opinion thereupon, of *Real Qualities*; that is, *Entities* distinct from the *Substance of Body*, and its *Modifications*, but yet *Generable* out of it, and *Corruptible*, into

it. They concluding that as *Light*, and *Colours*, *Heat* and *Cold*, &c. according to those *Phancies* which we have of them, are *Real Qualities* of Matter, distinct from its *Substance* and *Modifications*, so may *Life*, *Sense*, and *Cogitation*, be in like manner *Qualities* of Matter also *Generable* and *Corruptible*. But these *Real Qualities* of Body in the Sense declared, are things that were long since justly exploded, by the Ancient Atomists, and expunged out of the Catalogue of Entities, of whom *Laertius* hath Recorded, that they did *ἐξέλειψαν τοὺς ποιότητες*, quite cashier and banish *Qualities* out of their Philosophy: they resolving all Corporeal *Phænomena*, and therefore those of *Heat* and *Cold*, *Light* and *Colours*, *Fire* and *Flame*, &c. intelligibly, into nothing but the Different *Modifications* of Extended Substance, viz. More or Less *Magnitude* of Parts, *Figure*, *Site*, *Motion* or *Rest*, (or the *Combinations* of them) and those different *Phancies* Caused in us by them. Indeed there is no other Entity, but *Substance* and its *Modifications*. Wherefore the *Democriticks* and *Epicureans*, did most shamefully contradict themselves, when pretending to reject and explode, all those Entities of *Real Qualities*, themselves nevertheless, made *Life* and *Understanding*: such *Real Qualities* of Matter, *Generable* out of it, and *Corruptible* again into it.

There is nothing in Body or Matter, but *Magnitude*, *Figure*, *Site*, and *Motion* or *Rest*; now it is Mathematically Certain, that these however Combin'd together, can never possibly Compound or Make up *Life* or *Cogitation*: which therefore cannot be an *Accident* of Matter, but must of necessity be a *Substantial* thing. We speak not here of that *Life* (improperly so called) which is in Vulgar Speech attributed to the Bodies of Men and Animals: for it is plainly *Accidental* to a Body, to be *Vitally United* to a *Soul*, or not. Therefore is this *Life* of the Compound, *Corruptible* and *Destroyable*, without the *Destruction* of any Real Entity; there being nothing *Destroyed*, nor *Lost* to the Universe, in the *Deaths* of Men and Animals, as such; but only a *Diffusion* or *Separation* made, of those Two Substances, *Soul* and *Body* one from another. But we speak here of the *Original Life* of the *Soul* it self, that this is *Substantial*, neither *Generable* nor *Corruptible*, but only *Creatable* and *Annihilable* by the Deity. And it is strange, that any men should perswade themselves, that that which Rules and Commands, in the Bodies of Animals, moving them up and down, and hath *Sense* or *Perception* in it, should not be as *Substantial*, as that *Stupid* and *Senseless Matter*, that is Ruled by it. Neither can *Matter*, (which is also but a meer *Passive* thing) *Efficiently* produce *Soul*, any more than *Soul Matter*: no Finite Imperfect Substance, being able to produce another Substance out of *Nothing*. Much less can such a Substance as hath a Lower Degree of Entity and *Perfection* in it, Create that, which hath a *Higher*. There is a *Scale* or *Ladder* of Entities and *Perfections* in the Universe, one above another, and the Production of things cannot possibly be in Way of *Ascent* from *Lower* to *Higher*, but must of necessity be in way of *Descent* from *Higher* to *Lower*. Now to produce any One *Higher Rank* of Being, from the *Lower*, as *Cogitation* from *Magnitude* and *Body*, is plainly to invert this Order, in the *Scale* of the Universe, from
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Downwards to Upwards; and therefore is it *Atheistical*; and by the Same reason, that One *Higher Rank* or Degree in this *Scale*, is thus unnaturally Produced from a Lower, may all the rest be so produced also. Wherefore we have great reason to stand upon our Guard here, and to defend this *Post* against the *Atheists*; That no *Life* or *Cogitation*, can either *Materially* or *Efficiently* result from *Dead* and *Senseless Body*; or that Souls being all *Substantial*, and *Immaterial* things, can neither be *Generated* out of Matter, nor *Corrupted* into the same, but only *Created* or *Annihilated* by the *Deity*.

The Grand Objection against this *Substantiality* of Souls *Sensitive*, as well as *Rational*, is from that Consequence, which will be from thence inferred, of their *Permanent Subsistence* after Death, their *Perpetuity*, or *Immortality*. This seeming very absurd, that the Souls of Brutes also should be *Immortal*, or subsist after the *Deaths* of the *Respective Animals*: But especially to Two Sorts of Men; First, such as scarcely in good earnest believe, their own Soul's *Immortality*; and Secondly, such *Religionists*, as conclude, that if *Irrational* or *Sensitive Souls*, subsist after Death, then must they needs go presently, either into Heaven or Hell. And *R. Cartesius* was so sensible of the *Offensiveness* of this *Opinion*, that though he were fully convinced of the necessity of this *Disjunction*, that either *Brutes* have nothing of *Sense* or *Cogitation* at all, or else they must have some other *Substance* in them besides *Matter*, he chose rather to make them meer *Senseless Machins*, then to allow them *Substantial Souls*. Wherein avoiding a *Lesser Absurdity* or *Paradox*, he plainly plunged himself into a Greater; scarcely any thing being more generally received, than the *Sense* of *Brutes*. Though in truth all those, who deny the *Substantiality* of *Sensitive Souls*, and will have *Brutes* to have nothing but *Matter* in them, ought consequently according to Reason, to do as *Cartesius* did, deprive them of all *Sense*. But on the contrary, if it be evident from the *Phænomena*, that *Brutes* are not meer *Senseless Machins* or *Automata*, and only like *Clocks* or *Watches*, then ought not *Popular Opinion* and *Vulgar Prejudice* so far to prevail with us, as to hinder our Assent, to that which sound Reason and Philosophy clearly dictates, that therefore they must have something more than *Matter* in them. Neither ought we, when we clearly conceive any thing to be true, as this, That *Life* and *Cogitation* cannot possibly rise, out of *Dead* and *Senseless Matter*; to abandon it, or deny our Assent thereunto because we find it attended with some Difficulty, not easily Extricable by us, or cannot free all the Consequences thereof from some Inconvenience or Absurdity, such as seems to be in the *Permanent Subsistence* of *Brutish Souls*.

For the giving an Account of which notwithstanding, *Plato* and the Ancient *Pythagoreans*, proposed this following *Hypothesis*. That Souls as well *Sensitive*, as *Rational*, being all *Substantial*, but not *Self-Existent*, (because there is but one Fountain, and Principle of all things) were therefore Produced or Caused by the *Deity*. But this; not in the *Generations* of the respective Animals; it being indecorous that this Divine *Miraculous Creative Power*, should constantly

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lacquey by and attend upon Natural Generations; as also incongruous, that *Souls* should be so much Juniors to Every Atom of Dust, that is in the whole World; but either all of them from Eternity; according to those who Denied the *Novity* of the *World*; or rather according to others, who asserted the *Cosmogonia*, in the first beginning of the *World's Creation*. Wherefore, it being also Natural to Souls as such, to *Assume* and *Enliven* some Body, or to be as it were clothed therewith, these as soon as Created, were immediately Invested with certain *Thin* and *Subtle Bodies*, or put into *Light Ethereal* or *Aereal Chariots* and *Vehicles*; wherein they subsist both before their Entrance into other *Gross Terrestrial Bodies* and after their Egress out of them. So that the *Souls* not only of men, but also of other Animals, have sometimes a *Thicker*, and sometimes a *Thinner Indument* or *Clothing*. And thus do we understand *Boetius*, not only of the Rational; but also of the other Inferior *Sensitive Souls*, in these Verses of his,

*Tu Causis Animus paribus Vitasque Minores,
Provehis, & Levibus sublimes Curribus aptans,
In Cælum Terramque seris.*

Where his *Light Chariots*, which all *Lives* or *Souls* at their very First Creation, by God are placed in; and in which being wafted, they are both together as as it were Sowed into the *Gross Terrestrial Matter*; are *Thin, Aereal* and *Ethereal Bodies*. But this is plainly declared by *Proclus* upon the *Timæus*, after he had spoken of the *Souls* of Demons and Men, in this manner; *καὶ ὅτι πᾶσαν ψυχὴν ἀνάγκη πρὸ τοῦ θνητῶν σώματος, αἰδέσθαι καὶ ἀκινήτοις πρὸς χεῖρας σώματος, ὡς καὶ ἑστὶν ἔχουσαν τὸ κινεῖν, And every Soul, must of necessity have, before these Mortal Bodies, certain Eternal and easily moveable Bodies, it being Essential to them to move.* There is indeed mention made by the same *Proclus*, and others, of an Opinion of *ἄλογοι δαίμονες*, Irrational or Brutish Demons, or *Demoniack Aereal Brutes*; of which he sometime speaks doubtfully, as *ἔπερ ὅτι εἰσιν ἄλογοι δαίμονες, ὡς οἱ θεουργοί, If there be any Irrational Demons, as the Theurgists affirm.* But the Dispute, Doubt or Controversie here only was, Whether there were any such *Irrational Demons Immortal* or no. For thus we learn from these Words of *Ammonius* upon the *Porphyrion Isagoge*, *οἱ μὲν γὰρ φασιν εἶναι τι δαίμονιον ἀλόγων γένος ἀθάνατον, οἱ δὲ φασι καὶ τὸ τοῖσιν γένος θνητῶν εἶναι, Some affirm, that there is a certain kind of Irrational Demons Immortal; but others, that all these Irrational or Brutish Demons, are Mortal: Where by Irrational Demons Immortal, seem to be understood, such as never Descend into Terrestrial Bodies, (and these are there disclaimed by *Ammonius*) but the Mortal Ones, such as act also upon Gross Terrestrial Bodies, obnoxious to Death and Corruption. As if *Ammonius* should have said, There are no other Brutish or Irrational Demons, than only the Souls of such Brute Animals, as are here amongst us, sometimes acting only *Aereal Bodies*. Thus according to the ancient *Pythagorick Hypothesis*; There is neither any New Substantial thing now Made, which was not before, nor yet any Real Entity Destroyed into Nothing; not only no Matter, but also no Soul nor Life: God*

L. 5 p. 250.

L. 4 p. 283.

God after the First Creation, neither making any *New Substance*, nor yet *Annihilating* any thing made. He then Creating nothing that was not fit to be Conserved in Being, and which could not be well Used and Placed in the Universe; and afterward never Repenting him of what he had before done. And Natural Generations and Corruptions, being nothing but *Accidental Mutations*, Concretions and Secretions, or *Anagrammatical Transpositions* of *Præ-* and *Post-Existing* things, the same *Souls* and *Lives* being sometimes United to one Body, and sometimes to another, Sometimes in *Thicker* and sometimes in *Thinner Clothing*; and sometimes in the *Visible*, sometimes in the *Invisible*: (they having *Aereal* as well as *Terrestrial Vehicles*;) and never any Soul quite naked of all Body. And thus does *Proclus* complain of some as *Spurious Platonists*, οἱ φθερόντες τὸ ὄχημα ἀναλκὰς. *In Tim. p. 330.* *ὅστις οὐτε παντὶς σώματος ἔξω ποιεῖν τὴν ψυχὴν*, *Who Destroying the Thinner Vehicles of Souls, were therefore necessitated sometimes, to leave them in a State of Separation from all Body; or without any Corporeal Indument.* Which *Cabbala* probably derived from the *Egyptians*, by *Pythagoras*; was before fully represented by us out of *Ovid*, though that *Transmigration* of *Humane Souls* there into *Ferine Bodies*, hath not been by all acknowledged, as a *Genuine Part* thereof. And the same was likewise insisted upon by *Virgil. Georg. L. 4.* as also owned and confirmed by *Macrobius*, for a Great Truth, *Constat secundum veræ rationis Assertionem, quam nec Cicero nescit, nec Virgilius ignorat, dicendo,*

Nec Morti esse Locum; —

Constat inquam, Nihil intra Vivum Mundum perire, sed eorum quæ interire videntur, solam mutari Speciem. It is manifest according to Reason and True Philosophy, which neither Cicero, nor Virgil, were unacquainted with, (the Latter of these affirming, That there is no place at all left for Death) I say, it is manifest, that none of those things, that to us seem to die, do absolutely perish, within the Living World, but only their Forms changed.

Now how extravagant soever this Hypothesis seem to be, yet is there no Question, but that a *Pythagorean* would endeavour to find some Countenance and Shelter for it, in the Scripture; especially that place which hath so puzzled and non-plus'd Interpreters, *Rom. 8. 19.* For the Earnest expectation of the Creature, waiteth for the Manifestation of the Sons of God. For the Creature was made subject unto Vanity, not willingly, but by reason of him who hath subjected the same in hope. Because the Creature it self also shall be delivered from the Bondage of Corruption, into the glorious Liberty of the Children of God. For we know, that the whole Creation Groaneth, and Travelleth in pain together; until now. And not only they, but our selves also which have the First Fruits of the Spirit, Groan within Our selves, Waiting for the Adoption, even the Redemption of our Bodies. Where it is first of all evident, that the *Κτίσις*, Creature or Creation Spoken of, is not the very same with the *τέκνα* or *υἱοὶ τοῦ Θεοῦ*, the Children or Sons of God, but something distinct from them. Wherefore in the next place the *Pythagorean* will add, that it must of necessity be understood, either of the *Inanimate Creature* only, or of the *Lower Animal Creation*, or else of both these together.

gether. Now though it be readily acknowledged, that there is a *Prosopopæia* here; yet cannot all those Expressions for all that, without difficulty and violence be understood, of the *Inanimate Creation* only, or *Sensless Matter*. *Viz.* That this hath ἀποκαρσύναν, an *Earnest Expectation* of some future Good to it self; That it is now made Subject ματαύστην, to *Vanity*, *Frustration* and *Disappointment* of Desire; and φθορᾶ, to *Corruption* and *Death*: And that ἐκ ἑκστα, not *Willingly*, but *Reluctantly*; And yet ἐν ἔλπίδι too, In *Hope* notwithstanding of some further Good to follow afterward; and that it doth in the mean time στενεάζειν and σιγᾶσθαι *Groan* and *Travel* in Pain together, till it be at length delivered, from the *Bondage of Corruption*, into the glorious *Liberty of the Children of God*. Moreover, in the *Generations* and *Corruptions* of *Sensless Bodies*, as of *Minerals* and *Vegetables*, or when for example, Oyl is turned into Flame, Flame into Smoke; Water into Vapour, Vapour into Snow or Hail; Grass into Milk, Milk into Blood and Bones; and the like, there is I say in all this, no Hurt done to any thing, nor any *Real Entity* destroyed, all the *Substance* of Matter still remaining intirely the same, without the least diminution, and only *Accidental Transformations* thereof made. All this, is Really Nothing, but *Local Motion*; and there is no more *Toyl* nor *Labour* to an *Inanimate Body* in *Motion*, than in *Rest*; it being altogether as Natural for a Body to be Moved by something else, as of it self to Rest. It is all nothing, but *Change of Figure, Distance, Site, and Magnitude of Parts*, causing several *Sensations, Phancies, and Apparitions* in us. And they who would have the meaning of this place to be, That all such like *Mutations, and Alternate Vicissitudes* in *Inanimate Bodies*, shall at Length quite cease, these Groaning in the mean time, and travelling in Pain, to be delivered from the *Toylsome Labour* of such *Restless Motion*, and to be at *Ease* and *Quiet*; by taking away all Motion thus, out of a fond regard, to the *Ease* and *Quiet* of *Sensless Matter*, they would thereby *ipso facto Petrifie*, the whole *Corporeal Universe*, and consequently the *Bodies of Good Men* also after the *Resurrection*, and *Congeval* all into *Rockie Marble* or *Adamant*. And as vain is that other Conceit of some, that the whole *Terrestrial Globe*, shall at last be *Vitrified*, or turned into *Transparent Crystal*, as if it also *Groaned* in the mean time for this. For whatsoever Change shall be made of the World, In the *New Heaven*, and the *New Earth* to come, it is Reasonable to think, that it will not be made, for the sake of the *Sensless Matter*, or the *Inanimate Bodies* themselves, to which all is alike, but only for the Sake of *Men* and *Animals*, the *Living Spectators*, and *Inhabitants* thereof, that it may be fitter, both for their *Use* and *Delight*. Neither indeed can those words; For the Creature it self shall be delivered from the *Bondage of Corruption*, into the *Glorious Liberty of the Children of God*, be understood of any other, than *Animals*; for as much as this *Liberty of the Children of God*, here meant, is their being *Clothed*, instead of *Mortal*, with *Immortal Bodies*; of which no other *Creatures* are Capable, but only such as consist of *Soul* and *Body*. And that πᾶσα κτίσις, that *Whole Creation*, which is said afterwards to *Groan* and *Travel* in Pain, together, may be well understood, of all That of the Creation, which Can Groan, or be

be *Sensible* of Evil or Misery. Wherefore the *Pythagorean* would interpret this place, of the *Lower Animal Creation* only, which is *Sensible* of Good and Evil; That as this, was *Unwillingly*, or against its own *Inclination* (after the *Fall* of man, or *Lapse* of Souls) made subject to *Vanity*, and the *Bondage* of *Corruption*, Pain, Misery and Death, in those *Gross Terrestrial Bodies*: In the manifestation of the *Sons of God*, when they in stead of these *Mortal Bodies*, shall be clothed with *Celestial* and *Immortal ones*, then shall this *Creature* also have its certain share in the *Felicity* of that *Glorious Time*, and partake in some Measure of such a *Liberty*, by being *Freed* in like manner from these their *Gross Terrestrial Bodies*, and now living only in *Thin Aerial* and *Immortal ones*: and so a *Period* put to all their *Miseries* and *Calamities*, by him who made not *Death*, neither hath pleasure in the *Destruction* of the *Living*, but Created whatsoever liveth, to this end, that it might have its *Being*, and enjoy it self. But however thus much is certain, that *Brute Animals*, in this place cannot be quite excluded; because the *πᾶσα κτίσις* the *Whole Creation*, will not Suffer that: and therefore a *Pythagorist* would conclude it a warrantable Inference, from this Text of Scripture, That that whole Rank in the Creation, of *Irrational & Brutish Animals*, below Men, shall not be utterly Annihilated, in the *Consummation* of things, or *Future Renovation* of the *World*, quite strip'd of all this Furniture; Men being then left alone in it: but that there shall be a Continuation of this Species or Rank of Being. And not only so neither; as if there should still be a constant Succession of such *Alternate Generations* and *Corruptions*, Productions or Births and Deaths of *Brute Animals*, to all Eternity; but also that the *Individuals* themselves shall continue the same, for as much as otherwise there would be none at all delivered from the *Bondage* of *Corruption*. And Lastly, that these very *Souls* of Brutes, which at this time Groan and Travel in Pain, shall themselves be made partakers of that *Liberty* of the Children of God; since otherwise, they should be *With Child*, or *Parturient* of Nothing; Groaning not for themselves, but others. But enough of this *Pythagorick Hypothesis*, which supposing all manner of Souls, *Sensitive* as well as *Rational*, to be *Substantial* things, and therefore to have a *Permanency* after *Death*, in their distinct Natures, allows them certain *Thin Aerial Ochemata*, or *Vehicles*, to Subsist in, when these *Gross Terrestrial ones* shall fail them.

But let these *Aerial Vehicles* of the *Souls* of Brutes go for a *Whimsy* or meer *Figment*; nor let them be allowed, to Act or Enliven any other, than *Terrestrial Bodies* only, by means whereof they must needs be, immediately after *Death*, quite *Destitute* of all *Body*; they Subsisting nevertheless, and not vanishing into Nothing, because they are not meer *Accidents*, but *Substantial* things: We say that in this case, though the Substances of them remain, yet must they needs continue in a State of *Insensibility* and *Inactivity*, unless perhaps they be again afterwards united to some other *Terrestrial Bodies*. Because though *Intellection* be the *Energie* of the *Rational Soul* alone, without the Concurrence of *Body*, yet is the *Energie* of the *Sensitive*, always Conjoynd with it: Sense being, as *Aristotle* hath rightly de-

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terminated;

terminated, a *Complication of Soul and Body* together, as *Weaving* is of the *Weaver* and *Weaving Instruments*. Wherefore we say, that if the *Irrational* and *Sensitive Souls* in Brutes, being *Substantial* things also, be after Death quite destitute of all *Body*, then can they neither have *Sense* of any thing, nor *Act* upon any thing, but must continue for so long a time, in a State of *Insensibility* and *Inactivity*. Which is a thing therefore to be thought the less Impossible, because no man can be certain, that his own Soul in Sleep, Lethargies, and Apoplexies, &c. hath always an uninterrupted Consciousness of it self; and that it was never without *Thoughts*, even in the Mother's Womb. However there is little Reason to doubt, but that the *Sensitive Souls* of such Animals, as Lie Dead or Asleep all the Winter, and Revive or Awake again, at the Approaching warmth of Summer, do for that time continue, in a State of *Inactivity* and *Insensibility*. Upon which account, though these *Souls* of *Brutes* may be said in one Sense to be *Immortal*, because the *Substance* of them, and the *Root of life* in them, still remains, yet may they in another Sense, be said also to be *Mortal*, as having the *Exercise* of that *Life* for a time at least, quite suspended. From whence it appears, that there is no Reason at all, for that *Fear* and *Suspicion* of some; That if the *Souls* of *Brutes* be *Substantial*, and continue in Being after Death, they must therefore needs go either to *Heaven* or *Hell*. But as for that Supposed Possibility, of their awakening again afterwards, in some other *Terrestrial Bodies*, this seemeth to be no more, than what is found by daily Experience, in the Course of Nature, when the *Silk-worm* and other *Worms*, dying, are transformed into Butterflies. For there is little Reason to doubt, but that the same *Soul* which before Acted the Body of the *Silk-worm*, doth afterward *Act* that of the *Butterfly*: upon which account it is, that this hath been made by Christian Theologers, an *Emblem of the Resurrection*.

Hitherto have we declared Two several *Opinions*, concerning the *Substantial Souls* of Brutes, supposed therefore to have a *Permanent Subsistence* after Death, one of *Plato's* and the *Pythagorean's*, that when they are divested of these Gross *Terrestrial Bodies*, they Live and have a *Sense* of themselves, in *Thin Aerial* ones. The other, of such as Exploding these *Aerial Vehicles* of Brutes, and allowing them none but *Terrestrial Bodies*, affirm the Substances of them Surviving Death, to continue in a State of *Inactivity* and *Insensibility*, *Sleep*, *Silence*, or *Stupor*. But now to say the Truth, there is no *Absolute Necessity*, that these *Souls* of Brutes, because *Substantial*, should therefore have a *Permanent Subsistence* after Death to all Eternity; Because though it be True, that no Substance once Created by God, will of it self ever vanish into nothing, yet is it true also, that whatsoever was Created by God out of Nothing, may possibly by him be Annihilated and Reduced to nothing again. Wherefore when it is said, that the *Immortality of the Humane Soul* is *Demonstrable by Natural Reason*, the meaning hereof is no more than this, that its *Substantiality* is so Demonstrable; from whence it follows, that it will Naturally no more perish or vanish into Nothing, than the Substance of *Matter* it self: and not that it is Impossible, either for it, or Mat-
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ter, by Divine Power to be Annihilated. Wherefore the assurance that we have of our own Souls Immortality, must depend upon something else, besides their *Substantiality*, namely a *Faith* also in the *Divine Goodness*, that he will conserve in Being or not Annihilate, all such *Substances Created* by him; whose *Permanent Subsistence*, is neither Inconsistent with his own *Attributes*, nor the *Good of the Universe*; as this of Rational Souls unquestionably is not; they having both *Morality* and *Liberty of Will*, and thereby being capable of *Rewards* and *Punishments*, and Consequently *Fit Objects* for the *Divine Justice* to display it self upon. But for ought we can be certain, the case may be otherwise, as to the *Souls of Brute Animals* devoid both of *Morality* and *Liberty of Will*, and therefore *Uncapable of Reward* and *Punishment*, That though they will not Naturally of themselves, vanish into Nothing, yet having been Created by God, in the *Generations* of the Respective Animals, and had some enjoyment of themselves for a time, they may by him again be as well Annihilated in their Deaths and Corruptions: and if this be Absolutely the Best, then doubtless is it so. And to this seemeth agreeable the Opinion of *Porphyrus* amongst the Philosophers, when he affirmed every *Irrational Power* or *Soul*, to be resolved into the *Life of the Whole*; that is, Retracted and Resumed into the Deity, and so Annihilated as to its *Creaturely Nature*. Though possibly there may be another Interpretation of that Philosophers meaning here, *Viz.* That all the *Sensitive Souls* of Brutes, are Really but one and the same *Mundane Soul*, as it were Out-flowing, and variously Displaying it self, and Acting upon all the several parts of Matter, that are capable to receive it, but at their Deaths retiring again back into it self. But we have Sufficiently retunded the Force of that *Objection* against the *Ingenerability* of all *Souls*, and the *Substantiality* of those of Brutes also, from their consequent *Permanence* after Death; we having shewed, That notwithstanding this their *Substantiality*, there is no *Absolute Necessity*, of their Perpetuity after Death, and Permanency to all Eternity, or else that if they do continue to Subsist, (God Annihilating no Substance) unless they have *Aerial Vehicles* to Act, they must remain in a State of *Inactivity*, and *Insensibility*, *Silence*, or *Sleep*.

Now therefore if no *Souls*; no *Life* nor *Cogitation*, could possibly be ever Generated out of *Dead* and *Senseless Matter*, they being not meer *Accidents*, but *Substantial things*, which must in this case have come from *Nothing*; then either all *Souls* Existed of themselves from Eternity, or else there must of Necessity be some *Eternal Unmade Life and Mind*, from whence all the other *Lives* and *Minds* were derived. And that this was the Doctrine of the Ancient Theists, That no *Soul* or *Mind*, no *Life* or *Understanding*, was ever Generated out of *Matter*, but all Produced by the Deity, the Sole Fountain of *Life* and *Understanding*; might be here proved, were it needful, at large by sundry Testimonies, but it may sufficiently appear from those Verses of *Virgil*, First in his Sixth *Æneid*, where after he had spoken of God, as a Spirit and Mind diffused thorough out the whole world, he addeth,

*Inde hominum pecudumque genus, Vitæque Volantum,
Et quæ marmoreo fert monstra sub æquore Pontus,*

That from thence, are the Lives of all Men and Beasts, Birds flying in the Air, and Monsters swimming in the Sea. And again in his Georgicks, where after these words,

—Deum namque ire per omnes
Terrasque Tractusque Maris, Cælumque profundum,

That God passeth, through all Tracts, of Earths, Seas, and Heavens, He subjoyneth,

*Hinc Pecudes, Armenta, Viros, genus omne Ferarum
Quemque sibi tennes nascentem arcessere Vitæ.
Scilicet huc Reddi deinde & Resoluta Referri,
Omnia, nec Morti esse locum.*

And from Hence, not only Men, but also all manner of Brute Animals and Beasts, when produced into this world, do every one derive their Lives or Souls, as also at their Deaths they render the same back again, to him, in whose hand or custody they remain undestroyed; so that there is no place anywhere in the world, left for Death. This was therefore undoubtedly, the Genuine Doctrine of the Ancient Theists, however some of late, have Deviated and Swerved from it; That no Life was Generated out of Matter, but all Created by the Deity, or Derived from it, the Sole Fountain of Lives and Souls.

And it is a Truth so evident, That Life being Substantial, and not a meer Accidental thing Generated and Corrupted, there must therefore of Necessity, be Some Eternal Unmade Life and Mind, from whence all other Lives and Minds are derived, That the Hylozoick Atheists themselves (in this far wiser than the Atomicks) were fully convinced thereof: Nevertheless being strongly possessed with that Atheistick Prejudice, that there is no other Substance besides Body, they Attribute this first Original Unmade Life and Understanding, to all Matter as such, (but without Animal Consciousness) as an Essential part thereof, or Inadequate Conception of it. From which Fundamental Life of Nature in Matter, Modified by Organization, they phancy the Lives of all Animals and Men, to have proceeded. So that though the Modified Lives of Animals and Men, as such, according to them be Accidental things, Generated and Corrupted, produced out of Nothing and reduced to Nothing again, yet this Fundamental Life of Matter, which is the Basis upon which they stand, being Substantial, is also Eternal and Incorruptible. These Hylozoists therefore, to avoid a Deity, Suppose every Atom of Senseless Matter, to have been from all Eternity, Infallibly Omniscient, that is, to know all things without either Error or Ignorance, and to have a Knowledge before Sense; and Underived from Sensibles (quite contrary to the Doctrine of the Atomick Atheists, who make all Knowledge Sense,

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or the Product thereof) though without any *Animal Consciousness* and *Self-Perception*.

But as nothing can be more Prodigiously Absurd, than thus to attribute *Infallible Omniscience*, to every *Atom* of *Matter*; so is it also directly Contradictory, to suppose *Perfect Knowledge*, *Wisdom*, or *Understanding*, without any *Consciousness* or *Self-Perception*; *Consciousness* being Essential to *Cogitation*: as also, that the *Substantial* and *Fundamental Life* in men and other *Animals*, should never Perish, and yet Notwithstanding their *Souls* and *Personalities*, in *Death*, utterly vanish into *Nothing*. Moreover this *Hypothesis*, can never possibly Salve the *Phenomenon* of *Men* and *Animals* neither; not only because no *Organization* or *Modification* of *Matter* whatsoever, could ever produce *Consciousness* and *Self-Perception*, in what was before *Inconscious*; but also because every *Smallest Atom* thereof being supposed to be a *Percipient* by it self, and to have a *Perfect Life* and *Understanding* of its own, there must be in every one *Man* and *Animal*, not one, but a *Heap* or *Commonwealth* of innumerable *Percipients*. Lastly, whereas these *Hylozoick Atheists*, make every *Atom* of *Matter* *Omniscient*, but nothing at all *Omnipotent*, or assert *Perfect Knowledge*, without any *Perfect Power*, a *Knowledge* without *Sense* and *Undersived* from *Sensibles*; we demand of them, where the *Intelligibles*, or *Objects* of this *Knowledge* are? and whence the *Ideas* thereof are derived? for since they proceed not in a way of *Passion* from *Sensibles* Existing without, nor could result from those *Atoms* neither as *Comprehending* themselves; they must needs Come from *Nothing*, and many of them at least, be the *Conceptions* of *Nothing*. There cannot possibly be any other *Original* by the wit of man devised, of *Knowledge* and *Understanding*, than from an *Absolutely Perfect* and *Omnipotent Being*, *Comprehending* it self, and the *Extent* of its own *Infinite Power*, or all *Possibilities* of things, that is, all *Intelligibles*. But there can be but *One* such *Omnipotent Being*, and therefore no more, than *One Original*, and *Eternal Unmade Mind*, from whence all the other *Minds* are *Derived*. Wherefore this *Hylozoick Atheism*, is nothing but the *Breaking* and *Crumbling* of the *Simple Deity*, *One-Perfect Understanding Being*, into *Matter*, and all the several *Atoms* of it.

And now have we made it manifest, that these *Atheists*, are so far from being able to disprove a *God*, from this *Topick* of *Cogitation*, *Knowledge* or *Understanding*, that they cannot possibly Salve the *Phenomenon* thereof, without a *God*; it indeed affording *Invincible Arguments* of his *Existence*. For First; If no *Life* or *Cogitation*, *Soul* or *Mind*, can possibly Spring out of *Matter* or *Body*, devoid of *Life* and *Understanding*; and which is nothing but a *Thing Extended*, into *Length*, *Breadth* and *Thicknes*; then is it so far from being *True*, that all *Life* and *Understanding* is *Junior* to *Senseless Matter*, and the *Off-spring* thereof; that of necessity, either all *Lives* and *Souls*, were *Self-Existent* from *Eternity*; or else there must be *One Perfect Unmade Life and Mind*, from whence all other *Imperfect ones* were derived: there must be an *Eternal Knowledge*, before *Sense* and *Sensibles*;

Sensibles; which is that that hath printed the *Stamps* and *Signatures* of it self, upon the Matter of the whole world. Indeed nothing can be more certain than this, that all *Knowledge* and *Understanding* in Our selves, is not a meer *Passion* from Singular *Sensibles*, or Bodies Existing without us, as the forementioned *Atheists* also conclude; (from whence they would again Infer, that *Knowledge* as such, is in its own Nature *Junior* to *Sensibles*, and the meer *Creature* of them, and Consequently no *Creator*.) There being nothing which comes to us, from the *Objects* of Sense without, but Only *Local Motion* and *Pressure*, and there being other *Objects* of the Mind, besides Singular *Sensibles*; not only all *Universals*, but also such *Intelligibles*, as never were nor can be in Sense. Now if our Humane *Knowledge* and *Understanding* be not a *Passion* from things Existing without us; then can it have no other Original, than in way of *Participation*, from a *Perfect Mind*, the *Mind* of an *Infinitely Fecund* and *Powerful Being*, comprehending It self, and in It self all things; all the *Possibilities* of things before they were Made, their *Respects* and the *Verities* belonging to them. So that a *Perfect Omnipotent Being* together with the *Possibilities* of things contained in it; is the *First* ΝΟΥΤΩΝ, *Intelligible*, or *Object* of *Mind* and *Understanding*, by which all other *Singulars* are Understood. And were there no such *Perfect*, *Infinitely Fecund*, and *Powerful Being*, there could have been, no *Mind* or *Understanding* at all. As also, were there no *Perfect Mind*, viz. That of an *Omnipotent Being* Comprehending It self, and all *Possibilities* of things virtually contained in it; all the *Knowledge*, and *Intelligible Ideas*, of our *Imperfect Minds*, must needs have Sprung from *Nothing*. And thus is the Existence of a *God*, again Demonstrated, from that *Phænomenon* of *Knowledge* or *Understanding*.

HAVING quite Routed and Vanquished the Atheists *Main Body*, we shall now blow away the Remainder of their weaker and scattered Forces (viz. Their *Objections* against *Providence*, their *Queries*, and their *Arguments* from *Interest*) with a Breath or two. Their *First Objection* is against *Providence*, as to the *Fabrick* of the World, from the *Faultiness* of the *Mundane System*, Intellectually considered, and in Order to Ends; *Quia tantâ stat Prædita Culpâ*; That Because it is so *Ill-Made*, therefore it could not be made by a *God*. Where the *Atheist* takes it for granted, that whosoever asserts a *God*, or a *Perfect Mind* to be the Original of all things, does therefore ipso facto suppose All things to be *Well Made*, and as they should be. And this doubtless was the Sense of all the Ancient *Theologers*; however some Modern *Theists* deviate there from; these Concluding the *Perfection* of the *Deity*, not at all to consist in *Goodness*; but in *Power* and *Arbitrary Will* only. As if to have a *Will* determined by a *Rule* or *Reason* of Good, were the *Virtue* of *Weak*, *Impotent*, and *Obnoxious* Beings only, or of such as have a *Superior* over them to give *Law* to them, that is of *Creatures*; but the *Prerogative* of a Being

Being Irresistibly Powerful, to have a Will absolutely Indifferent to all things, and Undetermined by any thing but it self; or to Will nothing because it is Good, but to make its own Arbitrary or Contingent and Fortuitous Determination, the Sole Reason of all its Actions, nay the very Rule or Measure, of Goodness, Justice, and Wisdom it self. And this is supposed by them, to be the Liberty, Sovereignty, and Dominion of the Deity. Wherefore such Theists as these, would think themselves altogether Unconcerned, in these Atheistick Objections against Providence, or in Defending, the Fabrick of the World, as Faultless; they being as ready as the Atheists themselves, to acknowledge, that the World might really have been much better made, than now it is; (Only that it must be said to be Well, because so made) but pretending nevertheless, that this is no Impeachment at all of the Existence of a God, *Quia Deus non tenetur ad Optimum*, Because God is No way Bonnd or Obliged to the Best; he being indeed according to them, nothing but Arbitrary Will Omnipotent. But what do these Theists here else, then whilst they deny, the Fortuitous Motion of Senseless Matter, to be the First Original of all things, themselves in the mean time, Enthrone Fortuitousness and Contingency, in the Will of an Omnipotent Being, and there give it an Absolute Sovereignty and Dominion over all? So that the Controversie betwixt the Atheists, and these Theists, seems to be no other than this; Whether Senseless Matter Fortuitously Moved, or a Fortuitous Will Omnipotent, such as is altogether undetermined, by Goodness, Justice and Wisdom, be the Sovereign Numen, and Original of all things. Certainly, we Mortals could have little better Ground, for our Faith and Hope, in such an Omnipotent Arbitrary Will as this, then we could have in the Motions of Senseless Atoms, furiously agitated; or of a Rapid Whirlwind. Nay one would think, that of the Two, it should be more desirable, to be under the Empire of Senseless Atoms, Fortuitously moved, then of a Will altogether Undetermined by Goodness, Justice, and Wisdom, armed with Omnipotence; because the Former could harbour no Hurtful or Mischievous Designs, against any, as the Latter might. But this Irrational Will, altogether Undetermined by Goodness, Justice, and Wisdom, is so far from being the Highest, Liberty, Sovereignty and Dominion; the Greatest Perfection, and the Divinest thing of all; that it is indeed nothing else but Weakness and Impotency it self, or Brutish Folly and Madness. And therefore those Ancients who affirmed, that Mind was Lord over all, and the Supream King of Heaven and Earth, held at the Same time, that Good was the Sovereign Monarch of the Universe, Good Reigning in Mind and together with it; because Mind is that which orders all things for the Sake of Good, and whatsoever doth otherwise, was according to them, not Νῆς, but ἄνοια, not Mens, but Dementia, and Consequently no God. And thus does Celsus in Origen declare the Nature of God, ὅτι ὁ πᾶσι ἡγεμὼν ὁ θεὸς οὐκ ἔστιν ἀρχαῖος, ἀλλὰ ὁ ὁρῶν τὴν δικαίαν φύσιν τοῦ θεοῦ ὅτιν ἀρχαῖος, God is not the President or Head of Irregular and Irrational Lust or Appetite, and of loose Erratick Disorderliness, but of the Just and Righteous Nature. And though this were there misapply'd by him, against the Christian Doctrine of the Resurrection (not understood) yet is the Passage highly

highly approved by Origen; he adding further in Confirmation thereof, and that as the general Sense of Christians too, φαμέν ὅτι ὁ θεὸς δύναται αἰρεῖν ὁ θεός, ἔπειτα ἔστι ὁ θεός δυνάμενος μὴ εἶναι θεός, εἰ γὰρ αἰρεῖν πᾶσι ὁ θεός, οὐκ ἔστι θεός. *We Christians (who hold the Resurrection) say as well as you, that God can do nothing, which is in it self Evil, Inept, or Absurd; no more than he is able not to be God.*

So likewise, P.
247. ἀλλὰ καὶ καὶ
ἡμᾶς ἔδεν ὁ θεὸς τι
παράλογον εἶναι
παρ' αὐτὸν ἐργά-
σασθαι ἔστιν ὁ θε-
ός. According to
Us also, God can
do nothing that is
Absurd, or besides
Reason.
* P. 265.

For if God do any Evil he is no God. And again, ἔδεν μὴ πρέπον εἶναι. ὁ θεός βέλεται, ἀναρέτικον τυγχάνον τῷ εἶναι αὐτὸν θεόν, *God willeth nothing Unbecoming himself, or what is truly Indecorous; for as much as this is inconsistent with his Godship.* And to the same purpose Plotinus, * ποιεῖ τὸ θεῖον ὡς πέφυκε, πέφυκε ὃ καὶ τὸ αὐτὸ εἶναι, ἢ τὸ κα-
λὸν ἐν ταῖς ἐνεργείαις αὐτοῦ, τὸ δίκαιον συνεφέρεται, εἰ γὰρ μὴ ἐκὲν ταῦτα, πᾶς ἂν εἴη; *The Deity acteth according to its own Nature and Essence; and its Nature and Essence displaieth Goodness and Justice: For if these Things be not there, where should they else be found? And again else-where, θεός ὅπερ ἔχεν εἶναι, ὃ τῶν ὅλων συνῆκεν, ἀλλ' ἐκὼς ὅλων τὸ δ' ἐ-
στὶ τὸ τοῦ ἀρχῆς ὅσα ἐστὶν. *God is Essentially That which Ought to be; and therefore he did not Happen to be such as he is: and this First Ought to be, is the Principle of all things whatsoever, that Ought to be.* Wherefore the Deity is not to be conceived, as meer Arbitrariness, Humour, or Irrational Will and Appetite Omnipotent, (which would indeed be but Omnipotent Chance) but as an Overflowing Fountain of Love and Goodness, Justly and Wisely dispensing it self, and Omnipotently reaching all things. The Will of God, is Goodness, Justice, and Wisdom; or Decorousness, Fitness, and Ought it self, Willing; so that the τὸ βέλτερον, that which is Absolutely The Best, is νόμος ἀπαράβατος, an Indispensable Law to it, because its Very Essence. God is μέτερον πάντων, an Impartial Ballance, lying Even Equal and Indifferent to all things, and Weighing out Heaven and Earth, and all the Things therein, in the most just and exact Proportions, and not a Grain too much or too little of any thing. Nor is the Deity therefore Bound or Obligated to do the Best, in any way of Servility (as men fondly imagine this to be contrary to his Liberty) much less by the Law and Command of any Superiour (which is a Contradiction) but only by the Perfection of its own Nature, which it cannot possibly deviate from, no more than Ungod it self. In Conclusion therefore, we acknowledge the Atheists Argument to be thus far Good; that If there be a God, then of Necessity must all things be Well made, and as they Should be; & vice versa. But no Atheist will ever be able to prove, that either the Whole System of the World, could have been Better Made, or that so much as any one thing therein is Made Ineptly.*

P. 743.

There are indeed many things in the Frame of Nature, which we cannot reach to the Reasons of, they being made by a Knowledge far Superior and Transcendent, to that of Ours, and our Experience and Ratiocination, but Slowly discovering the Intrigues and contrivances of Providence therein; Witness the Circulation of the Blood, the Milkie and Lymphatick Vessels, and other things, (without which the Mechanick Structure of the Bodies of Animals cannot be understood) all but so lately brought to light: wherefore we must not conclude, that what-
soever

soever we cannot find out the Reason of, or the use that it serveth to, is therefore *Ineptly Made*. We shall give one Instance of this; The *Intestinum Cæcum*, in the Bodies of Men and other Animals seems at first sight, to be but a meer *Botch* or *Bungle* of Nature, and an *Odd* impertinent *Appendix*; neither do we know that any *Anatomist* or *Physiologer*, hath given a Rational Account thereof, or discovered its Use, and yet there being a *Valve* at the Entrance of it, these Two both together, are a most *Artificial Contrivance* of Nature, and of great advantage for Animals, to hinder the *Regurgitation* of the *Fæces* upward, towards the *Ventricle*.

The First *Atheistick Instance* of the *Faultiness* of things, in the *Frame of Nature*, is from the *Constitution* of the Heavens, and the *Disposition* of the *Æquator* and *Ecliptick*, intersecting each other in an *Angle*, of Three and Twenty Degrees and upwards; whereby as they pretend, the Terrestrial Globe, is rendred much more Uninhabitable, than otherwise it might be. But this is built upon a *False Supposition* of the Ancients, that the Torrid Zone, or all between the *Tropicks*, was utterly Uninhabitable by reason of the Extremity of Heat. And it is certain, that there is nothing which doth more demonstrate a *Providence* than this very thing, it being the most Convenient Site or *Disposition*, that could be devised, as will appear if the Inconveniences of other Dispositions be considered, especially these Three; First, If the Axes of those Circles should be *Parallel*, and their *Plains* Coincident; Secondly, If they should Intersect each other in *Right Angles*; and Thirdly, (which is a Middle betwixt both) If they should cut one another in an Angle of *Forty Five Degrees*. For it is evident, that each of these *Dispositions* would be attended with far greater *Inconveniences* to the Terrestrial Inhabitants, in respect of the Length of Days and Nights, Heat and Cold. And that these two *Circles* should continue thus, to keep the same *Angular Intersection*, when *Physical* and *Mechanick Causes*, would bring them still nearer together; this is a farther Eviction of a *Providence* also.

In the next place, the *Atheist* supposes, that according to the general Perswasion of *Theists*, the world and all things therein, were Created only for the Sake of *Man*, he thinking to make some advantage for his Cause from hence. But this seemeth, at first, to have been an Opinion only, of some strait-laced Stoicks, though afterward indeed recommended to others also, by their own *Self-love*, their *Over-Weaning*, and *Puffy Conceit* of themselves. And so *Fleas* and *Lice*, had they Understanding, might conclude the Bodies of other greater Animals and Men also, to have been made only for them. But the *Whole* was not properly made for any *Part*, but the *Parts* for the *Whole*, and the *Whole* for the *Maker* thereof. And yet may the things of this Lower World, be well said, to have been *Made*, *Principally*, (though not *Only*) for Man. For we ought not to Monopolize the Divine Goodness to our selves, there being other Animals Superiour to us, that are not altogether Unconcerned neither in this *Visible Creation*: and it being reasonable to think, that Even the Low-

Thus Plato,
μέγ@ μὲν
ἐνεχὰ ὅλ@,
ἡ δ' ὅλον
μέγ@ς ἐνε-
χα. De Leg.
p. 903.

or *Animals* likewise, and whatsoever, hath *Conscious Life*; was made partly also, to *Enjoy* it self. But *Atheists*, can be no *Fit Judges*, of *Worlds* being made *Well* or *Ill*, either in general, or respectively to *Mankind*, they having no *Standing Measure* for *Well* and *Ill*, without a *God* and *Morality*, nor any *True Knowledge* of themselves, and what their own *Good* or *Evil* Consisteth in. That was at first but a *Froward Speech*, of some sullen discontented Persons, when things falling not out agreeably, to their own *Private*, *Selfish*, and *Partial Appetites*, they would *Revenge* themselves, by *Railing* upon *Nature*, (that is, *Providence*) and calling her a *Stepmother* only to *Mankind*, whilst she was a *Fond*, *Partial*, and *Indulgent Mother* to other *Animals*; and though this be *Elegantly* set off by *Lucretius*, yet is there nothing but *Poetick Flourish*, in it all, without any *Philosophick Truth*. The *Advantages* of *Mankind* being so notoriously conspicuous above those of *Brutes*.

But as for *Evils* in general, from whence the *Atheist* would conclude, the *God* of the *Theist*, to be either *Impotent* or *Envious*; it hath been already declared, that the *True Original* of them, is from the *Necessity* of *Imperfect Beings*, and the *Impossibility* of things; but that the *Divine Art* and *Skill*, most of all appeareth, in *Bonifying* these *Evils*, and making them like *Discords* in *Musick*, to contribute to the *Harmony* of the *Whole*, and the *Good* of *Particular Persons*.

Moreover a great part of those *Evils*, which men are afflicted with, is not from the *Reality* of Things, but only from their own *Phancy* and *Opinions*, according to that of the *Moralist*, ταρταρὸς τὰς ἀνθρώπων οὐ τὰ πραγματικά, ἀλλὰ τὰ ἐν τῇ ψυχῇ πραγματικῶν δόγματα, *It is not Things themselves that disturb men, but only their Own Opinions concerning things*; and therefore it being much in our own *Power* to be freed from these, *Providence* is not to be *Blamed* upon the account of them. *Pain*, is many times nearly linked with *Pleasure*, according to that *Socratick Fable*, That when *God* could not reconcile their *Contrary Natures* (as he would) he *Tyed* them *Head and Tayl* together. And good men know that *Pain* is not the *Evil* of the *Man*, but only of the *Part* so affected, (as *Socrates* also) τὸ ἀλγεῖν ἐν τῇ ὀστέϊ μὲν, *It goes no further than the Leg where it is*. But this is many times very *Serviceable*, to free us from the *Greater Evils* of the *Mind*; upon which all our *Happiness* dependeth. To the *Atheists* who acknowledge no *Malum Culpe*, No *Evil* of *Fault*, (*Turpitude*, or *Dishonesty*) *Death* is the *Greatest* and *most Tragical* of all *Evils*. But though this according to their forlorn *Hypothesis*, be nothing less than an *Absolute Extinction* of *Life*; yet according to the *Doctrine* of the *Genuine Theists*, which makes all *Souls Substantial*, no *Life* of it self (without *Divine Annihilation*) will ever quite *Vanish* into *Nothing*, any more than the *Substance* of *Matter* doth. And the *Ancient Pythagoreans* and *Platonists* have been here so *Kind*, even to the *Souls* of *Brutes* also, as that they might not be left in a *State of Inactivity* and *Insensibility* after *Death*, as to bestow upon them certain *Subtle Bodies*, which they may then continue to *Act* in. Nor can we think otherwise, but that *Aristotle* from this *Fountain*, derived that *Doctrine* of his in his

Second

Second Book, *De Gen. An.* c. 3. where after he had declared the *Sensitive Soul*, to be *Inseparable* from *Body*, he addeth, *πάντες ἐν ψυχῇ δύναμις ἑτέρας σώματος ἔοικε κατοικωνικένου ἢ ἰσοτέρας τῇ καλεσμένων στοιχείων· ὥς ὃ διαφέρει τιμότητι αἱ ψυχαὶ ἢ ἀτιμία ἀνθρώπων, ἔτι καὶ ἡ τοιαύτη διαφέρει φύσιν.* All Souls therefore, seem to have another Body, and Diviner than that of the Elements; and as themselves differ in Dignity and Nobility, so do these Bodies of theirs, differ from one another. And afterwards calling this Subtle Body *πνεῦμα*, or a Spirit, he affirmeth it to be, *ἀνάλογον τῷ τῷ ἄστρον στοιχείῳ*, Analogous to the Element of the Stars. Only as *Galen*, and *S. Austin*, and others have conceived, *Aristotle* deviated here from the *Pythagoreans* in this, that he supposed the *Sensitive Soul* it self, to be really nothing else, but this Very Subtle and Star-like Body, and not a distinct Substance from it, using it only as a Vehicle. Nevertheless he there plainly affirmeth the *Mind* or *Rational Soul*, to be really distinct from the *Body*, and to come into it From Without Pre-Existing; and consequently, should acknowledge also its After-Immortality. But whatsoever *Aristotle's* Judgment were (which is not very Material) it is Certain that Dying, to the *Rational* or *Humane Soul*, is nothing but a withdrawing into the *Tyring-house*, and putting off the Clothing of this *Terrestrial Body*. So that it will still continue after death, to live to God, whether in a Body, or without it. Though according to *Plato's* Express Doctrine, the Soul is never quite Naked of all Body, he writting thus, *αἱ ψυχαὶ ὀπταζομένην σώματι, τότε μὲν ἄλλῳ τότε δὲ ἄλλῳ* the Soul is always conjoyned with a Body, but sometimes of one kind, and sometimes of another; which many Christian Doctors also, as is before declared, have thought highly probable. However our Christian Faith, assures us, that the Souls of Good men, shall at length be clothed, with *Spiritual* and *Heavenly Bodies*, such as are, in *Aristotle's* Language, *ἀνάλογα τῷ τῷ ἄστρον στοιχείῳ*, Analogous to the Element of the Stars. Which Christian Resurrection therefore, to Life and Immortality, is far from being, as *Celsus* reproched it, *ζωοληκῶν ἐλπίς*, The Meer Hope of Worms. And thus much shall suffice, in way of Confutation, of the First Atheistick Objection against Providence, which is the Twelfth Argument propounded, in the Second Chapter.

*De Leg. 10.
p. 903.*

The Thirteenth Atheistick Argument, or Second Objection against Providence; is from the Seeming Confusion of Humane Affairs; That all things fall alike to all; the Innocent and the Nocent, the Pious and the Impious, the Religious and the Prophane: nay, That many times the Worser Causes and Men, prevail against the Better, as is intimated in that Passage of the Poet, though in the Person of a Theist,

Victrix Causa Deo placuit, sed Victrix Catoni;

And That the Unjust and Ungodly, often flow in all kind of Prosperity, whilst the Innocent and Devout Worshippers of the Deity, all their Lives long, conflict with Adversity. Whereas were there a God and Providence, as they conceive, Prophane and Irreligious Persons would be presently Thunder-struck from Heaven, or otherwise made remarkable Objects of Divine Vengeance, as also the Pious Miracu-

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lously

lously protected and rescued from Evil and Harms.

Now we grant indeed, that this Consideration hath too much puzzled and staggered *Weak Minds* in all Ages. Because *Sentence against an Evil Work is not executed speedily, therefore is the heart of the Sons of men fully set in them to do Evil.* And the *Psalmist* himself, was sometime much perplexed with this *Phænomenon*, the *Prosperity* of the *Ungodly*; who *set their Mouths against Heaven*, and *whose Tongue walketh through the Earth*; so that he was *Tempted to think*, *He had cleansed his Heart in Vain*, and *Washed his hands in Innocency*; (till at length entering into the *Sanctuary of God*, his *Mind* became *Illuminated*, and his *Soul* fixed in a firm *Trust and Confidence upon Divine Providence*; *Whom have I in Heaven but thee, &c.* *My Flesh and my Heart faileth*, but *God is the Strength of my Heart*, and *my Portion for ever.*) For as some will from hence be apt to infer, That there is no *God at all*, but that blind *Chance and Fortune* steer all (*the Fool hath said in his heart, there is no God*;) So will others conclude, That though there be a *God*, yet he either does not know things done here below, (*How does God Know? and is there Knowledge in the most High?*) or else will not so far *Humble himself*, or *Disturb his own Ease and Quiet*, as to concern himself in our *Low Humane Affairs*.

Thus did
some in Pla-
to from
hence con-
clude, εἶναι
μὲν θεός,
τὸ δ' ἀνθρώ-
πων ἀμε-
λεῖν πραγ-
μάτων. De
Leg. 10.

First of all therefore we here say, That it is altogether unreasonable, to require that *Divine Providence* should *Miraculously* interpose upon every turn, in *Punishing the Ungodly* and *Preserving the Pious*, and thus perpetually interrupt the *Course of Nature*, (which would look but like a *Botch or Bungle*, and a violent business) but rather carry things on ἀόφω καὶ ἄφω, in a *Still and Silent Path*, and shew his *Art and Skill*, in making things of themselves fairly unwind, and clear up at last into a *Satisfactory Close*. *Passion and Self-Interest* is blind, or short sighted; but that which steers the whole world is no *Fond, Pettish, Impatient and Passionate thing*; but an *Impartial, Disinterested, and Uncaptivated Nature*. Nevertheless it is certain, that sometimes we have not wanted Instances, in Cases extraordinary, of a θεός ἀπὸ μηχανῆς, *God appearing, as it were Miraculously upon the Stage*, and manifesting himself in taking immediate *Vengeance upon Notorious Malefactors*, or delivering his *Faithful Servants from imminent Dangers or Evils Threatned*; as the same is often done also, by a secret and Undiscerned overruling, of the things of *Nature*. But it must be granted, that it is not always thus, but the *Periods of Divine Providence*, here in this *World*, are commonly *Longer*, and the *Evolution* thereof *Slower*: According to that of *Euripides*, which yet has a Tange of *Prophaneness* in the Expression,

μέλλει τὸ θεῖον ὁ θεὸς τοῖστον φύσει,

The Deity is Slow or Dilatory, and this is the Nature of it. For it is not from Slackness and Remissness in the Deity, but either from his *Patience and Long-suffering*, he willing that men should Repent, or else to teach us *Patience* by his Example (as *Plutarch* suggesteth) or that

that all things may be carried on with the more *Pomp* and *Solemnity*; or Lastly, for other particular Reasons, as *Plutarch* ventures to assign one, why it might not be expedient, for *Dionysius* the Tyrant, though so Prophane and Irreligious a Person, to have been cut off suddainly. But Wicked and Ungodly Persons often times fail not, to be met withal at last, and at the long run, here in this Life, and either in Themselves or Posterity to be notoriously Branded with the Marks of Divine Displeasure: according to that of the Poet, *Rare antecedentem Scelestum, &c.* It is seldom that Wickedness altogether escapes Punishment; though it come slowly after, limping with a *Lame Foot*; and those Proverbial Speeches amongst the *Pagans*,

Ὅψι θεῶν ἀλεῖται μύλοι, ἀλεῖται ὃ λεπτόν.

*Mills of the Gods, do slowly wind,
But they at length to powder grind.*

And; Divine Justice steals on Softly with *Woollen Feet*, but Strikes at last with *Iron Hands*.

Nevertheless we cannot say, that it is always thus neither, but that Wicked Persons, may possibly sometimes, have an Uninterrupted Prosperity here in this Life, and no visible Marks of Divine Displeasure upon them: but as the generously vertuous, will not Envy them upon this account, nor repine at their own condition they knowing, that ἔσθ' ἡ κακὴν τῷ ἀγαθῷ ἔσθ' αὖ τῷ φαύλῳ ἀγαθόν, *There is neither any thing truly Evil to the Good, nor Good to the Evil*; so are they so far from being staggered herewith, in their Belief of a God and Providence, that they are rather the more confirmed, in their Perswasions of a Future Immortality and Judgment after Death, when all things shall be set straight and right, and Rewards and Punishments Impartially Dispensed. That of *Plutarch* therefore, is most true here, εἰς ἓν ὁ λόγος ὁ τῷ οὐδ' ἑνὶ πρὸς ἑνὶ ἀμὰ καὶ τῷ διαμονῇ τῷ ἀνθρώπινῳ ψυχῆς βεβαιῶν, καὶ δὴ τὸ ἐν ἑνὶ ἀπολιπεῖν ἀναμειβόμενον, *That there is a Necessary Connexion betwixt those Two things, Divine Providence, and the Permanence or Immortality of Humane Souls, one and the same Reason confirming them both; neither can one of these be taken alone without the other.* But they who because Judgment is not presently Executed upon the Ungodly, blame the Management of things as Faulty, and Providence as Defective, are like such Spectators of a Dramatick Poem, as when wicked and injurious Persons are brought upon the Stage, for a while Swaggering and Triumphing; impatiently cry out against the Dramatist, and presently condemn the Plot: whereas if they would but expect the winding up of things, and stay till the last Close, they should then see them come off with shame and sufficient punishment. The Evolution of the World, as *Plotinus* calls it, is ἀληθέστερον ποίημα, a Truer Poem, and we men Histrionical Actors upon the Stage, who notwithstanding insert something of our Own into the Poem too; but God Almighty, is that skilful Dramatist, who always connecteth that of ours which went before, with what of his follows after, into good Coherent Sense; and will

at last make it appear, that a *Thred* of exact *Justice* did run through all, and that *Rewards* and *Punishments* are measured out in *Geometrical Proportion*.

Lastly, it is in it self Fit, that there should be some where, a *Doubtful* and *Cloudy State* of things, for the better Exercise of *Vertue* and *Faith*. For as there could have been no *Hercules*, had there not been *Monsters* to subdue, so were there no such Difficulties to encounter with, no Puzles and Entanglements of things, no Temptations and Tryals to assault us; *Vertue* would grow *Languid*; and that Excellent *Grace* of *Faith*, want due *Occassions* and *Objects* to exercise it self upon. Here have we therefore, such a State of things, and this World is as it were a *Stage* erected, for the more Difficult part of *Vertue* to Act upon; and where we are to Live by *Faith* and not by *Sight*: That *Faith*, which is the *Substance* of *Things* to be Hoped for, and the *Evidence* of things not Seen; a Belief in the *Goodness*, *Power*, and *Wisdom* of God, when all things are *Dark* and *Cloudy* round about us. *The Just shall live by his Faith*.

We have now sufficiently Confuted, the *Second Atheistick Objection* also, against *Providence*, as to the *Conduct* and *Oeconomy* of *Humane Affairs*. Nevertheless this is a large Field, and much more might be said in *Defense* of *Providence*, both as to these and other Instances, had we room here to Expatiate in. Wherefore, for a Supplement of what remains, we shall refer the Reader, to the Writings of others, who have professedly undertaken, *Apology's* for *Providence*, both as to the *Fabrick*, and *Oeconomy* of the World; but especially the Learned and Ingenious Author of the *Divine Dialogues*. Only we shall here add Some few *Considerations* not so much for the *Confutation* of *Atheists*, as for the better *Satisfaction* of such *Religionists*, who too easily Concluding, That all Things might have been much Better than they are; are thereupon apt to call in Question the *Divine Attribute* of *Goodness* in its full Extent; which yet is the only Foundation of our *Christian Faith*.

First, therefore we say, that in Judging of the Works of God, we ought not to consider, the *Parts* of the World alone by themselves; and then because we could Phancy much *Finer* things, thereupon blame the *Maker* of the *Whole*. As if one should attend only to this *Earth*, which is but the Lowest and most Dreggy Part of the Universe; or blame Plants, because they have not Sense, Brutes because they have not Reason, Men because they are not Demons or Angels, and Angels because they are not Gods, or want Divine Perfection. Upon which Account, God should either have made nothing at all, since there can be nothing besides himself *Absolutely Perfect*; or else nothing but the Higher Rank of *Angelical Beings*, free from Mortality and all those other Evils, that attend mankind; or such *Fine things*, as *Epicurus* his Gods were feigned to be, living in certain delicious Regions, where there was neither Blustering Winds, nor any Lowring Clouds; nor Nipping Frosts, nor Scorching Heat, nor Night nor Shadow; but the Calm and Unclouded *Æther* always, Smiling with gentle Serenity.

Whereas

Whereas were there but one kind of thing, (the Best) thus made ; there could have been no *Musick* nor *Harmony* at all, in the World for want of *Variety*. But We ought in the first place, to consider the *Whole*, Whether that be not the *Best*, that Could be Made, having all that belongeth to it ; and then the *Parts* in reference to the *Whole*, whether they be not in their several Degrees and Ranks, *Congruous* and *Agreeable* thereunto. But this is a thing which hath been so well insisted upon by *Plotinus*, that we cannot speak better to it, than in his Words. Ὅλον γὰρ τί ἐποίησε πολὺ καλόν, καὶ αὐταρκές, καὶ φίλον P. 256. αὐτῷ, καὶ τοῖς μέρεσι τοῖς αὐτῷ, τοῖς τε κρυωτέροις καὶ τοῖς ἐλαττοῖσι ὡσπερ πρὸς πόρεϊς. ὁ τοίνυν ἐκ τῶν μερῶν τὸ ὅλον αἰτιάμενος, ἄτοπος ἂν εἴη τῇ αἰτίας. τότε γὰρ μέν πρὸς αὐτὸ τὸ ὅλον δ' εἰ σκοπεῖν εἰ σύμφωνον καὶ ἀρμόζοντα ἐκείνῳ, καὶ τὸ ὅλον σκοπούμενον, μὴ πρὸς μέρη ἅηα μικρὰ βλέπων. τῷτο γὰρ ὁ τὴν νόσον αἰτιώμενος ἀλλὰ τινα τῶν αὐτῶν χῶρις λαβόντα, διὸν εἰ, καὶ τὰ ἐξῆς. *God made the Whole most Beautiful, Entire, Compleat, and Sufficient ; all agreeing friendly with it self and its parts ; both the Nobler and the meaner of them being alike Congruous thereunto. Whosoever therefore, from the Parts thereof will blame the whole, is an Absurd and Unjust Censurer. For we ought to Consider the Parts, not alone by themselves, but in reference to the whole, whether they be Harmonious and Agreeable to the same. Otherwise we shall not blame the Universe, but some of its Parts only, taken by themselves ; as if one should blame the Hair or Toes of a man, taking no notice at all of his Divine Visage and Countenance ; or omitting all other Animals, one should attend only to the most contemptible of them : or lastly overlooking all other men, consider only the most Deformed Thersites. But that which God made was the Whole as one thing ; which be that attends to, may hear it speaking to him after this manner. God Almighty hath made me ; and from thence came I, Perfect and Compleat, and standing in need of nothing, because in me are contained all things ; Plants and Animals, and Good Souls, and Men happy with Virtue ; and innumerable Demons, and many Gods. Nor is the Earth alone in me adorned, with all manner of Plants, and Variety of Animals ; or does the Power of Soul, extend at most no further than to the Seas ; as if the whole Air and Æther and Heaven, in the mean time, were quite devoid of Soul, and altogether unadorned with Living Inhabitants. Moreover all things in me desire Good, and every thing reaches to it, according to its Power and Nature. For the whole World depends upon that First and Highest Good, the Gods themselves who reign in my several parts, and all Animals and Plants, and whatsoever seems to be Inanimate in me. For Some things in me, partake only of Being, some of Life also, some of Sense, some of Reason, and some of Intellect above Reason. But no man ought to require Equal things from Unequal ; nor that the Finger should see, but the Eye ; it being enough for the Finger to be a Finger, and to perform its own Office. And again afterwards,* ὡς περ τεχνίτης ὁ πάντα τὰ ἐν ταῖς ζωῷ ὀφθαλμῶς ποιεῖ, ὅπως ὁ δ' ὁ λόγος πάντα θεὸς ἐργάζεται. ἀλλὰ τὰ μὲν θεός, τὰ δὲ δαίμονας δ' ἄλλοι φῶς, εἴτα ἀνθρώπος, καὶ ζωὰ ἐφεξῆς, ὁ φθόνος, ἀλλὰ λόγος ποιικίαν νοεράν ἔχων. πῶς ἡμεῖς ὁ ὡς περ οἱ ἄπιοι γεωφικῆς τέχνης αἰτιῶνται, ὡς ὁ καλὰ τὰ χρώματα πανταχῶς, ὁ δ' ἄρα τὰ προσήκοντα ἀπέδωκεν ἐκαστῷ τόπῳ ἢ εἴτις δ' ὅραμα μέμφοιτο, ὅτι μὴ πάντες ἦρωες εἰν αὐτῷ, καὶ τὰ ἐξῆς. *As an Artificer*

ficer would not make all things in an Animal to be Eyes; so neither has the Divine λόγος, or Spermatick Reason of the World made all things Gods; but some Gods, and some Demons, and some Men, and some Lower Animals. Not out of Envy, but to display its own Variety and Fecundity. But we are like Unskilful Spectators of a Picture, who condemn the Limner, because he hath not put bright Colours every where: whereas he had suited his Colours to every part respectively, giving to each such as belonged to it. Or else are we like those who would blame a Comedy or Tragedy, because they were not all Kings or Heroes that acted in it, but some Servants and Rustick Clowns, introduced also, talking after their Rude fashion. Whereas the Dramatick Poem would neither be Compleat, nor Elegant and Delightful, were all those Worser Parts taken out of it.

Again; We cannot certainly conclude that the Works of God and his Creation do not transcend those narrow Limits, which Vulgar Opinion and Imagination sets them; that commonly terminates the Universe, but a little above the Clouds, or at most supposes the Fixed Stars, being all fastned in One solid Sphere, to be the Utmost Wall, or Arched Roof, and Rowling Circumference thereof. Much less ought we, upon such Groundless Suppositions, to infer, That the World might therefore have been made much Better than it is, because it might have been much more Roomy and Capacious. We explode the Atheistick Infinity of Distant Worlds; nor can we admit that Cartesian, seemingly more Modest, Indefinite Extension of one Corporeal Universe, which yet really according to that Philosophers meaning, hath Nullos Fines, no Bounds nor Limits at all. For We perswade our selves that the Corporeal World, is as Uncapable of a Positive Infinity of Magnitude, as it is of Time; there being no Magnitude so Great, but that more still might be Added to it. Nevertheless, as we cannot possibly Imagine the Sun, to be a Quarter, or an Hundredth Part so big as we know it to be; so much more may the whole Corporeal Universe, far transcend those narrow Bounds, which our Imagination would circumscribe it in. The New Celestial Phenomena, and the late Improvements of Astronomy and Philosophy made thereupon, render it so probable, that even this Dull Earth of ours is a Planet, and the Sun a Fixed Star, in the Centre of that Vortex, wherein it moves, that many have shrewdly suspected, that there are other Habitable Globes, besides this Earth of ours, (which may be Sayled round about in a year or two) as also more Suns, with their respective Planets, than One. However the Distance of all the Fixed Stars from us, being so Vast, that the Diameter of the Great Orb, makes no discernible Parallax in the Site of them; from whence it is also probable, that the other Fixed Stars are likewise vastly distant from one another; This, I say, widens the Corporeal Universe to us, and makes those Flammantia Mœnia Mundi, as Lucretius calls them, Those Flaming Walls of the World, to fly away before us. Now it is not reasonable to think, that all this Immense Vastness, should lie Waste, Desert, and Uninhabited, and have nothing in it, that could Praise the Creator thereof, save only this One Small Spot of Earth. In my Father's House, (saith our Saviour) are Many Mansions. And Baruch,

ruch (Chap. 3. appointed by our Church to be read publicly) *O Israel, how great is the House of God, and how large is the place of his Possession? Great and hath no End, High and Unmeasurable. Which yet we understand not, of an Absolute Infinity, but only such an Immense Vastness, as far transcends Vulgar Opinion and Imagination.*

We shall add but one thing more; That to make a right Judgment of the *Ways of Providence*, and the *Justice* thereof, as to the *Oeconomy* of mankind, we must look both *Forwards* and *Backwards*; or besides the *Present*, not only upon the *Future*; but also the *Past Time*. Which Rule is likewise thus set down by *Plotinus*, *ἡ δ' ἐκείν.* P. 264.
 νον ἀποβλεπόν τ' λόγον, ὅς ἐπὶ πρὸς τὸ παρὸν ἐκάσται φησι βλέπειν· ἀλλὰ πρὸς τὰς πρόθεν περιόδους, καὶ αὐτὸ τὸ μέλλον· *Neither is that Doctrine of the Ancients to be neglected, that to give an Account of Providence, we ought to look back upon former Periods, as well as forward, to What is Future.* Indeed he and those other Philosophers, who were *Religious*, understood this so, as to conclude a *Pre-Existent State* of all Particular Souls, wherein they were at first Created by God Pure; but by the Abuse of their own Liberty Degenerated, to be a *Necessary Hypothesis*, for the Salving that *Phenomenon*, of the *Depraved State* of Mankind in general here in this Life. And not only so, but they endeavoured in like manner to give an account also, of those Different Conditions of Particular Persons as to Morality, from their Infancy, and their other different Fates here, deriving them all, *ἐκ τῶν πρὸς ἐξιστομένων*, from their several Demanors heretofore in a *Pre-Existent State*. And there have not wanted Christian Doctors, who have complied with these Philosophers in both. But our *Common Christianity* only agrees thus far; as to suppose a Kind of *Imputative Pre-Existence* in Adam, in whom all were created Pure, and so consequently involved in his after miscarriage, to save the *Pravity of Humane Nature*; upon which account we are all said to be, *φύσιν τέκνα* *Thus Hierocles, ἐκ ἀμελείται ὁ ἀρχαῖος νῦν γινόμενος, καὶ παλαιῶν μνημάτων ἐφελάται* *by Nature Children of Wrath.* But as for the different Conditions of Persons, and their several Fates, more disadvantageous to some than others this indeed the Generality of *Christian Doctors*, have been content to resolve, only into an *Occult*, but *Just Providence*. And thus does *Origen* himself sometimes modestly pass it over. As in his Third Book against *Celsus*, * πολλοὶς καὶ τὰ τ' ἀνατροπῆς ποίσις γένεσθαι, ὡς μηδὲ φαντασθαι ἔπιτεσσθαι τῶν κερήτων λαβεῖν· ἢ αἰεὶ καὶ ἐκ πρώτης ἡλικίας ἦτοι ἐν παιδικοῖς εἶναι ἀκολάστον ἀνθρώπων, ἢ δεισποτῶν ἢ ἐν ἄλλῃ τινὶ καλυψέῃ τινὶ θυχλῷ ἀναελέσθαι καποδαιμονίᾳ. * P. 134.
 τὰς δ' αὖτε τῶν αἰτίας πῶντας μὲν εἰκὸς εἶναι, ἐν τοῖς τ' πρηνείας λόγοις· ἥτις δ' αὐτὰς εἰς ἀνθρώπους ἐκ εὐχερέας· *It happeneth to many; so to have been brought up from their very Childhood, as that, by one means or other, they could have no opportunity at all of thinking of the Better things, &c. And it is very probable, that there are Causes of these things in the Reasons of Providence, though they do not easily fall under Humane Notice.*

But there is yet a *Third Atheistick Objection* against Providence behind; That *it is impossible, any One Being should Animadvert and Order all things in the Distant places of the world at once; and were*

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this

this possible, yet would such Infinite Negotiosity be very Uneasie and Distractious to it, and altogether Inconsistent with Happiness. Nor would a Being Irresistibly Powerful, concern it self in the Good or Welfare of any thing else; it standing in Need of nothing; and all Benevolence and Good will arising from Indigency and Imbecillity. Wherefore such a Being, would wholly be taken up in the Enjoyment of it self, and its own Happiness; utterly Regardless of all other things.

To which the Reply is, First; That though our selves and all Created Beings, have but a Finite *Animadversion*, and Narrow Sphere of Activity, yet does it not therefore follow, that the Case must be the same with the Deity, supposed to be a Being Infinitely Perfect, ἀνδεγδύναμις, that hath no manner of Defect, either of Knowledge or Power in it. But this is a meer *Idolum Specus*, an Idol of the Cave or Den, Men Measuring the Deity, by their own Scantling, and Narrowness. And indeed were there Nothing at all, but what we our selves could fully Comprehend, there could be no God. Were the Sun an Animal, and had Life Co-Extended with its Rays and Light, it would see and perceive every Atom of Matter, that its out stretched Beams reached to, and touched. Now all Created Beings, are themselves in some sense, but the Rays of the Deity; which therefore cannot but Feel and Sensibly Perceive, all these its own Effluxes and Emanations. Men themselves can order and manage Affairs, in several distant Places at once, without any Disturbance, and we have innumerable Notions of things in our Mind, that lie there easily together, without Crowding one another, or Causing any Distraction to us.

Nevertheless the Minds of weak Mortals may here be somewhat eased and helped by considering, what hath been before suggested. That there is no necessity, God Almighty should ἀὐτοτελεῖν ἅπαντα, do all things himself Immediately and Drudgingly; but he may have his Inferiour Ministers and Executioners under him, to discharge him of that supposed Encumberment. As First of all, an Artificial Plastick Nature, which without Knowledge and Animal Consciousness, disposes the Matter of the Universe, according to the Platform or Idea of a Perfect Mind, and forms the Bodies of all Animals. And this was the Reason why we did before insist so much upon this Artificial Regular and Methodical Nature; namely that Divine Providence, might neither be excluded, from having an Influence upon all things in this Lower World, as resulting only from the Fortuitous Motions of Senseless Matter, unguided by any Mind; nor yet the Deity be supposed to do every thing it self Immediately and Miraculously, without the Subservient Ministry of any Natural Causes; which would seem to us Mortals, to be not only a Violent, but also an Operose, Cumber-some, and Moliminous Business. And thus did Plato acknowledge, that there were, ἐμπεριον φύσεως αἰτίαι αἷς ὑπερεταῖς χεῖται ὁ θεός. Certain Causes of a Prudent, that is, Artificial and Orderly Nature, which God makes use of, as Subservient to himself, in the Mundane Oeconomy. Besides which those Instincts also impressed upon Animals, and which they are Passive to, directing them to Act for Ends either not understood, or not attended to by them, in order to their own Good and

and the Good of the Universe, are another part of that *Divine Fate*, which inserted into things themselves, is the *Servant* and *Executioner* of *Providence*. Above all which there are yet other *Knowing* and *Understanding Ministers*, of the Deity, as its *Eyes* and *Hands*; *Demoniack* or *Angelick Beings*, appointed to preside over Mankind, all Mundane Affairs, and the Things of Nature, they having their several distinct Offices and Provinces assigned them. Of which also *Plato* thus, τῶτοις εἰσὶν ἄρχοντες περιστάμενοι ἑκάστοις, ἔτι τὸ Σμικρῶτατον αἰεί P. 903, πᾶν καὶ προΐκεται. There are certain Rulers or Presidents appointed by that Supreme God, who Governs the whole world, over all the several things and Parts therein, even to the smallest Distribution of them. All which Inferiour Causes, are constantly over looked and supervised by the Watchful Eye of God Almighty, himself, who may also sometimes Extraordinarily Interpose.

We need not therefore, restrain and confine *Divine Providence*, to a Few Greater things only, as some do, that we may thereby consult the ease of the Deity, and its *Freedom from Distraction*, but may and ought to Extend it, to all things whatsoever, *Small* as well as *Great*. And indeed the *Great things* of the World cannot well be ordered neither, without some regard to the *Small* and *Little*: ὅθεν καὶ ἄνθρωποι Σμικρῶν τὰς μεγάλας φασὶν οἱ λιθολόγοι λίθους οὐ κείσθαι. As Architects affirm, that great stones cannot be well placed together in a Building, without little. Neither can Generals of Armies, nor Governours of Families, nor Masters of Ships, nor Mechanick Artificers, discharge their several Functions, and do their Works respectively as they ought, did they not mind the *Small things* also as well as the *Great*, μή τοίνυν (saith the forementioned Philosopher) τὸν καὶ θεὸν ἀξιόσμενον ποτὲ θνητῶν δημιουργῶν, φαιλότερον, οἱ τὰ προσήκοντα αὐτοῖς ἔργα, ὥσπερ ἂν ἀμείνους ᾗσι, τὴν αὐκράτους καὶ τελεώτερος μᾶλλον τέχνη Σμικρῶ καὶ μεγάλῃ ἀπεργάζονται. Let us not therefore make God Almighty Inferiour to Mortal Opificers who by one and the same Art, can order Small things as well as Great: and so suppose him to be Supine and negligent. Nevertheless the Chief Concernment and Employment of *Divine Providence* in the World; is the *Oeconomy* of Souls, or Government of *Rational Beings*; which is by *Plato* contracted into this Compendium, ὅθεν ἄλλο ἔργον τῶν περὶ δὲ τοῦ λείπειν πλὴν μετατιθέναι τὸ μὲν ἀμείνον ζῆλον P. 903, μένον ἢ εἰς βελτίῳ τόπον χεῖρον ἢ εἰς τὸ χεῖρον, &c. There is no other work left, for the Supreme Governour of all, then only to Translate Better Souls into Better places and Conditions, and Worser into Worser: or, as he after addeth, to dispose of every one in the world in such a manner as might best render, νικῶσαν ἀρετῇ, ἡττωμένην δὲ κακίαν, *Virtue victorious, and triumphant over Vice*. And thus may the slow and Imperfect wits of Mortals, be satisfied; that *Providence* to the Deity, is no Moliminous, Laborious, and Distractious thing.

But that there is no higher Spring of Life in Rational Animals, than Contracted Self Love, and that all Good Will and Benevolence, arises only from Indigency and Imbecillity, and That no Being whatsoever is concerned in the welfare of any other thing, but only what it self stands in Need of; and Lastly therefore, That what is Irresistibly Po-

werful and Needs nothing; would have no manner of *Benevolence*, nor concern it self in the *Good* and *Welfare* of any thing whatsoever; This is but another *Idol of the Atheists Den*; and only argues their *Bad Nature*, *Low-sunk Minds*, and *Gross Immorality*. And the same is to be said also of that other Maxim of theirs, That what is *perfectly Happy*, would have nothing at all *To Do*, but only enjoy its own *Ease* and *Quiet*: whereas there is nothing more troublesome to our selves, than this ἀπεργία, *this having Nothing to Do*; and the *Activity* of the Deity or a Perfect Being, is altogether as *Ease* to it, as its *Essence*.

The *Atheistick Queries* come next to be *Answered*; which being but *Three*, are *Naturally* to be disposed in this order: First, *If there were a God or Perfect Being, who therefore was sufficiently Happy in the enjoyment of himself, Why would he go about to make a World?* Secondly, *If he must needs make a World, why did he not make it sooner?* *this Late production thereof, looking, as if he had but newly awaked out out of a long sleep, throughout Infinite Past Ages, or else had in length of time contracted a Satiety of his Solitude.* Thirdly and Lastly, *What Tools or Instruments? what Machines or Engines had he? or How could he move the Matter of the whole world; especially if Incorporeal; because then he would run through all things, and could not lay hold nor fasten upon any thing.*

To the First therefore, we say, That the reason why God made the World, was from his own *Overflowing* and *Communicative Goodness*, that there might be other Beings also *Happy* besides him, and enjoy themselves. Nor does this at all clash, with God's making of the world, for his own *Glory* and *Honour*, though *Plotinus* were so shy of that, γελοῖον ἵνα τιμᾶται, καὶ μεταφερόντων ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀρχιμαστοποιῶν τοῦ ἐν ταῦτα, *It is ridiculous to say, that God made the world, that he might be Honoured; this being to transfer the affections of humane Artificers and Statuaries upon him.* But the chief Reason of his saying so, was, because that Philosopher conceived, the World to have proceeded, not so much from the *Will of the Deity*, as the *Necessity of its Nature*. Though this be true also, that God did not make the World, meerly to *Ostentate his Skill* and *Power*; but to communicate his Goodness, which is chiefly and properly his *Glory*, as the *Light* and *Splendor* of the Sun, is the *Glory of it*. But the Atheist demands, *What hurt had it been for us, never to have been made?* and the Answer is easie, we should then never have enjoyed any *Good*; or been capable of *Happiness*; and had there been no Rational Creatures at all made, it must have been either from *Impotent Sterility* in the Deity, or else from an *Invidious*, *Narrow* and *Contracted Selfishness*; or want of *Benignity*, and *Communicative Goodness*; both which are Inconsistent with a Perfect Being. But the Argument may be thus Retorted upon these Atheists; *What Hurt would it be for us, to Cease to Be, or Become Nothing?* And why then are these Atheists as well as others, so Unwilling to Die?

But then in the next place they Urge; Why was not the World
made

made Sooner, since this Goodness of God was without Date, and from Everlasting? But this *Question* may be taken in two different Senses, Either, *Why was not the world from Eternity, as God and his Goodness are Eternal?* or else *Secondly, If the World could not be from Eternity, yet notwithstanding Why was it not sooner, but so lately made?* In both which *Queries* the *Atomick Atheists* take it for granted, that the System of the World was not from Eternity, but had a beginning. Now we say, That the Reason why the world was not Made from Eternity, was not from any Defect of Goodness in the Divine Will, but because there is an *Absolute Impossibility* in the thing it self; or because the *Necessity* and *Incapacity* of such an *Imperfect Being* hindered. For we must confess, that for our parts, we are prone to believe, That could the world have been from Eternity, it should certainly have been so. And just thus does *Philoponus*, in his *Confutation of Proclus* his Arguments for the World's Eternity, declare himself, and no otherwise. *Καὶ ἡμεῖς ἀρᾷ μὴ εἶναι τὸ κτίσμα αἰδὼν ὑπὸ τῆς* P. 4. *μεναι, ὅτι τὸ εἶναι τὸ θεὸν αἰὶ ἀρχὴν ἀφαιρέμεθα, ὅτι αἰδὼν ἢ δημιουργῆς αὐτῷ κατηρῆσθαι δυνάμεως. ἀλλὰ μὴ δύνασθαι αἰὶ εἶναι τὸ κτίσμα δι' αὐτὴν τὴν τῷ θεῷ γνωμὴν φύσιν ὑπετίθεμεθα.* Our selves also supposing, the world not to have been Eternal, do neither ascribe this to any Defect either of Godness or of Power in the Deity, but only to the *Impossibility of the Thing it self*. Where in the following words, he gives a Two fold Account of this *Impossibility*, of the worlds Eternity, *ὅτι τὸ τὸ ἀπὸ τοῦ κατ' ἐνέργειαν ὑποσῆναι, ἢ διεξίτητον εἶναι, αἰδὼν ἢ ὅτι συναΐδιον εἶναι τῷ ποιῶνι τὸ γινόμενον φύσιν ἐκ ἑκτ'.* First because, There can be nothing *Actually Infinite*, and yet *Run through*, as all the *Past Duration* of the World hath been; and *Secondly*, because that which is *Made* or *brought into Being* by another, as a distinct thing from it, cannot be *Co-Eternal with its Maker*. Where it is probable, that *Philoponus* being a Christian, designed not to oppose the *Eternal Generation* of the Son of God, but only to assert, that Nothing which was properly *Made* or *Created* by God, and nothing which was not it self God, could be from Eternity, or without Beginning. And now we see, How those *Atheistick Exceptions* against the *Novity* of the *Divine Creation*, as if God must therefore either have *Slept from Eternity*, or else have at length contracted a *Satiety* of his former *Solitude*, and the like; do of themselves quite vanish into Nothing. But then as to the *Second Sense* of the *Question*, *Why the World, though it could not possibly be from Eternity, yet was no sooner, but so lately made?* we say, that this is an *Absurd Question*; both because *Time* was made together with the *World*, and there was no *Sooner* or *Later*, before *Time*; and also because, Whatsoever had a beginning, must of necessity be once but a *Day Old*. Wherefore the World could not possibly have been so Made by God in time, as not to be once, but *Five* or *Six Thousand* years old, and no more; as now it is.

And as for the Third and Last *Query*; *How God could move and command the Matter of the whole World? especially If Incorporeal?* We Reply; First, That all other things being derived from God as their only Fountain and Original, and Essentially depending on him, who by his *Absolute Power* also, could Annihilate whatsoever he Created;

ted; he must needs have a *Despotick Power* over all; and every thing whatsoever be *Naturally Subject* and *Obedient* to him. And since no *Body* can possibly *Move it self*, that which first moved *Matter*, must of necessity be *Incorporeal*; nor could it move it by *Local Motion*, as one *Body* moves another, or as *Engines* and *Machines* move, by *Truction* or *Pulsion*, they being before moved, but must do it by another kind of *Action*, such as is not *Local Motion*, nor *Heterocinesie*, but *Autocinesie*; that is, by *Cogitation*. Wherefore that Conceit of the *Atheists*, that an *Incorporeal Deity* could not possibly move the *Matter* of the *World*, because it would run through it, and could not fasten or lay hold thereupon; is *Absurd*, because this moves *Matter* not *Mechanically*, but *Vitally*, and by *Cogitation* only. And that a *Cogitative Being* as such, hath a *Natural Imperium* over *Matter* and *Power* of *Moving* it, without any *Engines* or *Machines*, is unquestionably certain, even from our own *Souls*; which move our *Bodies* and *Command* them every way, meerly by *Will* and *Thought*. And a *Perfect Mind*, presiding over the *Matter* of the whole world, could much more irresistibly, and with *Infinitely* more ease, move the whole *Corporeal Universe*, meerly by *Will* and *Cogitation*; then we can our *Bodies*.

The Last Head of *Atheistick Argumentation*, is from *Interest*. And First, the *Atheists* would persuade, that it is the *Interest* of mankind in *General*, and of every particular person, that there should be no *God*, that is, no *Being Infinitely Powerful*, that hath no *Law*, but its own *Will*; and therefore may punish whom he pleases *Eternally* after *Death*.

To which our First Reply is; That if there be a *God*, and *Souls* be *Immortal*, then is it not any man's *Thinking* otherwise, that will alter the *Case*, nor afford the *Atheists* any *Relief* against those two *Imagined Evils* of theirs. For *Things* are *Sullen*, and will be as they are, what ever we *Think* them, or *Wish* them to be: and men will at last discover their *Errour*, when perhaps it may be too late. *Wishing* is no *Proving*; and therefore this *Atheistick Argument*, from *Interest*, is no *Argument* at all against the *Existence* of a *God*, it being nothing but the ignorant wish, and vain desire of *Be-fotted Atheists*.

In the next place this *Wish* of *Atheists*, is altogether founded, upon a *Mistaken Notion* of *God Almighty* too, That he is nothing but *Arbitrary Will Omnipotent*; which indeed is not the most *Desirable* thing. But as it hath been often declared, the *Will* of *God* is the *Will* of *Goodness*, *Justice*, and *Wisdom* it self *Omnipotent*. His *Will* is not meer *Will*, such as hath no other *Reason* besides it self; but it is *Law*, *Equity* and *Chancery*; it is the $\tau\omicron\ \delta\epsilon\omicron\nu$, or *Ought it self*, *Decreeing*, *Willing*, and *Acting*. Neither does *God* Punish any, out of a delight in *Punishment*, or in the *Evil* and *Suffering* of the *Persons* Punished; but to those who are not $\acute{\alpha}\nu\iota\alpha\tau\omicron\iota$, altogether *Incurable*, $\delta\iota\kappa\eta\iota\sigma\tau\omicron\varsigma$, his *Punishment* is *Physick*, in order to their recovery and amendment; so that the *Source* and *Fountain* thereof is *Goodness* to the

the *Persons* themselves Punished. But to such as are *Incurable*, the Punishment inflicted on them, is Intended for the *Good of the Whole*. So that this *Attribute of Justice* in God, doth not at all Clash, with the *Attribute of Goodness*, it being but a *Branch* thereof or particular *Modification* of the same. *Goodness* and *Justice* in God, are always *Complicated* together; neither his *Goodness* being *Fondness*, nor his *Justice* *Cruelty*; but he being both *Good* in *Punishing*, and *Just* in *Rewarding* and *Dispensing Benefits*. Wherefore, it can be the *Interest* of none, that there should be no *God* nor *Immortality*, unless perhaps of such *Desperately* and *Incurably Wicked* persons, who abandoning their true *Interest* of being *Good*, have thereupon no other *Interest* now left them, than *Not to be*, or become *Nothing*.

To be without a *God*, is to be without *Hope* in the *World*, for *Atheists* can have neither *Faith* nor *Hope*, in *Senseless Matter*, and the *Fortuitous Motions* thereof. And though an understanding Being, have never so much *Enjoyment* of it self for the present, yet could it not possibly be *Happy*, without *Immortality*, and *Security* of the *Future Continuance* thereof. But the *Atheists* conclude, that there is *Nothing Immortal*, and that all *Life Perishes* and *Vanishes into Nothing*; and consequently also, that εὐδαιμονία ἀνθρώπων, *Happiness* is a thing, that hath no *Existence* in *Nature*; a meer *Figment* and *Chimera*, or *Idle Wish* and vain *Dream* of *Mortals*. Wherefore it cannot be the *Interest* of *Mankind*, that this *Hypothesis* should be *True*, which thus plainly cuts off all *Hope* from men; and leaves them in an utter *Impossibility* of being ever *Happy*.

God is such a *Being*, as if he could be supposed not to be, there is nothing which any who are not desperately engaged in *Wickedness*, no not *Atheists* themselves, could possibly more *Wish* for, or *Desire*. To *Believe a God*, is to *Believe* the *Existence* of all *Possible Good* and *Perfection* in the *Universe*; It is to *Believe*, That *things* are as they *Should be*, and That the *World* is so well *Framed* and *Governed*, as that the *Whole System* thereof, could not *Possibly* have been *Better*. For *Peccability*, arises from the *Necessity* of *Imperfect Freewilled Beings*, left to themselves, and therefore could not by *Omnipotence* it self have been excluded; and though *Sin Actual* might perhaps have been kept out by *Force* and *Violence*; yet all things *Computed*, it was doubtless most for the *Good of the Whole*, that it should not be thus *Forcibly Hindered*. There is *Nothing*, which cannot be *Hoped* for, by a *Good man*, from the *Deity*; Whatsoever *Happiness* his *Being* is *Capable of*; and such things as *Eye* hath not seen, nor *Ear* heard, nor can now enter into the *Heart of man* to *Conceive*. *Infinite Hopes* lie before us, from the *Existence* of a *Being Infinitely Good* and *Powerful*, and our *Own Souls Immortality*: and nothing can *Hinder* or *Obstruct* these *Hopes*, but our own *Wickedness* of *Life*. To *Believe a God*, and *Do well*, are *Two*, the most *Hopeful*, *Cheerful*, and *Comfortable* things, that possibly can be. And to this purpose is that of *Linus*,

Ἐλπεσθαι χρη παντ', ἐπεὶ ἢ ἐς ὅθεν Ἀελπῶν.
 Πάδια πάντα θεῶι τελέσαι, καὶ ἀνάνυτον ὅθεν.

Wherefore as for *Democritus* and *Epicurus*, whose *Encomiums* the Atheists here so loudly sing forth; we say, That however they have made so great a noise in the World, and have been so much cried up of late, yet were they really no better, than a Couple of *Infatuated Sophists*, or *Witty Fools*; and *Debauchers* of *Mankind*.

And now come we to the Last *Atheistick Argumentation*; where-in they endeavour to recommend their Doctrine to *Civil Sovereigns*; and to perswade them, that *Theism* or *Religion*, is absolutely Inconsistent with their *Interest*: Their Reasons for which are these Three following. First, Because the *Civil Sovereign Reigns* only in *Fear*, and therefore if there be any *Power* and *Fear*, greater than the *Power* and *Fear* of the *Leviathan*, *Civil Authority* can signifie little. Secondly, Because *Sovereignty*, is in its own nature absolutely *Indivisible*, and must be either *Infinite*, or *None* at all: so that *Divine Laws* (*Natural* and *Revealed*) *Superiour* to it, circumscribing it, would consequently *Destroy* it. Wherefore *Religion* and *Theism*, must of necessity be *Displaced*, and *Removed* out of the way, to make room for the *Leviathan*, to *Roll* and *Tumble* in. Thirdly and Lastly, *Private Judgment* of *Good* and *Evil*, *Just* and *Unjust*, is also *Contradictious* to the very Being of a *Body Politick*; which is One *Artificial Man*, made up of many *Natural men* United under One *Head*; having one *Common Reason*, *Judgment* and *Will*, ruling over the whole. But *Conscience*, which *Religion* introduceth, is *Private Judgment* of *Good* and *Evil*, *Just* and *Unjust*, and therefore altogether *Inconsistent* with true *Politicks*; that can admit of no *Private Consciences*, but only One *Publick Conscience* of the *Law*.

In way of *Answer* to the First of which, we must here briefly *Unravel* the *Atheistick Ethicks* and *Politicks*. The Foundation whereof is first laid, in the *Villanizing* of *Humane Nature*; as that which has not so much as any the least *Seeds*, either of *Politicalness*, or *Ethicalness* at all in it; nothing of *Equity* and *Philanthropy*; (there being no other *Charity* or *Benevolence* any where according to them, save what resulteth from *Fear*, *Imbecillity*, and *Indigency*) nothing of *Publick* and *Common Concern*, but all *Private* and *Selfish*. *Appetite*, and *Utility*, or the *Desires* of *Sensual Pleasure*, and *Honour*, *Dominion*, and *Precellency* before others, being the only *Measures* of *Good* in *Nature*. So that there can be nothing *Naturally Just* or *Unjust*, nothing in it self *Sinful* or *Unlawful*, but every man by *Nature* hath *Jus ad omnia*, a *Right to Every thing*, whatsoever his *Appetite* inclineth him unto, or himself judgeth *Profitable*; even to other mens *Bodies* and *Lives*. *Si occidere Cupis, Jus habes*; If thou *Desirest to Kill*, thou hast then *Naturally*, a *Right thereunto*; that is, a *Liberty* to *Kill* without any *Sin* or *Injustice*. For *Jus* and *Lex*, or *Justitia*, *Right* and *Law* or *Justice* in the Language of these *Atheistick Politicians*, are directly contrary to one another; their *Right* being a

Belluine

Belluine Liberty, not *Made*, or *Left* by *Justice*, but such as is Founded in a Supposition, of its *Absolute Non-Existence*, Should therefore a Son not only murder his own Parents, who had tenderly brought him up, but also Exquisitely torture them, taking pleasure in beholding their ruful Looks, and hearing their lamentable Shreiks and Outcries; there would be Nothing of *Sin* or *Injustice* at all in this, nor in any thing else; because *Justice* is no *Nature*, but a meer *Fatitious* and *Artificial thing*, *Made* only by *Men* and *Civil Laws*. And according to these mens Apprehensions, *Nature* has been very kind and indulgent to mankind herein, that it hath thus brought us into the World, without any *Fetters* or *Shackles* upon us, Free from all *Duty* and *Obligation*, *Justice* and *Morality*, these being to them nothing but *Restraints* and *Hinderances* of *True Liberty*. From all which it follows, that *Nature* absolutely *Dissociates* and *Segregates* men from one another, by reason of the *Inconsistency* of those *Appetites* of theirs, that are all Carried out only to *Private Good*, and Consequently that every man is by *Nature*, in a *State of War and Hostility*, against every man.

In the next place therefore, these *Atheistick Politicians* further add; that though this their *State of Nature* which is a *Liberty* from all *Justice* and *Obligation*, and a *Lawless*, *Loose*, or *Belluine Right* to every thing, be in it self *Absolutely the Best*, yet nevertheless by reason of mens *Imbecillity*, and the *Equality of their Strengths*, and *Inconsistency of their Appetites*, it proves by *Accident* the *Worst*: this *War* with every one, making mens *Right* or *Liberty* to every thing, indeed a *Right* or *Liberty* to *Nothing*: they having no security of their *Lives*, much less of the *Comfortable enjoyment* of them. For as it is not possible, that all men should have *Dominion* (which were indeed the most desirable thing according to these Principles) so the *Generality* must needs be sensible of more *Evil* in such a *State of Liberty* with an *Universal War* against all, than of *Good*. Wherefore when men had been a good while *Hewing*, and *Slashing*, and *Justling* against one another, they became at length all weary hereof, and conceived it necessary by *Art* to help the *Defect* of their own *Power* here, and to choose a *Lesser Evil*, for the avoiding of a *Greater*, that is, to make a *Voluntary Abatement*, of this their *Infinite Right*, and to Submit to *Terms of Equality* with one another, in order to a *Sociable* and *Peaceable Cohabitation*: and not only So, but also for the *Security* of all, that others should observe such *Rules* as well as themselves, to put their *Necks* under the *Troke* of a *Common Coercive Power*, whose *Will* being the *Will* of them all, should be the very *Rule*, and *Law*, and Measure of *Justice* to them.

Here therefore these *Atheistick Politicians*, as they first of all *Slander Humane Nature*, and make a *Villain* of it; so do they in the next place, reproach *Justice* and *Civil Sovereignty* also, making it to be nothing but an *Ignoble* and *Bastardly Brat* of *Fear*; or else a *Lesser Evil*, submitted to, meerly out of *Necessity*; for the avoiding of a *Greater Evil*, that of *War* with every one, by reason of mens *Natural Imbecillity*. So that according to this *Hypothesis*, *Justice* and *Civil*

of by any, such a one would certainly never Enter into Covenants, nor Submit to Laws of Equality and Subjection. Agreeably whereunto, it hath been concluded also by some of these Old Atheistick Philosophers, that Justice was ἀμότερον ἀλλοτρίον, Not properly and directly, ones own Good, the Good of him that is Just, but another mans Good, partly of the Fellow Citizens, but chiefly of the Ruler, whose Vassal he is. And it is well Known, that after Plato's Time, this Hypothesis concerning Justice, that it was a meer Factionous thing, and sprung only from mens Fear and Imbecillity, as a Lesser Evil, was much insisted on by Epicurus also.

But let us in the next place see, how our Modern Atheistick Philosophers and Politicians, will mannage and carry on this Hypothesis, so as to Consociate men by Art, into a Body Politick, that are Naturally Dissociated from one another, as also Make Justice, and Obligation Artificial, when there is none in Nature. First of all therefore, these Artificial Justice-Makers, City-Makers, and Authority-Makers, tell us, that though men have an Infinite Right by Nature, yet may they Alienate this Right or part thereof, from themselves, and either Simply Renounce it, or Transfer the same upon some other Person; by means whereof it will become Unlawful for themselves, afterwards, to make use thereof. Thus a late Writer, Men may by Signs Declare, *Velle se non Licitum sibi amplius fore, certum aliquid facere quod Jure antea fecisse poterant.* That it is their Will, it shall no longer be Lawful for them, to do something which before they had a Right to do; and this is called by him, a Simple Renunciation of Right; and further saith he, they may declare again, *Velle se non Licitum sibi amplius fore alicui Resistere. &c.* That it is their Will, it shall be no longer Lawful for them, to Resist this or that particular Person, whom before they might Lawfully have resisted; and this is called a Translation of Right. But if there be Nothing in its own Nature Unlawful, then cannot this be Unlawful for a man afterwards, to make use of such Liberty as he had before in Words Renounced or Abandoned. Nor can any man by his meer Will, make any thing Unlawful to him, which was not so in it self; but only Suspend the Exercise of so much of his Liberty, as he thought good. But however, could a man by his Will, Oblige himself, or make any thing Unlawful to him, there would be Nothing got by this, because then might he by his Will, Disoblige himself again, and make the same Lawful as before. For what is Made meerly by Will, may be Destroyed by Will. Wherefore these Politicians will yet urge the business further, and tell us, That no man can be Obligated but by his own Act, and that the Essence of Injustice, is Nothing else, but *Dati Repetitio*, The taking away of that, which one had before given. To which we again Reply, that were a man Naturally Unobliged to any thing, then could he no way be Obligated, to stand to his own Act, so that it should be Really Unjust and Unlawful for him, at any time upon Second thoughts, Voluntarily to undo, what he had before voluntarily done. But the Atheists here plainly Render Injustice, a meer Ludicrous thing; when they tell us, that it is Nothing but such an Absurdity in Life, as it is in Disputation, when a man Denies a Proposition that he had before Granted. Which is no Real Evil

in him as a *Man*, but only a thing Called an *Absurdity*, as a *Disputant*. That is, *Injustice* is no *Absolute Evil* of the *Man*; but only a *Relative Incongruity* in him, as a *Citizen*. As when a man speaking *Latine*, observes not the *Laws* of *Grammar*, this is a kind of *Injustice* in him, as a *Latinist* or *Grammarian*; so when one who lives in *Civil Society*, observes not the *Laws* and *Conditions* thereof, this is, as it were, The *False Latine* of a *Citizen*, and nothing else. According to which *Notion* of *Injustice*, there is no such *Real Evil* or *Hurt* in it, as can any way withstand, the *Force* of *Appetite* and *Private Utility*, and Oblige men to *Civil Obedience*, when it is *Contrary* to the same. But these *Political Juglers* and *Enchanters*, will here cast yet a further *Mist* before mens *Eyes* with their *Pacts* and *Covenants*. For men by their *Covenants*, say they, may *Unquestionably Oblige* themselves, and make things *Unjust* and *Unlawful* to them, that were not so before. Wherefore *Injustice* is again *Defined* by them, and that with more *Speciousness*, to be the *Breach* of *Covenants*. But though it be true, that if there be *Natural Justice*; *Covenants* will *Oblige*; yet upon the *Contrary Supposition*, that there is *Nothing Naturally Unjust*; this cannot be *Unjust*, neither to *Break Covenants*. *Covenants* without *Natural Justice*, are nothing but meer *Words* and *Breath*; (as indeed these *Atheistick Politicians* themselves, agreeably to their own *Hypothesis*, call them) and therefore can they have no *Force to Oblige*. Wherefore these *Justice-Makers*, are themselves at last necessitated, to fly to *Laws* of *Nature*, and to Pretend, this to be a *Law of Nature*, That men should *Stand to their Pacts and Covenants*. Which is plainly to *Contradict* their main *Fundamental Principle*, that by *Nature* nothing is *Unjust* or *Unlawful*; for if it be so, then can there be no *Laws* of *Nature*; and if there be *Laws* of *Nature*, then must there be something *Naturally Unjust* and *Unlawful*. So that this is not to *Make Justice*, but clearly to *Unmake* their own *Hypothesis*, and to suppose *Justice* to have been already *Made* by *Nature*, or to be in *Nature*; which is a *Gross Absurdity* in *Disputation*; to *Affirm* what one had before *Denied*. But these their *Laws* of *Nature* are indeed nothing but *Jugling Equivocation*, and a meer *Mockery*; themselves again acknowledging them to be no *Laws*, because *Law* is nothing but the *Word* of him, who hath *Command* over others; but only *Conclusions* or *Theorems* concerning what conduces to the *Conservation* and *Defence* of themselves; upon the *Principle* of *Fear*; that is, indeed the *Laws* of their own *Timorous*, and *Cowardly Complexion*: for they who have *Courage* and *Generosity* in them, according to this *Hypothesis*, would never *Submit* to such sneaking *Terms* of *Equality*, and *Subjection*, but venture for *Dominion*; and resolve either to *Win the Saddle*, or *Loose the Horse*. Here therefore do our *Atheistick Politicians* plainly daunce round in a *Circle*; they first deriving the *Obligation* of *Civil Laws*, from that of *Covenants*, and then that of *Covenants* from the *Laws* of *Nature*; and Lastly, the *Obligation* both of these *Laws* of *Nature*, and of *Covenants* themselves, again, from the *Law*, *Command*, and *Sanction* of the *Civil Sovereign*; without which neither of them would at all *Oblige*. And thus is it manifest, how vain the *Attempts* of these *Politicians* are, to *Make Justice Artificially*, when there is no such thing *Naturally*; (which is indeed no less than, to make *Something* out of *Nothing*) and
by

by Art to Consociate into Bodies Politick, those whom Nature had Dissociated from one another: a thing as impossible as to Ty Knots in the Wind or Water; or to build up a Stately Palace or Castle out of Sand. Indeed the Ligaments, by which these Politicians would tie the Members of their huge Leviathan, or Artificial Man together, are not so good as Cobwebs; they being really nothing, but meer Will and Words. For if Authority and Sovereignty be made only by Will and Words, then is it plain, that by Will and Words, they may be Unmade again at pleasure.

Neither indeed are these Atheistick Politicians themselves, altogether unaware hereof, that this their Artificial Justice and Obligation, can be no firm Vinculum of a Body Politick, to Consociate those together, and Unite them into One, who are Naturally Dissociated and Divided from one another; they acknowledging, that Covenants without the Sword, being but Words and Breath, are of no strength, to hold the Members of their Leviathan, or Body Politick together. Wherefore they plainly betake themselves at length, from Art to Force and Power, and make their Civil Sovereign, really to Reign only in Fear. And this must needs be their meaning, when they so constantly declare, All Obligation, Just and Unjust, to be derived only from Law; they by Law there understanding, a Command directed, to such as by reason of their Imbecillity are not able to Resist: so that the Will and Command of the more Powerful, Obliges by the Fear of Punishment Threatned. Now if the only Real Obligation to obey Civil Laws, be from the Fear of Punishment, then could no man be Obligated to hazard his Life for the Safety of his Prince and Country, and they, who could reasonably promise themselves Impunity, would be altogether Disobliged, and Consequently, might Justly break any Laws, for their Own Advantage. An Assertion so extravagant, that these Confounded Politicians themselves, are ashamed plainly to own it, and therefore Disguise it, what they can by Equivocation; themselves sometimes also confessing, so much of Truth, that *Pœna non Obligat, sed Obligatum tenet*, Punishment does not Oblige, but only hold those to their Duty, who were before Obligated. Furthermore, what is Made by Power and Force only, may be Unmade by Power and Force again. If Civil Sovereigns Reign only in the Fear of their own Sword, then is that Right of theirs so much talked of, indeed nothing else but Might, and their Authority, Force; and consequently Successful and Prosperous Rebellion, and whatsoever can be done by Power, will be *ipso facto* thereby Justified. Lastly, were Civil Sovereigns and Bodies Politick, meer Violent and Contra-Natural things, then would they all quickly Vanish into nothing, because Nature will prevail against Force and Violence: Whereas men constantly every where fall into Political Order, and the Corruption of one Form of Government, is but the Generation of another.

Wherefore since it is plain, that Sovereignty and Bodies Politick can neither be meerly Artificial, nor yet Violent things, there must of necessity be some Natural Bond or Vinculum to hold them together, such as may both really Oblige Subjects to Obey the Lawful Commands of Sovereigns, and Sovereigns in Commanding, to seek the Good and

Welfare of their *Subjects*; whom these *Attheistick Politicians*, (by their *Infinite and Belluine Right*) quite discharge from any such thing. Which Bond or *Vinculum* can be no other, than *Natural Justice*; and something of a *Common and Publick*, of a *Cementing and Conglutinating Nature*, in all *Rational Beings*; the Original of both which, is from the Deity. The *Right and Authority* of God himself is Founded in *Justice*; and of this is the *Civil Sovereignty* also a certain *Participation*. It is not the meer *Creature* of the People, and of mens *Wills*, and therefore *Annihilable* again by their *Wills* at pleasure; but hath a *Stamp of Divinity* upon it, as may partly appear from hence, because that *Jus Vitæ & Necis*, that *Power of Life and Death*, which *Civil Sovereigns* have, was never lodged in *Singulars*, before *Civil Society*; and therefore could not be *Conferred* by them. Had not God and Nature made a *City*; were there not a *Natural Conciliation* of all *Rational Creatures*, and *Subjection* of them to the Deity, as their Head (which is *Cicero's*, *Una Civitas Deorum atque Hominum*, *One City of Gods and Men*) had not God made ἀρχὴν καὶ ἀρχεαδὴν, *Ruling and being Ruled*, *Superiority and Subjection*, with their respective *Duty and Obligation*, men could neither by *Art*, or *Political Enchantment*, nor yet by *Force*, have made any firm *Cities* or *Polities*. The *Civil Sovereign* is no *Leviathan*, no *Beast*, but a *God* (*I have said ye are Gods*;) he reigns not in meer *Brutish Force and Fear*, but in *Natural Justice and Conscience*, and in the *Right and Authority* of God himself. Nevertheless we deny not, but that there is need of *Force and Fear* too, to *Constrain* those to *Obedience*, to whom the *Conscience of Duty* proveth ineffectual. Nor is the *Fear* of the *Civil Sovereigns* own *Sword*, alone sufficient for this neither, *Unassisted* by *Religion*, and the *Fear of an Invisible Being Omnipotent*, who seeth all things, and can *Punish Secret*, as well as *Open Transgressors*, both in this *Life*, and after *Death*. Which is a thing so confessedly true, that *Atheists* have therefore *Pretended*, *Religion* to have been at first a meer *Political Fignent*. We conclude therefore, that the *Civil Sovereign* reigneth not, meerly in the *Fear* of his own *Power and Sword*; but first in the *Justice*, and *Authority*, and then in the *Power and Fear* also, of *God Almighty*. And thus much for the *First Attheistick Pretence*, from the *Interest* of *Civil Sovereigns*.

To their *Second*, that *Sovereignty* is *Essentially Infinite*, and therefore altogether *Inconsistent*, with *Religion*, that would *Limit and Confine* it, We Reply; That the *Right and Authority* of *Civil Sovereigns*, is not as these our *Attheistick Politicians* ignorantly suppose, a meer *Belluine Liberty*, but it is a *Right essentially Founded* in the *Being of Natural Justice*, as hath been declared. For *Authority of Commanding* is such a *Right* as supposes *Obligation* in others to *Obey*, without which it could be nothing but meer *Will and Force*. But none can be *Obliged in Duty to Obey*, but by *Natural Justice*; *Commands* as such, not *Creating Obligation*, but *Presupposing* it. For if *Persons* were not before *Obliged to Obey*, no *Commands* would signifie any thing to them. Wherefore the *First Original Obligation* is not from *Will* but *Nature*. Did *Obligation* to the things of *Natural Justice*, as many suppose, arise from the *Will and Positive Command* of *God*, only

only by reason of Punishments Threatned, and Rewards Promised; the Consequence of this would be, that no man was Good and Just, but only *By Accident*, and for the *Sake of Something else*; Whereas the Goodness of Justice or Righteousness is *Intrinsic* to the thing it self, and this is that which *Obligeth*, (and not any thing *Forreign* to it) it being a different *Species* of Good from that of *Appetite* and *Private Utility*, which every man may Dispense withal. Now there can be no more *Infinite Justice*, than there can be an *Infinite Rule*, or an *Infinite Measure*. Justice is Essentially a *Determinate* thing; and therefore can there not be any *Infinite Jus*, *Right* or *Authority*. If there be any thing in its own Nature *Just*, and *Obliging*, or such as *Ought to be done*; then must there of necessity be something *Unjust* or *Unlawful*, which therefore cannot be *Obligingly Commanded* by any *Authority* whatsoever. Neither ought this to be thought any *Impeachment* of Civil Authority, it extending Univerally to all, even to that of the Deity it self. The *Right* and *Authority* of God himself, who is the *Supreme Sovereign* of the *Universe*, is also in like manner *Bounded* and *Circumscribed* by Justice. God's *Will* is *Ruled* by his *Justice*, and not his *Justice* *Ruled* by his *Will*; and therefore God himself cannot *Command*, what is in its own nature *Unjust*. And thus have we made it Evident, that *Infinite Right* and *Authority*, of *Doing* and *Commanding* any thing without Exception, so that the *Arbitrary* will of the Commander, should be the very *Rule* of *Justice* it self to others, and consequently might *Oblige* to any thing, is an *Absolute Contradiction*, and a *Non-Entity*; it supposing nothing to be in its own Nature, *Just* or *Unjust*, which if there were not, there could be no *Obligation* nor *Authority* at all. Wherefore the *Atheists* who would flatter *Civil Sovereigns*, with this *Infinite Right*, as if their *Will* ought to be the very *Rule* of *Justice* and *Conscience*, and upon that Pretence Prejudice them against *Religion*, do as ill deserve of them as of *Religion* hereby, they indeed Absolutely *Devesting* them of all *Right* and *Authority*, and leaving them nothing but meer *Brutish Force*, and *Belluine Liberty*. And could *Civil Sovereigns* utterly *Demolish* and *Destroy*, *Conscience* and *Religion* in the *Minds* of *Men*, (which yet is an *Absolute Impossibility*) they thinking thereby to make *Elbow-room* for themselves, they would certainly *Bury* themselves also, in the *Ruins* of them. Nevertheless thus much is true; That they in whom the *Sovereign Legislative Power* of every *Polity* is lodged, (whether *Single Persons* or *Assemblies*) they who *Make Civil Laws* and can *Reverse* them at pleasure, though they may *Unquestionably Sin* against God, in making *Unjust Laws*, yet can they not *Sin Politically* or *Civilly*, as *Violators* or *Transgressors* of those *Laws* *Cancelled* and *Reversed* by them, they being *Superiour* to them. Nor is this all, But these *Sovereign Legislative Powers*, may be said to be *Absolute* also, in another Sense, as being ἀνυπάρχουσι, *Un-Judicable* or *Un-Censurable* by any *Humane Court*, because if they were so obnoxious, then would that *Court* or *Power* which had a *Right* to *Judge* and *Censure* them, be *Superiour* to them; which is contrary to the *Hypothesis*. And then if this *Power* were again *Judicable* by some other, there must either be, an *Infinite Progress* or *Endless Circulation* (a thing not only *Absurd*; but also

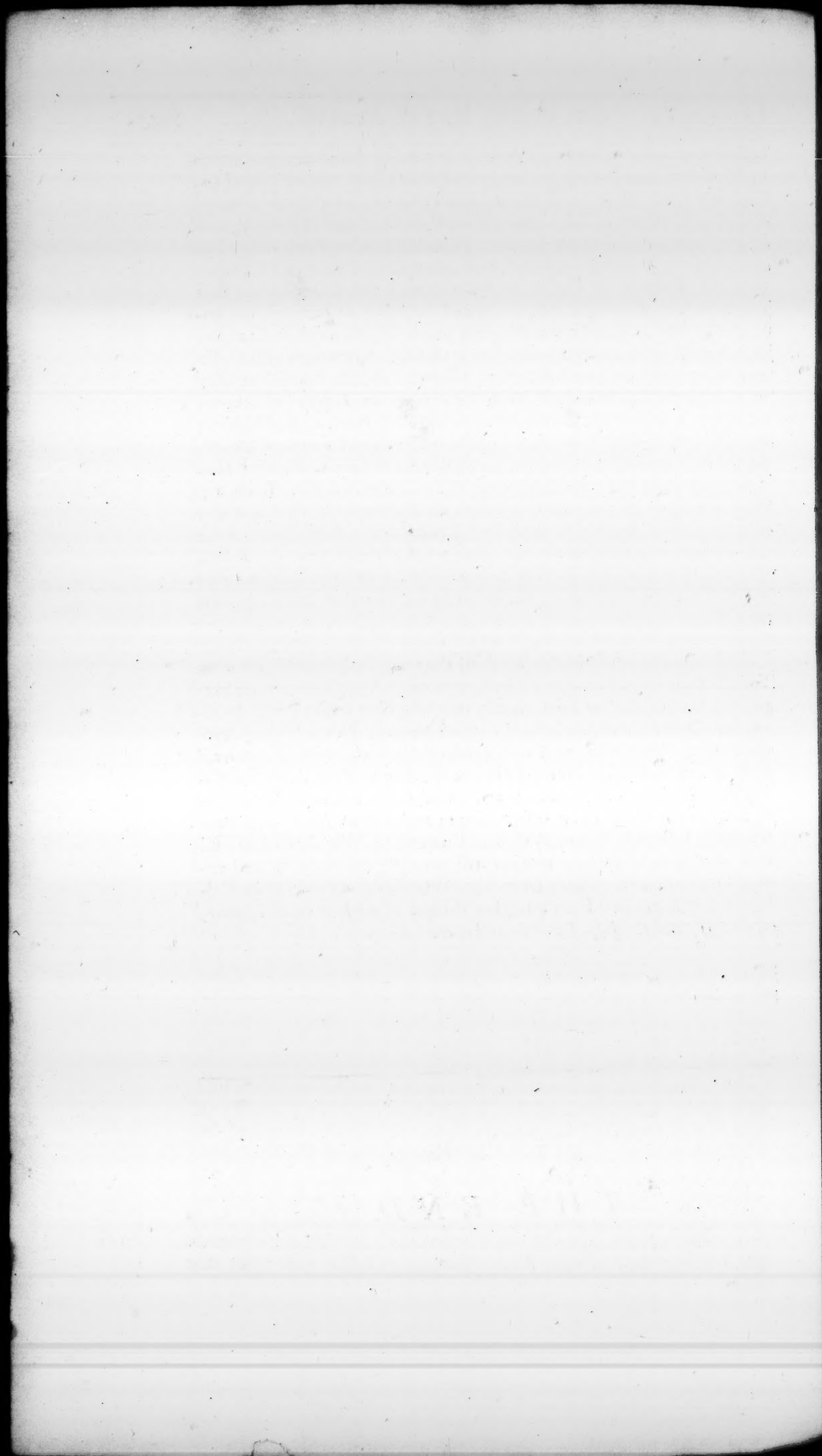
also utterly Inconsistent with Government and Property, because there being no *Ultimate Judgment* Unappealable from, there could never be any *Final Determination* of Controversies; or else at last, all must be devolved, to the *Multitude of Singulars*, which would be a *Dissolution* of the *Body Politick*, and a *State of Anarchy*. And thus have we Fully Confuted, the Second *Atheistick Pretence* also, for the *Inconsistency of Religion with Civil Sovereignty*.

Their *Third and Last* follows, That *Private Judgment of Good and Evil, is Contradictory to Civil Sovereignty*, and a *Body Politick*, this being *One Artificial Man*, that must be all Governed, by *One Reason and Will*. But *Conscience is Private Judgment of Good and Evil, Lawful and Unlawful, &c.* To which we Reply, That it is not *Religion*, but on the contrary, the Principles of these *Atheistick Politicians*, that Unavoidably introduce *Private Judgment of Good and Evil*, such as is Absolutely inconsistent with *Civil Sovereignty*; there being according to them, nothing in *Nature*, of a *Publick or Common Good*, Nothing of *Duty or Obligation*, but all *Private Appetite*, and *Utility*, of which also every man is Judge for himself. For if this were so, then when ever any man Judged it most for his *Private Utility*, to Disobey Laws, Rebel against Sovereigns, nay to Poyson or Stab them, he would be Unquestionably bound by *Nature*, and the *Reason* of his own Good, as the *Highest Law*, to do the same. Neither can these *Atheistick Politicians*, be ever able to bring men out of this State of *Private Good, Judgment, and Will*, which is *Natural* to them, by any *Artificial Tricks and Devices*, or meer *Enchantments of Words*, as *Artificial Justice*, and an *Artificial Man*, and a *Common Person and Will*, and a *Publick Conscience*, and the like. Nay it is observable, that themselves are necessitated by the Tenour of these their Principles, *Casually* to allow such *Private Judgment and Will*, as is altogether inconsistent with *Civil Sovereignty*; as, That any man may Lawfully Resist in Defence of his own Life, and That they who have once Rebelled, may afterwards Justly defend themselves by Force. Nor indeed can this *Private Judgment* of men, according to their *Appetite and Utility*, be possibly otherwise taken away, then by *Natural Justice*, which is a thing not of a *Private*, but of a *Publick and Common Nature*; And by *Conscience*, that Obligeth to Obey all the *Lawful Commands of Civil Sovereigns*, though contrary to mens *Appetites*, and *Private Interest*. Wherefore *Conscience* also, is in it self not of a *Private and Partial*, but of a *Publick and Common Nature*; it respecting *Divine Laws, Impartial Justice*, and *Equity*, and the *Good of the Whole*, when clashing with our own *Selfish Good*; and *Private Utility*. This is the only thing, that can *Naturally Consociate Mankind* together, lay a *Foundation for Bodies Politick*, and take away that *Private Will and Judgment* according to mens *Appetite and Utility*, which is Inconsistent with the same: agreeably to that of *Plato's*, τὸ κοινὸν οὐδὲν, τὸ ἰδίον διασπᾶ, That which is of a *Common and Publick Nature Unites*, but that which is of a *Private Segregates and Dissociates*. It is true indeed, that particular Persons must make a *Judgment in Conscience* for themselves (a *Publick Conscience*, being *Nonsense and Ridiculous*) and that they may also Erre therein; yet is not the *Rule* neither, by which

which *Conscience* Judgeth, *Private*; nor it self *Unaccountable*, unless in such mistaken *Fanaticks*, as professedly follow *Private Impulses*; but either the *Natural* and *Eternal Laws* of *God*, or else his revealed *Will*, things more *Publick*, than the *Civil Laws* of any Country, and of which others also may Judge. Nevertheless we deny not, but that *Evil Persons* may and do sometimes make a Pretence of *Conscience* and *Religion* in Order to *Sedition* and *Rebellion*; as the Best things may be Abused; but this is not the Fault of *Religion*, but only of the *Men*: *Conscience* Obliging, though First to obey *God*, yet in Subordination to him, the *Laws* of *Civil Sovereigns* also. To conclude, *Conscience* and *Religion*, Oblige Subjects *Actively* to Obey all the *Lawful Commands* of *Civil Sovereigns* or *Legislative Powers*, though contrary to their own *Private Appetite*, *Interest*, and *Utility*; but when these same *Sovereign Legislative Powers*, Command *Unlawful things*, *Conscience* though it here Obliges to Obey *God* rather than *Men*, yet does it Notwithstanding Oblige, Not to Resist. *Rom. 13. Whosoever Resisteth the Power, Resisteth the Ordinance of God, and they that Resist shall Receive to themselves Damnation. And Matthew the 26. All they that take the Sword, shall perish with the Sword. Here is the Patience and the Faith of the Saints. And thus does Religion, give unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsars, as well as unto God, the things that are Gods.*

And now having fully *Confuted*, all the *Atheistick Grounds*, we confidently Conclude, That the First *Original* of all things, was neither *Stupid* and *Senseless Matter* Fortuitously moved, Nor a *Blind* and *Nescient*, but *Orderly* and *Methodical Plastic Nature*; Nor a *Living Matter* having *Perception* or *Understanding Natural*, without *Animal Sense* or *Consciousness*; Nor yet did every thing Exist of it self *Necessarily* from *Eternity*, without a *Cause*. But there is One only *Necessary Existent*, the Cause of all other things; and this an *Absolutely Perfect Being*. Infinitely Good, Wise, and Powerful; Who hath made all that was Fit to be made, and according to the *Best Wisdom*, and exerciseth an exact *Providence* over all. Whose Name ought to be *Hallowed* and *Separated* from all other things. *To whom be all Honour, and Glory, and Worship, for ever and ever. Amen.*

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ibid.

2. *That if no Plastick Artificial Nature be admitted, then one of these two things must be concluded; That either all things come to pass by Fortuitous Mechanism or Material Necessity (the Motion of Matter Unguided) or else that God doth Ἀνταρχειν πάντα doe all things Himself Immediately and Miraculously; framing the Body of every Gnat and Fly, as it were, with his own hands: forasmuch as Divine Laws and Commands cannot execute themselves, nor be alone the proper Efficient Causes of things in Nature.*

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20. Notwithstanding which, forasmuch as the Plastick Nature is a Life, it must needs be Incorporeal. One and the self same thing, having in it an entire Model and Platform of the Whole, and acting upon several Distant parts of Matter, cannot be a Body. And though Aristotle himself do no where declare this Nature to be either Corporeal or Incorporeal, (which he neither clearly doth concerning the Rational Soul,) and his Followers commonly take it to be Corporeal, yet, according to the Genuine Principles of that Philosophy, must it needs be otherwise. 165

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therefore Consciously Intellectual. The Asserters of this Latter opinion, Theists, in a Strict and Proper Sense; of the Former, Atheists. So that the Idea of God in General is A Perfect Consciously Understanding Being, (or Mind,) Self-Existent from Eternity, and the Cause of all other things. Page 194, 195.

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The next and most Eminent Champion for the Pagan Cause, Porphyrius, an undoubted asserter of One Supreme Deity. Who in Proclus not onely opposeth that Evil Principle of Plutarch and Atticus, but also contendeth, that even Matter it self was derived from One Perfect Being. 271

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Julian the Emperour, a zealous contender for the Restitution of Paganism, plainly derived all his Gods from One. 274, 275

This true of all the other Opposers of Christianity, as Iamblichus, Syrianus, Proclus, Simplicius, &c. Maximus Madaurenſis a Pagan Philosopher in S. Auſtine, his profeſſion of One Sovereign Numen above all the Gods. The same also the ſenſe of Longinianus. 275, 276

The Pagans in Arnobius univerſally diſclaim the Opinion of Many Unmade Deities, and profeſs the Belief of an Omnipotent God. 276, 277

These Pagans acknowledged by others of the Fathers also, to have held One Sovereign Numen. 279, &c.

But of this more afterwards, when we ſpeak of the Arians.

XVI. That

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XVI. *That this was no Refinement or Interpolation of Paganism, made after Christianity (as might be suspected) but that the Doctrine of the most Ancient Pagan Theologers, and greatest Promoters of Polytheism, was consonant hereto: which will be proved from unsuspected Writings.* Page 281

Concerning the Sibylline Oracles, Two Extrems. 282, &c.

That Zoroaster the Chief Promoter of Polytheism in the East, Professed the acknowledgment of One Sovereign Deity, (and that not the Sun neither, but the maker thereof) proved from Eubulus in Porphyry. 285, 286

Zoroasters Supreme God Oromasdes. 287

Of the Triplasian Mithras. 288

The Magick, or Chaldaick Trinity. 289

The Zoroastrian Trinity, Oromasdes, Mithras and Arimanes. Thus the Persian Arimanes, no Substantial Evil Principle, or Independent God. 290

Concerning the Reputed Magick or Chaldaick Oracles. 292, 293

XVII. *That Orpheus, Commonly called by the Greeks, The Theologer, and the Father of the Grecanick Polytheism, clearly asserted One Supreme Numen. The History of Orpheus, not a meer Romance.* 294, 295

Whether Orpheus were the Father of the Poems called Orphical. 296, 297

Orpheus his Polytheism. 298

That Orpheus notwithstanding, asserted a Divine Monarchy; Proved from Orphick Verses, Recorded by Pagans. There being other Orphick Verses, Counterfeit. 300, 301

In what sense Orpheus and other Mystical Theologers amongst the Pagans, called God Ἑρμῆν Διόνυσον, Hermaphrodite, or of both Sexes, Male and Female together. 304

Orpheus his Recantation of his Polytheism a Fable; He at the same time acknowledging, both One Unmade God, and Many Generated Gods and Goddesses. 305

That besides the Opinion of Monarchy,

a Trinity of Divine Hypostases subordinate, was also another Part of the Orphick Cabbala. Orpheus his Trinity, Phanes, Uranus, and Chronus. Page 306

The Grand Arcanum of the Orphick Theology, that God is All things; but in a different sense from the Stoicks. 306, 307

God's being All; made a Foundation of Pagan Polytheism and Idolatry. 308

XVIII. *That the Egyptians themselves, the most Polytheistical of all Nations, had an Acknowledgment amongst them of One Supreme Deity. The Egyptians the First Polytheists. That the Greeks and Europeans derived their Gods from them, and as Herodotus affirmeth, their very Names too. A Conjecture that Ἀδναῖ of the Greeks was Νῆϊθ or Νῆϊθας; the Tutelar God of the City Sais; a Colony whereof the Athenians are said to have been. And that Neptune the Roman Sea-god, was derived from the Egyptian Nephthus, signifying the Maritime parts. Of the Egyptians worshipping Brute Animals.* 309, 310

Notwithstanding this multifarious Polytheism and Idolatry of the Egyptians, that they had an Acknowledgment of One Supreme God, probable First, from that great Fame which they had for their Wisdom. Egypt a School of Literature before Greece. 311

The Egyptians, though Attributing more Antiquity to the World than they ought, yet of all Nations the most constant Asserters of the Cosmogonia or Novity and Beginning of the World: Nor did they think the World to have been made by Chance, as the Epicureans; Simplicius calling the Mosaiick History of the Creation, an Egyptian Fable. 312, 313

That besides the Pure and Mixt Mathematicks, the Egyptians had another Higher Philosophy, appears from hence; because they were the first Asserters of the Immortality and Transmigration of Souls, which Pythagoras from them derived into Greece. Certain therefore, that the Egyptians held Incorporeal Substance. 313, 314

That the Egyptians besides their Vulgar

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gar and Fabulous, had another Arcane and Recondite Theology. Their Sphinges, and Harpocrates, or Sigalions, in their Temples. Page 314, 315

This Arcane Theology of the Egyptians, concealed from the Vulgar two manner of ways, by Allegories and Hieroglyphicks. This doubtless a kind of Metaphysicks concerning God, as One Perfect Being the Original of all things. 316

An Objection from Chæremon, (cited by Porphyrius, in an Epistle to Anebo an Egyptian Priest,) fully answered by Iamblichus, in the Person of Abammo, in his Egyptian Mysteries. 317, 318

That Monarchy was an Essential Part of the Arcane and True Theology of the Egyptians, may be proved from the Trismegistick Writings; though not all Genuine; (as the Pœmander, and Sermon in the Mount concerning Regeneration) Because though they had been all Forged by Christians never so much, yet being divulged in those Ancient times, they must needs have something of Truth in them; this at least, That the Egyptians acknowledged One Supreme Deity, or otherwise they would have been presently Exploded. 319, 320

That Casaubon, from the Detection of Forgery in two or three at most of these Trismegistick Books, does not Reasonably infer them to have been all Christian Cheats: those also not Excepted, that have been cited by Ancient Fathers, but since lost. 320, 321

That there was one Theuth or Thoth, (called by the Greeks Hermes) an Inventor of Letters and Sciences amongst the Ancient Egyptians, not reasonably to be doubted. Besides whom, there is said to have been a Second Hermes, surnamed Trismegist, who left many Volumes of Philosophy and Theology behind him, that were committed to the Custody of the Priests. 321, &c.

Other Books also written by Egyptian Priests, in several Ages successively, called Hermaical, (as Iamblichus informeth us) because Entitled (Pro more) to Hermes, as the President of Learning. 322

That some of those old Hermaick Books remained in the Custody of the Egyptian Priests, till the times of Clemens Alexandrinus. Page 323

Hermaick Books taken notice of formerly, not onely by Christians, but also by Pagans and Philosophers. Iamblichus his Testimony of them, that they did Really contain Hermaical Opinions, or Egyptian Learning. Fifteen of these Hermaick Books published together at Athens before S. Cyril's time. 324, 325

All the Philosophy of the Present Hermaick Books not meerly Grecanick, as Casaubon affirmeth. That Nothing periseth; old Egyptian Philosophy, derived by Pythagoras, together with the Transmigration of Souls, into Greece. 326, 327

The Asclepian Dialogue, or Perfect Oration, (said to have been translated into Latin by Apuleius) vindicated from being a Christian Forgery. 328

An answer to two Objections made against it; the latter whereof from a Prophecy taken notice of by S. Austin; That the Temples of the Egyptian Gods, should shortly be full of the Sepulchres of dead men. ibid.

Petavius his further Suspicion of Forgery, because as Lactantius and S. Austin have affirmed, the Christian Logos is herein called a Second God, and the First begotten Son of God. The Answer; that Lactantius and S. Austin were clearly Mistaken, this being there affirmed onely of the Visible and Sensible World. 329, 330

That besides the Asclepian Dialogue, others of the present Trismegistick Books, contain Egyptian Doctrine. Nor can they be all proved to be Spurious and Counterfeit. This the rather insisted on, for the Vindication of the Ancient Fathers. 331, 332

Proved that the Egyptians, besides their Many Gods acknowledged One First Supreme, and Universal Deity, from the Testimonies of Plutarch, Horus Apollo, Iamblichus, (affirming that Hermes derived all things, even Matter it self, from One Divine Principle) lastly of Damascius

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Damascius declaring that the Egyptian Philosophers at that time, had found in the Writings of the Ancients, That they held One Principle of all things, Praised under the name of the Unknown Dark-ness. Page 334, &c.

The same thing Proved from their Vulgar Religion and Theology; Hammon being a proper Name for the Supreme God amongst them; and therefore Styled the Egyptian Jupiter. 337

Though this word Hammon were probably at first the same with Ham or Cham the Son of Noah, yet will not this hinder, but that it might be used afterwards by the Egyptians for the Supreme God. 338

The Egyptian God Hammon, neither confined by them to the Sun, nor to the Corporeal World, but according to the Notation of the word in the Egyptian Language, a Hidden and Invisible Deity. This farther confirmed from the Testimony of Iamblichus. 339

This Egyptian Hammon more than once taken notice of in Scripture. 339, 340

That the Egyptians acknowledged one Universal Numen, further proved from that Famous Inscription upon the Saitick Temple, I Am all that Was, Is, and Shall be, and my Veil no Mortal hath ever yet Uncovered. That this cannot be Understood of Senseless Matter, nor of the Corporeal Universe, but of a Divine Mind or Wisdom diffusing it self thorough all. The Peplum or Veil cast over the Statue, as well of the Saitick as Athenian Minerva; Hieroglyphically signified the Invisibilty and Incomprehensibility of the Deity which is Veiled in its works. From what Proclus addeth to this Inscription beyond Plutarch, And the Sun was the Fruit which I produced; Evident, that this was a Demiurgical Deity, the Creatour of the Sun and of the World. 341, 342

How that passage of Hecataeus in Plutarch is to be Understood, That the Egyptians supposed the First God, and the Universe, to be the same, viz. Because the Supreme Deity diffuseth it self thorough all things. Το πᾶν a Name of God also amongst the Greek Philosophers. 343

That Pan to the Arcadians and other Vulgar Greeks, was not the Corporeal World, as Senseless and Inanimate; but as proceeding from an Intellectual Principle diffusing it self through all; from Macrobius and Phornutus. Socrates his Prayer to Pan; as the Supreme God; in Plato's Phædrus. Page 343, 344

Our Saviour Christ called the Great Pan by Demons. 345

How the old Egyptian Theology, That God is All things, is every where insisted upon in the Trismegistick Writings. 346, 347

That the Supreme God was sometimes worshipped by the Egyptians under other Proper Personal names, as Isis, Osiris, and Serapis, &c. 349, &c.

Recorded in Eusebius, from Porphyrius, that the Egyptians acknowledged one Intellectual Demiurgus, or Maker of the World, under the name of Cneph, whom they pictured, putting forth an Egg out of his Mouth. This Cneph said to have produced another God, whom the Egyptians called Phtha, the Greeks, Vulcan; the Soul of the World, and Artificial Plastick Nature. The Testimony of Plutarch, That the Thebaïtes worshipped onely One Eternal and Immortal God under this name of Cneph. 412

Thus, according to Apuleius, the Egyptians worshipped One and the same Supreme God under many different Names and Notions. ibid.

Probable; that the Egyptians distinguished Hypostases in the Deity also. Kircherus his Egyptian Hieroglyphick of the Trinity. An Intimation in Iamblichus of an Egyptian Trinity, Eidon, Emeph, or Hemphtha, (which is the same with Cneph,) and Phtha. 413

The Doctrine of, God's being All, made by the Egyptians a Foundation of Polytheism and Idolatry, they being led hereby to Personate and Deify the several Parts of the World, and Things of Nature; (which in the Language of the Asclepian Dialogue, is, To call God by the name of every thing, or every thing by the name of God,) the wise amongst them nevertheless understanding, that all

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was but one Simple Deity, worshipped by Piece-Meale. This Allegorically signified by Osiris his being dismembred and cut in pieces by Typhon, and then made up One again by Isis. Page 354, 355

XIX. That the Poets many ways deprav'd the Pagan Theology, and made it to have a more Aristocratical Appearance. 355, &c.

Notwithstanding which, they did not really assert Many Self-Existent and Independent Gods, but One onely Unmade; and all the rest Generated or Created. Homer's Gods not all Eternal and Unmade, but Generated out of the Ocean; that is, a Watry Chaos. Homer's Theogonia, as well as Hesiod's, the Cosmogonia; and his Generation of Gods, the same thing with the Production or Creation of the World. 357, 358

Nevertheless, Homer distinguished, from all those Generated Gods, One Unmade God, the Father, or Creatour, of them, and of the World. 359

Homer thus understood by the Pagans themselves; as Plutarch, Proclus, and Aristotle. 359, 360

Though Hesiod's Gods, properly so called, were all of them Generated, yet did He suppose also One Unmade God, the Maker of them, and of the World. 360, 361

Pindar likewise, a Divine Theogonist; an Asserter of One Unmade Deity (and no more) the Cause of all things; yet nevertheless of Many Generated Gods besides His One God to be worshipped far above all the other Gods. 361, 362

The Suspicion which Aristotle sometime had of Hesiod, and Plato of Homer, seems to have proceeded from their not Understanding that Mosaiick Cabbala, followed by them both, of the World's being Made out of a Watery Chaos. 362

That famous Passage of Sophocles, concerning One God the Maker of Heaven, Earth, and Seas, (cited by so many Ancient Fathers) defended as genuine. 363

Clear places in the extant Tragedies of Euripides to the same purpose; with other remarkable ones cited out of his now inextant Tragedies: Besides the Testimonies of other Greek Poets. 363, &c.

The Consent of Latine Poets also, in the Monarchy of the whole. Page 365

XX. After the Poets of the Pagans, their Philosophers considered. That Epicurus was the onely reputed Philosopher, who pretending to acknowledge Gods, yet professedly opposed Monarchy, and verbally asserted a Multitude of Eternal Unmade Deities, but such as had Nothing to doe, either with the Making or Governing of the World. He therefore clearly to be reckoned amongst the Atheists. All the Pagan Philosophers who were Theists, (a few Ditheists excepted) Universally asserted a Mundane Monarchy. 369, 370.

Pythagoras, a Polytheist as much as the other Pagans, nevertheless a plain Acknowledger of one One Supreme God, the Maker of the Universe. 371

Pythagoras his Dyad, no Evil God or Demon Self-existent, as Plutarch supposed. 372

But this Dyad of his, whether Matter or no, derived from a Monad, One Simple Unity, the Cause of all things. 372, 373

That Pythagoras, acknowledging a Trinity of Divine Hypostases, did therefore sometimes describe God as a Monad, sometimes as a Mind, and sometimes as the Soul of the World. 373

The Pythagorick Monad and First God, the same with the Orphick Love, Senior to Japhet and Saturn, and the Oldest of all the Gods, a Substantial thing. But that Love which Plato would have to be the Youngest of the Gods, (the Daughter of Penia, or Indigency, and a Parturient thing,) Nothing but a Creaturely affection in Souls, Personated and Deified. Parmenides his Love, the First Created God, or Lower Soul of the World; before whose Production, Necessity is said to have reigned; that is, the Necessity of Material Motions undirected for Ends, and Good. 374, 375.

That Pythagoras called the Supreme Deity, not onely a Monad, but a Tetrad or Tetractys also. The Reasons for this given, from the Mysteries in the Number Four,

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Four, trifling. More probability of a late Conjecture, that the Pythagorick Tetradys, was the Hebrew Tetragrammaton, not altogether unknown to the Hetrurians and Latins. Page 375, 376

Xenophanes a plain Asserter both of Many Gods, and of One God, called by him, One and All. Simplicius his clear Testimony for this Theosophy of Xenophanes, out of Theophrastus. Xenophanes misrepresented by Aristotle, as an Asserter of a Spherical Corporeal God. 377, 378

Heraclitus, though a Cloudy and Confounded Philosopher, and one who could not conceive of any thing Incorporeal, yet both a hearty Moralist, and a zealous Asserter of One Supreme Deity. 378, 379

The Ionick Philosophers before Anaxagoras, being all of them Corporealists, and some of them Atheists; that Anaxagoras was the First who asserted an Incorporeal Mind to be a Principle, and though not the Cause of Matter, yet of Motion, and of the Regularity of things. The World, according to him, not Eternal, but Made, and out of Pre-Existent Similar Atoms, and that not by Chance, but by Mind or God. This Mind of his, purely Incorporeal, as appeareth from his own words, cited by Simplicius. 380

Probable, that Anaxagoras admitted none of the Inferiour Pagan Gods. He Condemned by the Vulgar for an Atheist, because he Ungodded the Stars, denying their Animation, and affirming the Sun to be but a Mass of Fire, and the Moon an Earth. This disliked also by Plato, as that which in those times would dispose men to Atheism. 381

Anaxagoras farther Censured, both by Plato and Aristotle, because though asserting Mind to be a Principle, he made much more use of Material than of Mental and Final Causes; which was looked upon by them as an Atheistick Tang in him. Nevertheless Anaxagoras a better Theist than those Christian Philosophers of later times, who quite banish all Mental Causality from the World. 382, 383

XXI. Parmenides his acknowledgment of One God the Cause of Gods. Which

Supreme Deity, by Parmenides styled, One-All-Immovable. That this is not to be taken Physically, but Metaphysically and Theologically; Proved at large. The First Principle of all, to these Ancients, One, a Simple Unity or Monad. This said to be All, because virtually Containing All, and Distributed into All; or because All things are distinctly displayed from it. Lastly, the same said to be Immovable, and Indivisible, and without Magnitude, to distinguish it from the Corporeal Universe. Page 383, &c.

Εν τὸ πᾶν, One All, taken in different Senses; by Parmenides and Xenophanes, &c. Divinely, for the Supreme Deity, (One most Simple Being the Original of all things:) but by others in Aristotle, Atheistically, as if all things were but One and the same Matter diversly Modified. But the One-All of these Latter, not Immoveable, but Moveable; it being nothing else but Body; whereas the One-All-Immoveable, is an Incorporeal Deity. This does Aristotle, in his Metaphysics, close with, as good Divinity, That there is one Incorporeal Immoveable Principle of all things. Simplicius his Observation, That though divers Philosophers maintained a Plurality or Infinity of Moveable Principles, yet none ever asserted more than One Immoveable. 385, 386

Parmenides in Plato distinguished three Divine Hypostases, The First whereof called by him, Εν τὸ πᾶν, One-All; the Second, Εν παντι, One All things; and the Third, Εν καὶ παντι, One and All things. 386, &c.

But that Parmenides by his One-All-Immoveable really understood the Supreme Deity, yet farther unquestionably evident from the Verses cited out of him by Simplicius; Wherein there is also attributed thereunto a Standing Eternity, or Duration, different from that of Time. 388

The onely Difference betwixt Parmenides and Melissus, that the Former called his, One-All-Immoveable, Finite; the Latter, Infinite; this in Words rather than Reality: The Disagreeing Agreement

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greement of these two Philosophers fully declared by Simplicius. Melissus his Language more agreeable with our present Theology. Though Anaximander's Infinite were nothing but Senseless Matter, yet Melissus his Infinite was the True Deity. Page 389

That Zeno Eleates, by his One-All-Immoveable, meant not the Corporeal World neither, no more than Melissus, Parmenides, and Xenophanes; but the Deity; evident from Aristotle. Zeno's Demonstration of One God, from the Idea of a most Powerfull and Perfect Being, in the same Aristotle. 390

Empedocles his First Principle of All things, Τὸ Ἐν, or a Unity likewise, besides which he supposed Contention and Friendship to be the Principles of all Created Beings; not onely Plants, Brutes, and Men, but Gods also. 391, &c.

Empedocles his Original of all the Evil both of Humane Soul and Demons, from this Νεῖκος, Discord and Contention, together with the Ill use of their Liberty. 393

XXII. The Doctrine of divers other Pythagoreans also the same; as Philolaus, Archytas, Ocellus, Aristæus, &c. Timæus Locrus his God the Creatour of Gods. Onatus his Many Gods, and his One God, the Coryphæus of the Gods. Euclides Megarensis his One the Very Good. Antisthenes his Many Popular Gods, but One Natural God. Diogenes Sinopenis his God that Filleth all things. 393, &c.

XXIII. That Socrates asserted One Supreme God undeniable from Xenophon. 398, 399

But that he disclaimed all the other Inferiour Gods of the Pagans, and died, as a Martyr, for One onely God, in this Sense, a Vulgar Errour. 400

What the Impiety imputed to him by his Adversaries, appeareth from Plato's Euthyphro, viz. That he freely and openly Condemned those Fables of the Gods wherein Wicked and Unjust Actions were imputed to them. 401

That Plato really asserted One onely God and no more, a Vulgar Errour like-

wise; and that Thirteenth Epistle to Dionysius, wherein he declared himself, to be Serious onely when he began his Epistles with God, and not with Gods, (though exstant in Eusebius his time,) Spurious and Suppositions. He worshipping the Sun and other Stars also (supposed to be animated) as Inferiour Gods. Page 402

Nevertheless, Undeniably evident, that Plato was no Polyarchist, but a Monarchist, no Asserter of Many Independent Gods, or Principles, but of One Original of all things; One First God, One Greatest God, One Maker of the World and of the Gods. 403, 404

In what Sense the Supreme God, to Plato, the Cause and Producer of Himself; (out of Plotinus) and this notion not onely entertained by Seneca and Plotinus, but also by Lactantius, That Plato really asserted a Trinity of Universal Divine Hypostases, that have the Nature of Principles. The First Hypostasis in Plato's Trinity properly Αὐτόθεον, The Original Deity, the Cause and King of all things: which also said by him to be Ἐπέκεινα τῆς οὐσίας, or Ὑπερσόν, Above Essence. 407

Xenophon, though with other Pagans, he acknowledged a Plurality of Gods, yet a plain Asserter also of One Supreme and Universal Numen. 408

XXIV. Aristotle a frequent Acknowledger of Many Gods. And whether he believed any Demons or no, which he sometimes mentions (though sparingly) and insinuates them to be a kind of Aerial Animals, more Immortal than Men; yet did he unquestionably look upon the Starrs, or their Intelligences, as Gods. 408, &c.

Notwithstanding which, Aristotle doth not onely often speak of God Singularly, and of the Divinity Emphatically, but also professedly opposes that Imaginary Opinion of Many Independent Principles, or Unmade Deities. He confuting the same from the Phenomena or the Compages of the World, which is not ἀνενόητος, but all Uniform, and agreeably Conspiring into one Harmony. 410, 411

Aristotle's Supreme Deity, the First Immo-

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Immoveable Mover. *The difference here betwixt Plato, and Aristotle; Plato's Original of Motion, a Self-moving Soul, Aristotle's an Immoveable Mind. But this Difference not so great as at first sight it seems; because Aristotle's Immoveable Mind, doth not Move the Heavens Efficiently, but onely Finally, or As being Loved. Besides which, he must needs suppose, another immediate Mover, which could be nothing, but a Soul of them.*

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Aristotle's Immoveable Mind, *not onely the Cause of Motion, but also of Well and Fit; all the Order, Pulchritude and Harmony, that is in the world Called therefore by Aristotle, the Separate Good thereof. This together with Nature, (its Subordinate Instrument) the Efficient Cause of the whole Mundane System: which however Co-eternal with it, yet is, in Order of Nature, Junior to it.*

413,

Aristotle and other Ancients, *when they affirm Mind to have been the Cause of all things, Understood it thus, That all things were made by an Absolute Wisdom, and after the Best Manner. The Divine Will according to them, not a meer Arbitrary, Humoursome, and Fortuitous thing, but Decency and Fitness it self.*

415

From this passage of Aristotle's, That the Divinity is either God, or the Work of God; Evident, that he supposed All the Gods, to have been derived from One, and therefore his Intelligences of the Sphears.

415

That according to Aristotle, this Speculation of the Deity, constitutes a Particular Science by it self, distinct from Physiologie and Geometry: the Former whereof (Physiologie) is Conversant about what was Inseparable and Movable, the Second (Geometry) about things Immoveable, but not Really Separable, but the Third and Last (which is Theologie) about that which is both Immoveable and Separable, an Incorporeal Deity.

416

Four Chief Points of Aristotle's Theologie or Metaphysicks, concerning God;

First, that though all things are not Eternal and Unmade, yet something must needs be such, as likewise Incorruptible, or otherwise all might come to Nothing. Secondly, that God is an Incorporeal Substance, separate from Sensibles, Indivisible and devoid of Parts and Magnitude. Thirdly, that the Divine Intellect, is the same with its Intelligibles, or containeth them all within it self; because the Divine Mind, being Senior to all things, and Architectonical of the World, could not then look abroad for its Objects without it self. The contrary to which supposed by Atheists. Lastly, that God being an Immoveable Substance; his Act and Energy is his Essence; from whence Aristotle would infer the Eternity of the World.

Page 416, 417

Aristotle's Creed and Religion *contained in these Two Articles, first That there is a Divinity which comprehends the whole Nature, or Universe. And Secondly, that besides this, There are other Particular Inferiour Gods; But that all other things, in the Religion of the Pagans, were Fabulously superadded hereunto for Political Ends.*

417

Speusippus, Xenocrates and Theophrastus, *Monarchists.*

418

XXV. The Stoicks *no better Metaphysicians than Heraclitus, in whose footsteps they trode, admitting of no Incorporeal Substance. The Qualities of the Mind also, to these Stoicks, Bodies.*

419, 420

But the Stoicks, not therefore Atheists; they supposing an Eternal Unmade Mind, (though lodged in Matter) the Maker of the whole Mundane System.

420

The Stoical Argumentations for a God not Inconsiderable, and what they were.

421, 422

The Stoical God, not a meer Plastick and Methodical, but an Intellectual Fire. The World according to them, not a Plant, but Animal; and Jupiter the Soul thereof. From the supposed Oneliness of which Jupiter, they would sometimes inferre, the Singularity of the World: (Plutarch on the Contrary affirming, that though there were Fifty, or

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an Hundred Worlds, yet would there be for all that, but one Zeus or Jupiter.) 423

Nevertheless the Stoicks as Polytheistical as any Set. But so, as that they supposed all their Gods save One, to be not Onely Native, but also Mortal; made out of that One, and resolved into that One again: these Gods, being all Melted into Jupiter, in the Conflagration. 424,

425

Wherefore during the Intervals of Successive Worlds, the Stoicks acknowledged but one Solitary Deity, and no more; Jupiter being then left all alone, and the other Gods Swallowed up into him. Who therefore not onely, the Creatour of all the other Gods, but also the Decreatour of them. 425, 426

The Stoicks notwithstanding this, Religious Worshippers of their Many Gods; and thereby sometime derogated from the Honour of the Supreme, by sharing his Sovereignty amongst them. 426,

427

Nevertheless, the Supreme God, praised and extolled by them far above all the other Gods; and acknowledged to be the Sole Maker of the World. 427, &c.

Their Professing Subjection to his Laws as their greatest Liberty. 430

And to submit their Wills to his Will in every thing, so as to know no other Will, but the Will of Jupiter. *ibid.*

Their Pretending to Look to God, and to doe nothing without a Reference to him; as also to Trust in him and Rely upon him. 431

Their Praising him as the Authour of all Good. *ibid.*

Their Addressing their Devotions to him Alone, without the conjunction of any other God; and particularly imploring his Assistance against Temptations. 432

Cleanthes his Excellent and Devout Hymn, to the Supreme God. 433

XXVI. Cicero, though affecting to write in the way of the New Academy, yet no Sceptick as to Theism. Nor was he an Asserter of Many Independent Deities. Cicero's Gods (the Makers of the World) the same with Plato's Eternal Gods, or Trinity of Divine Hypostases

Subordinate. This Language, the Pagans in S. Cyrill, would Justifie, from that of the Scripture, Let us make Man. Page

434, 435, &c.

Varro's Threefold Theology, The Fabulous, the Natural, and the Civil or Popular; agreeably to Scævola the Pontifex, his Three Sorts of Gods, Poetical, Philosophical, and Political. The Former condemned by him as False, the Second, though True, said to be above the Capacity of the Vulgar: and therefore a Necessity, of a Third or Middle betwixt both; Because many things True in Religion, not fit for the Vulgar to know. Varro's Supreme Numen, the great Soul or Mind of the whole World: his Inferiour Gods, Parts of the World Animated. Image-Worship Condemned by him, as disagreeable to the Natural Theology. 438, 439

Seneca a Pagan Polytheist, but plain asserter of One Supreme Numen, excellently described by him. That in his Book of Superstition (now lost) he did as freely Censure the Civil Theology of the Romans, as Varro had done the Fabulous or Theatrical. 440

Quintilian, Pliny, Apuleius, their clear acknowledgments of One Sovereign Universal Deity. Symmachus, (a great stickler for Paganism) his Assertion, That it was One and the Same thing, which was Worshipped in all Religions, though in different ways. 440, 441

The Writer De Mundo, though not Aristotle, yet a Pagan. His Cause that containeth All things, and God from whom all things are. Which Passage being left out in Apuleius his Latin Version, gives occasion of suspicion, that he was infected with Plutarch's Ditheism, or at least held Matter to be Unmade. 442

Plutarch a Priest of Apollo, however unluckily ingaged in those Two False Opinions, of an Evil Principle, and Matter Unmade, yet a Maintainer of One Sole Principle of all Good. 443

Dio Chrysostomus a Sophist, his clear Testimony, *βροτῶν τὸ ὅλον*, That the whole World was under a Kingly Government or Monarchy. *ibid.*

Galen's

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Galen's True Hymn to the praise of him that made us, in his Book De usu Partium. Page 444

Maximus Tyrius his short Account of his own Religion; One Supreme God, the Monarch of the whole World, and Three Subordinate Ranks of Inferiour Gods, the Sons and Friends of God, and his Ministers in the Government of the World. Page 444, 445

A most full and Excellent Description of the Supreme God in Aristides his First Oration or Hymn to Jupiter, wherein he affirmeth, all the several kinds of Gods, to be but a Defluxion and Derivation from Jupiter. 445, 446

All the Latter Philosophers after Christianity, (though maintainers of the Worlds Eternity, yet) agreed in One Supreme Deity, the Cause of this World, and of the other Gods. Excellent Speculations in them concerning the Deity, especially Plotinus; who though deriving Matter and all from One Divine Principle, yet was a Contender for Many Gods; he supposing, the Grandeur and Majesty of the Supreme God, to be declared by the Multitude of Gods under him. Themistius; That the Same Supreme God, was worshipped by Pagans, Christians, and all Nations, though in different Forms; and that God was delighted with this Variety of Religions. 446, 447

The full Testimony of S. Cyril, That the Greek Philosophers universally acknowledged One God, the Maker of the Universe, from whom were produced into Being, certain other Gods, both Intelligible and Sensible. *ibid.*

XXVII. This not onely the Opinion of Philosophers and Learned men, but also the General Belief of the Vulgar amongst the Pagans. A Judgment of the Vulgar and Generality, to be made from the Poets. Dio Chrysost. his Affirmation, That all the Poets acknowledged One First and Greatest God the Father of all the Rational Kind, and the King thereof. 447

The Testimony of Aristotle, That all men acknowledged Kingship or Monar-

chy amongst the Gods: of Maximus Tyrius, That notwithstanding so great a Discrepancy of Opinion in other things, yet throughout all the Gentile World, as well the Unlearned as Learned did universally agree in this, That there was One God the King and Father of all, and Many Gods the Sons of that One God: Of Dio Chrysostomus also to the same purpose; he intimating likewise that of the two, the acknowledgment of the One Supreme God, was more General than that of the Many Inferiour Gods. 448,

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That the sense of the Vulgar Pagans herein is further evident from hence, because all Nations had their several Proper Names for the One Supreme God; as the Romans Jupiter, the Greeks Zeus, the Africans and Arabians Hammon, the Scythians Pappæus, the Babylonians Bel, &c. 449

True, that Origen, though allowing Christians to use the Appellative Names for God in the Languages of the several Nations, yet accounted it unlawfull for them to call him by those Proper Names; because not onely given to Idols, but also contaminated with wicked Rites and Fables: according to which, they should be judged rather the Names of a Dæmon than of a God. Notwithstanding which, he does not deny, those Pagans ever to have meant the Supreme God by them, but often acknowledge the same. But Lactantius indeed denies the Capitoline Jupiter to be the Supreme God, and that for two Reasons. First, because he was not worshipped without the Partnership of Minerva and Juno, his Daughter and Wife. Granted here, that there was a Mixture of the Fabulous or Poetical Theology with the Natural to make up the Civil. But that Wise men understood these to be but Three several Names or Notions of One Supreme God. This confirmed from Macrobius. Page 450

Vossius his Conjecture, that in this Capitoline Trinity there was a further Mystery aimed at, of Three Divine Hypostases. This Roman Trinity derived from the Samothracian Cabiri. Which word

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word being Hebraical, gives Cause to suspect this Tradition of a Trinity amongst the Pagans, to have sprung from the Hebrews. Page 451

Lactantius his Second Reason, Because Jupiter being Juvans Pater, was a name below the Dignity of the Supreme God. The Answer, that the true Etymon thereof was Jovis Pater, the Hebrew Tetragrammaton. ibid.

That the Capitoline Jupiter was the Supreme God, evident from those Titles of Optimus, Maximus; and of Omnipotens by the Pontifices in their Publick Sacrifices. Seneca's Testimony that the ancient Hetrurians, by Jupiter meant the Mind and Spirit, Maker and Governour of the whole World. The Roman Souldiers Acclamation in Marcus Aurelius his German Expedition, (To Jove the God of Gods, who alone is Powerfull) according to Tertullian, a Testimony to the Christians God. 452, 453

That as the Learned Pagans in their Writings, so likewise the Vulgar in their common Speech, when most serious, often used the word God, Singularly and Emphatically, for the Supreme, proved from Tertullian, Minutius Felix, and Lactantius: together with the Testimony of Proclus, that the One Supreme God, was more universally believed throughout the World than the Many Gods. 453, 454

That Kyrie Eleeson, was anciently a Pagan Litany to the Supreme God, proved from Arianus. The Supreme God often called by the Pagans also *Kyriē*, or the Lord. 454, 455

That even the most sottishly Superstitious, Idolatrous, and Polytheistical amongst the Pagans, did notwithstanding generally acknowledge One Supreme Deity; fully attested and elegantly declared by Aurelius Prudentius in his Apotheosis. Page 455

However some of the Ancient Pagans were said to have acknowledged none but Visible and Corporeal Gods, yet as they conceived these to be endued with Life and Understanding, so did they suppose One Supreme amongst them, as either the whole Heaven or Æther Animated,

or the subtle Fiery Substance that pervadeth all things, the God of the Heracliticks and Stoicks; or the Sun the Cleanthæan God. Page 455, 456

Though Macrobius refer so many of the Pagan Gods to the Sun, and doubtless himself lookt upon it as a Great God, yet does he deny it to be Omnipotentissimum Deum, the Most Omnipotent God of all; he asserting a Trinity of Divine Hypostases Superiour to it, in the Platonick way. 456, 457

That the Persians themselves, the most Notorious Sun-worshippers, did notwithstanding acknowledge a Deity Superiour to it, and the Maker thereof; proved from Eubulus. As also that the Persians Countrey-Jupiter, was not the Sun, confirmed from Herodotus, Xenophon, Plutarch, and Curtius. Cyrus his Lord God of Heaven, who commanded him to build him a house at Jerusalem; the same with the God of the Jews. 458

That as (besides the Scythians) the Ethiopians in Strabo, and other Barbarian Nations, anciently acknowledged One Sovereign Deity; so is this the Belief of the generality of the Pagan World to this very day. 458, 459

XXVIII. Besides Themistius and Symmachus, asserting One and the same Thing to be worshipped in all Religions, though after different ways, and that God Almighty was not displeased with this Variety of his Worship; Plutarch's Memorable Testimony, That as the same Sun, Moon, and Stars, are common to all, so were the same Gods. And that not onely the Egyptians, but also all other Pagan Nations worshipped One Reason and Providence ordering all: together with its Inferiour Subservient Powers and Ministers, though with different Rites and Symbols. 459, 460

Titus Livius also of the same Perswasion, That the Same Immortal Gods were Worshipped every where (namely One Supreme, and his Inferiour Ministers) however the Diversity of Rites, made them seem Different. 460

Two Egyptian Philosophers, Heracliscus and Aclepiades, professedly insisting upon the same thing, not onely as to the Egyptians

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gyptians, but also the other Pagan Nations: the Latter of them, (Asclepiades) having written a Book Entitled, *The Symphony or Harmony of all Theologies or Religions, To wit, in these Two Fundamentals, That there is One Supreme God, and besides him, Other Inferiour Gods, his Subservient Ministers to be worshipped. From whence Symmachus, and other Pagans concluded, That the Differences of Religion were not to be scrupulously stood upon, but every man ought to worship God according to the Law and Religion of his own Country. The Pagans Sense thus declared by Stobæus, That the Multitude of Gods, is the work of the Demiurgus, made by Him together with the World.* Page.

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XXIX. *That the Pagan Theists, must needs acknowledge One Supreme Deity, further Evident from hence; Because they generally believed the whole World to be One Animal, Actuated and Governed by One Soul. To deny the Worlds Animation, and to be an Atheist; all one, in the sense of the Ancient Pagans. Against Cassendus, that Epicurus denied the Worlds Animation, upon no other account, but onely because he denied a Providential Deity. This whole Animated World, or the Soul thereof, to the Stoicks, and others, The Πρώτος Θεός, The First and Highest God.*

462

Other Pagan Theologers, who though asserting likewise, the Worlds Animation, and a Mundane Soul, yet would not allow this to be the Supreme Deity, they conceiving the First and Highest God, to be no Soul, but an Abstract and Immoveable Mind Superiour to it. And to these, the Animated World and Mundane Soul, but Δεύτερος Θεός, A Second God.

463

But the Generality of those who went Higher than the Soul of the World, acknowledged also a Principle Superior to Mind or Intellect, called, Τὸ Ἐν and Τὸ Ἀγαθόν, The One, and The Good: and so asserted, a Trinity of Divine Hypostases Subordinate, Monad, Mind, and Soul. So that the Animated World or

Soul thereof, was to some of these, but Τρίτος Θεός, The Third God. ibid.

The Pagans, whether holding Soul, or Mind, or Monad, to be the Highest, acknowledged onely One in each of those severall Kinds, as the Head of all; and so always reduced the Multiplicity of things to a Unity, or under a Monarchy. 464

Observed, That to the Pagan Theologers Universally, the World was no Dead Thing, or meer Machin and Automaton, but had Life or Soul diffused thorough it all: Those being taxed by Aristotle as Atheists, who made the world to consist of nothing, but Monads or Atoms, Dead and Inanimate. Nor was it quite Cut off from the Supreme Deity, how much soever Elevated above the same: the Forementioned Trinity, of Monad, Mind, and Soul, being supposed to be most intimately united together, and indeed all but One Entire Divinity; Displayed in the World, and Supporting the same.

464, 465

XXX. *The Sense of the Hebrews in this Controversy. That according to Philo, the Pagan Polytheism consisted not in worshipping Many Independent Gods, and Partial Creators of the World, but besides the One Supreme, other Created Beings Superior to men.* 465, 466

That the same also, was the Sense of Flavius Josephus, according to whom, This the Doctrine of Abraham; That the Supreme God was alone to be Religiously Worshipped, and no Created thing with him. Aristæus his Assertion in Josephus, That the Jews and Greeks worshipped one and the same Supreme God, called by the Greeks Zene, as giving Life to all.

466, 467

The Latter Rabbinical Writers, generally of this Perswasion, That the Pagans acknowledging One Supreme and Universal Numen, worshipped all their Other Gods, as his Ministers, or as Mediators and Intercessors betwixt him and them. And this Condemned by them for עבודת זרה Strange Worship or Idolatry. The first Commandment thus interpreted by Maimonides, and Baal Ikkarim; Thou shalt not set up besides me, any Inferiour Gods as

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Mediators, nor Religiously Worship my Ministers or Attendants. *The Miscarriage of Solomon and other Kings of Israel and Judah, This, That believing the Existence of the One Supreme God, they thought it was for his Honour that his Ministers also should be worshipped. A-bravanel his Ten Species of Idolatry, all of them but so Many several Modes of Creature-Worship; and no mention amongst them made, of many Independent Gods.* Page 467, &c.

Certain Places of Scripture also, Interpreted by Rabbinical Writers to this purpose; That the Pagan Nations generally acknowledged, One Sovereign Numen.

469, 470

The Jews, though agreeing with the Greeks, and other Pagans in this, That the Stars were all Animated, nevertheless denied them any Religious Worship.

470, 471

XXXI. *This same thing, plainly confirmed, from the New Testament; That the Gentiles or Pagans, however Polytheists and Idolaters, were not Unacquainted with the True God. First from the Epistle to the Romans, where that which is Knowable of God, is said to have been manifest amongst the Pagans; and they to have Known God, though they did not Glorify him as God, but hold the Truth in Unrighteousness; by reason of their Polytheism and Idolatry (or Image Worship) The Latter of which, accounted by the Jews the greatest Enormity of the Pagans, as is proved from Philo: and this the Reason, why their Polytheism, called also Idolatry. Plainly declared by S. Paul, that the Pagan Superstition consisted not in worshipping Many Independent Gods and Creators, but in joyn-ing Creature-worship some way or other, with the worship of the Creator. Παρε-
τον Κτιστα How to be Understood; and in what Sense, the Pagans, though acknowledging the Creator, might be said to have Worshipped the Creature, beyond him.*

471, 472

Again, from S. Pauls Oration to the Athenians, where their Unknown God, is said to be that same God, whom

S. Paul Preached, Who made the World and all things in it. And these Athenian Pagans are affirmed Δοξεῖν, Religiously and Devoutly to Worship this True God. Page 473, 474

Lastly, that Aratus his Zeus was the True God, whose Offspring our Souls are; Proved not onely from the Context of that Poet himself, undeniably, and from the Scholiast upon him, but also from S. Pauls Positive Affirmation. Nor was Aratus Singular in this; That Ancient Prayer of the Athenians, Commended by M. Antoninus for its Simplicity, (Ὅσον ὃ φιλεῖ Ζεῦ, Rain Rain, O Gracious Jupiter &c.) no otherwise to be understood. And how that other Passage of S. Paul, That in the Wisdom of God, the World by Wisdom knew not God, does not at all Clash herewith. 475, 476

XXXII. *In order to a Fuller Explication of the Pagan Theology, and making it the better appear, that the Polytheism thereof, was not Contradictious to the acknowledgment of One Supreme Omnipotent Numen; Three Things to be Considered. First, That much of their Polytheism was but Seeming and Phantastical onely, and really nothing but the Polyonymy of One God. Secondly, That their Reall and Naturall Polytheism, consisted onely in Religiously Worshipping, besides this One Supreme Universall Numen, Many other Particular and Inferiour Created Beings; as Animated Stars, Demons, and Hero's. Thirdly, That they Worshipping both the Supreme and Inferiour Gods, in Statues, Images, and Symbols; these were also sometimes Abusively called Gods. To one or other of which Three Heads, all the Pagan Polytheism, Referrable.* 477

For the better perswading, That much of the Pagan Polytheism, was Really nothing, but the Polyonymy of One Supreme God, or the Worshipping him under severall Personall Names; to be Remembered again, what was before Suggested; That the Pagan Nations Generally, besides their Vulgar, had another more Arcane Theology, which was the Theology of Wise men and of Truth. That

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is; besides both their Fabulous and Poeticall, their Politicall and Civil Theology, they had another Natural and Philosophick one. This Distinction of the Vulgar and Civil Theology, from the Natural and Reall, owned by the Greeks Generally, and amongst the Latins, by Scævola the Pontifex, Varro, Cicero, Seneca, and others. *ibid.*

That the Civil Theology of the Pagans, differed from the Natural and Reall, by a certain Mixture of Fabulosity in it. Of the Romans suffering the Statue of Jupiters Nurse, to be kept in the very Capitol, as a Religious Monument. Jupiters Nativity, or his having a Father and a Mother, Atheistically Fabulous; Poets themselves acknowledging so much of the Natural and True Teology, That Jupiter being the Father of Gods and Men, the Maker of the whole World, was himself Eternall and Unmade. 478

That the Civil as well as Poeticall Theology, had some appearance of Many Independent Deities also; they making Severall Supreme, in their severall Territories and Functions; One Chief for one thing, and another for another. But according to the Naturall and Philosophick Theology, the Theology of Wise men and of Truth, all these but Poeticall, Commentitious, Fictitious, and Phantastick Gods; such as had no distinct Substantiall Essences of their own; and therefore Really to be accounted nothing else, but severall Names or Notions of One Supreme God. 478, 479

Certain, that the Egyptians had severall Proper and Personal Names, for that One Supreme Universal Numen, that Comprehends the whole World, according to severall Notions of it or its severall Powers: as Ammon, Phtha, Osiris, Neith, Cneph; to which may be added, Serapis and Isis too. Besides Iamblichus, Damascius his Testimony also to this purpose; concerning the Egyptian Theology. This the Pattern of the other; especially European Theologies; the Greek and Roman. 479, 480

That the Greeks and Romans also, often Made More Gods of One; or af-

fectèd a Polyonymy of the Same Gods; Evident from those many Proper and Personal Names bestowed, First upon the Sun; (of which Macrobius) who therefore had this Epithet of πολυώνυμος given to him; and then upon the Moon, Styled also Polyonymous, as well as her Brother the Sun; and Lastly upon the Earth, famous likewise, for her Many Names; as Vesta; Cybele; Ceres, Proserpina, Ops, &c. Wherefore not at all to be Doubted, but that the Supreme God, or Sovereign Numen of the whole World, was much more Polyonymous. This Title given to him also, as well as to Apollo in Hesychius. He thus Invoked by Cleanthes. Zeno, the Writer De Mundo, Seneca, Macrobius, clearly confirm the same. Maximus Madaurensis in S. Austin, his full acknowledgment thereof. Page 480, 481

The First Instances of the Polyonymy of the Supreme God, amongst the Pagans, in such Names as these; Βεργτιάς, Ἰέτιος, Πολιεύς, Μελέγις, Φίλις, Ἐλευς, Σωτήρ, &c. And amongst the Latins, Victor, Invictus, Opitulus, Stator, Tigillus, Centupeda, Almus, Ruminus, &c. Again, Ἀνάγκη, Εἰμαζμένη, Πεπερωμένη, Μοίρα, Ἀδεύσεια, all severall Names of the One Supreme God, as likewise were Clotho, Lachesis, and Atropos, in the Writer De Mundo. And amongst the Latins, not onely Fate, but also Nature, and Fortune too, as Cicero and Seneca affirm. 482

But besides these, there were other Proper Names of the Supreme God, which had a greater shew and appearance of so many Several Gods, they having their Peculiar Temples, and severall Appropriated Rites of Worship. And First, such as signifie the Deity, according to its more Universal Nature. As for example, Pan; which not the Corporeal World Inanimate or endued with a Senseless Nature onely, but a Rational or Intellectual Principle displaying it self in Matter, framing the World Harmoniously, and being in a manner All things. This also the Universal Pastor and Shepherd; of all Mankind. 483

Again Janus; First Invoked by the Romans

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Romans in their Sacrifices, and never omitted. The most Ancient God, and First Beginning of all things. Described by Ovid, Martial, and others, as a Universal Numen. Concluded by S. Austin, to be the Same with Jupiter, the Soul or Mind of the whole World. The word Janus probably derived from *Zavēs*, the Ætolian Jupiter. Page 483, 484

Genius also, one of the Twenty Select Roman Gods, according to Festus, a Universal Numen: that God who is the Begetter of All things. And according to Varro in S. Austine, the same with Jupiter. 484, 485

That Chronos or Saturn, no particular Deity; but a Universal Numen also, which Comprehends the whole nature of the World, affirmed by Dionysius Halicarnass. The word Saturn Hetrurian (and Originally from the Hebrew סתר) signifies Hidden; called by the Latins Deus Latius, the Hidden God; whence Italy Latium, and the Italians Latins; as Worshipers of this Hidden God, or the Occult Principle of all things. This according to Varro, He that Produceth out of himself, the Hidden Seeds and Forms of all things, and Swalloweth them up into himself again; which, the Devouring of his Male Children. This Sinus quidam Naturæ, &c. a Certain Inward and deep Recess of Nature, containing all things within it self; as God was sometimes Defined by the Pagans. This to S. Austin, the same with Jupiter; as likewise was Cœlus or Uranus, in the old Inscription, and therefore another Name of God too. The Poetick Theology, of Jupiters being the Son of Saturn, and Saturn the Son of Cœlus; an Intimation (according to Plato) of a Trinity of Divine Hypostases Universal. 485, 486

Though Minerva or Athena, were sometimes confined to a narrower Sense, yet was it often taken, for a Name of God also, according to his Universal Notion; it being to Athenagoras the Divine Wisdom, displaying it self through all things. This excellently described by Aristides, as the First Begotten Off-spring of the Original Deity, or the Second Divine Hy-

postasis, by which all things were made; agreeably with the Christian Theology. Page 486, 487

Aphrodite Urania, or the Heavenly Venus; another name of God also according to his Universal Notion; it being the same with that Love which Orpheus, and other Philosophers in Aristotle, made the First Original of all things. Plato's Distinction of an Elder, and a Younger Venus: The Former, the Daughter of Uranus, without a Mother, or the Heavenly Venus; said to be Senior to Japhet and Saturn. The Latter, afterwards begotten from Jupiter and the Nymph Dione, the Vulgar Venus. Urania, or the Heavenly Venus, called by the Oriental Nations, Mylitta; that is, the Mother of all things. Temples in Pausanias Dedicated to this Heavenly Venus. This described by Æschylus, Euripides, and Ovid, as the Supreme Deity, and the Creator of all the Gods. God Almighty also, thus described, as a Heavenly Venus or Love, by Sev. Boetius. To this Urania or Heavenly Venus, another Venus in Pausanias near a kin; called Ἀπορροία or Verticordia; As Conversive of mens Minds upwards, from Unchast Love, or Unclean Lust. 488, 489

Though Vulcan, according to the Common Notion of him, a Special God, yet had he sometimes a more Universal Consideration. Zeno in Laertius, that the Supreme God is called Vulcan as Acting in the Artificial Fire of Nature. Thus the Soul of the World, styled by the Egyptians Phtha; which as Iamblichus tells us, was the same with the Greeks Hephæstus, or Vulcan. 489, 490

Besides all which Names of the Supreme God, Seneca informs us, that he was sometimes called also, Liber Pater, because the Parent of all things; sometimes Hercules, because his Force is Unconquerable; and sometimes Mercury, as being Reason, Number, Order and Knowledge. 490

But besides this Polyonymy of God, according to his Universal Notion; there were other Dii Speciales, or Speciall Gods also, amongst the Pagans; which likewise were

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were really but Several Names of One and the same Supreme Deity, *variè utentis sua Potestate*, (as Seneca Writeth) diversly using his Power, in Particular Cases, and in the several Parts of the World. Thus Jupiter, Neptune, and Pluto, (mistaken by some Christians, for a Trinity of Independent Gods) though Three Civil Gods, yet were they Really, but One and the Same Natural and Philosophick God; as Acting in those Three Parts of the World; the Heaven, the Sea, the Earth and Hell. Pluto in Plato's Cratylus a Name for That Part of Divine Providence, which is exercised in the Government of Separate Souls after Death. This Styled by Virgil, the Stygian Jupiter. But to others, Pluto together with Ceres, the Manifestation of the Deity, in this whole Terrestrial Globe. The Celestial and Terrestrial Jupiter, but One God. Zeus and Hades one and the same to Orpheus. Euripides doubtful, whether God should be Invoked, by the Name of Zeus or Hades. Hermesianax the Colophonian Poet, makes Pluto the First of those Many Names of God, Synonymous with Zeus. Page 490, 491

Neptune also, another Special God, a name of the Supreme Deity, as Acting in the Seas onely. This affirmed by Xenocrates in Stobæus, Zeno in Laertius, Balbus and Cotta in Cicero, and also by Maximus Tyrius. 492

The Statue of Jupiter with Three Eyes, in Pausanias; signifying that according to the Natural Theology, it was One and the Same God, Ruling in those Three Several Parts of the World, the Heaven, the Sea, and the Earth; that was called by Three Names, Jupiter, Neptune, and Pluto. Wherefore since Proserpina and Ceres are the same with Pluto; and Salacia with Neptune; Concluded, that all these, though Several Poetical and Political Gods; yet were but One and the Same Natural and Philosophick God. 492, 493

Juno also, another Special God, a name of the Supreme Deity as Acting in the Aire. Thus Xenocrates and Zeno. The Pagans in S. Austin; that God in

the Æther is called Jupiter, in the Aire Juno. So Minerva likewise, when taken for a Special God, a name of the Supreme God, according to that Particular Consideration of him, as Acting in the Higher Æther. From whence, S. Austin disputeth against the Pagans. Maximus Tyrius, of these and many other Gods of the Pagans; that they were but *Σεία ὀνόματα*, Divine Names. Page 493, 494

Yet Many other Special Gods, amongst the Pagans, which also were really nothing but Divine Names; or Names of God as variously exercising his Power, or bestowing Several Gifts; as in Corn and Fruit, Ceres, in Wine Bacchus, in Medicine Æsculapius, in Traffick Mercury, in War Mars, in Governing the Winds Æolus, &c. 494

That not onely Philosophers, did thus interpret, the Many Poetical and Political Gods, into One and the Same Natural God; but the Poets themselves also, sometimes openly broached this more Arcane Free and True Theology; as Hermesianax amongst the Greeks, and Valerius Soranus amongst the Latins. 494, 495

That S. Austin making a large Enumeration of the other Special Gods, amongst the Pagans, affirmeth of them Universally, That according to the Sense of the Pagan Doctors, they were but one Natural God; and all Really the same with Jupiter. 495, 496

Apuleius in his Book De Deo Socratis, either not rightly understood by that Learned and Industrious Philologer, G. I. Vossius, or else not sufficiently attended to. His design there, plainly to reduce the Pagans Civil Theology, into a Conformity with the Natural and Philosophick; which he doth as a Platonist, by making the Dii Conferences of the Romans, and their other Invisibile Gods, to be all of them, Nothing, but the Divine Ideas; and so the Off-spring of one Highest God. An occasion for this Phancy, given by Plato, where he calls his Ideas Animals. Nor was Apuleius Singular herein; Julian in his Book against the Christians, going the very same way; and no otherwise understood

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derstood by S. Cyril, than as to make the Invisible Gods, worshipped by the Pagans, to be the Divine Ideas. A Phancy of the same Julian, who opposed the Incarnation of the Eternal Word, that Æsculapius was first of all the Idea of the Medicinal Art, Generated by the Supreme God, in the Intelligible World; which afterwards, by the Vivifick Influence of the Sun, was Incarnated, and appeared in Humane Form about Epidaurus. And that this Pagan Doctrine, Older than Christianity; proved out of Philo; writing of a Sun, and Moon, Intelligible; as well as Sensible, Religiously worshipped by the Pagans: That is, the Ideas of the Archetypal World. And thus were these Ideas of the Divine Intellect, *νοητοὶ θεοὶ*, Intelligible Gods, to Plotinus also. Page 496, &c. 501

Wherefore Julian, Apuleius, and those others, who thus made all the Pagan Invisible Gods, to be nothing else but the Divine Ideas, the Patterns of Things in the Archetypal World; supposed them not to be so many Independent Deities, nor Really Distinct Substances, Separate from one another, but onely so many Partiall Considerations of One God. Julian before affirming them, *ἐξ αὐτῆς γεννηταὶ αὐτῆς, συνπαρῆεν τε καὶ συνπαρῆεν αὐτῆς*. As to have been Generated out of him; so also to Coexist with him, and Inexist in him. 501, 502

That the Pagans appointed some Particular God or Goddess by Name, to preside over Every thing; (there Being *μὴδὲν ἄθεον* Nothing at all without a God to them) appeareth from that Catalogue, of their Ignoble or Petty Gods, Collected by S. Austine out of Varro. Now it is Incredible; that they should think all these to be so many Single Substantiall Spirits, of each Sex, Really Existing apart in the World; they must therefore needs take them, to be so many Partiall Considerations of the Deity, either in the way of the more High-flown Platonists, as his Ideas Exemplarily and Vertually containing all things; or else in that more Common and easy way of the Generality; as so many Several Denominations of him, according to the Several Manifestations of his Pow-

er and Providence; or as the Pagans in Eusebius declare themselves; those Several Vertues and Powers, of the Supreme God; themselves Personated and Deified. Which yet because, they were not executed, without the Subservient Ministry of Created Spirits, Angels or Demons, appointed to preside over such things; therefore might these also Collectively taken, be included under them. Page 502, 503

But for the fuller clearing of this Point, that the Pagan Polytheism, was in great part Nothing but the Polyonymy of one God; Two Things here to be taken notice of. First that the Pagan Theology Universally, Supposed God to be Diffused thorough all, to Permeate and Pervade all, and Intimately to Act all. Thus Horus Apollo of the Egyptians. Thus among the Greeks, Diogenes the Cynick, Aristotle, the Italick, and Stoicall Philosophers. Thus the Indian Brachmans before Strabo. Thus also the Latin Poets; and Seneca, Quintilian, Apuleius, and Servius, besides others. 503, 504

That Anaxagoras and Plato also, though neither of them Confounded God with the World, but affirmed him to be Unmingled with any thing; yet Concluded him in like manner, to Permeate and Pervade all things. Plato's Etymology of *θεῖον*, as taken for a Name of God, to this purpose in his Cratylus. Where a Fragment of Heraclitus, and his Description of God agreeably hereunto; a most Subtle and Swift Substance, that Permeates and Passes through every thing, by which all things are made. But Plato disclaiming this Corporeity of the Deity, will neither have it Fire nor Heat; but a Perfect Mind that Passes through all things Unmixedly. 505

Wherefore no wonder, if the Pagans supposing God to be Diffused thorough all things, called him in the Several Parts of the World, and Things of Nature, by several Names, as in the Earth Ceres, in the Sea Neptune, &c. This account of the Pagan Polytheism given by Paulus Orosius, That whilst they believed, God to be in Many things, they indiscreetly made Many Gods of Him. 505, 506

Further

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Further to be observed, That many of the Pagan Theologers; seemed to go yet a Strain higher, they supposing God not onely to Pervade all things, but also to Be himself all things. That the Ancient Egyptian Theology ran so high, Evident from the Saitick Inscription. A strong Tang hereof in Æschylus; as also in Lucan. Neither was this proper to those, who held God to be the Soul of the World, but the Language also of those other more Refined Philosophers, Xenophanes, Parmenides, &c. they affirming God, to be One and All. With which agreeth, the Authour of the Asclepian Dialogue, that God is, Unus omnia, One all things; and that before things were made, he did then ^{apertew} Hide them, or Occultly contain them all, within himself. In like manner Orpheus.

Page 506, 507

This not onely a further Ground of the Polyonymy of One God, according to the Various Manifestations of himself in the World, but also of another Strange Phenomenon in the Pagan Theology, their Personating the Inanimate Parts of the World, and Natures of things, and bestowing the Names of Gods and Goddesses upon them. Thus Moschopulus before cited, and Arnobius. This Plutarch thinks to have been done at first, Metonymically onely, the Effects of the Gods, being called Gods; as the Books of Plato, Plato. And thus far not disliked by him. But himself complaineth, that afterwards, it was carried on further by Superstitious Religionists, and not without great Impiety. Nevertheless that Inanimate Substances and the Natures of things, were formerly Deified, by the Ancient Pagans, otherwise than Metonymically, proved from Cicero, Philo and Plato. For they supposing God, to Pervade all things, and to be All things, did therefore look upon every thing as Sacred or Divine; and Theologize the Parts of the World and Natures of Things; Tisularly making them, Gods and Goddesses. But especially such things, as wherein Humane Utility was most concerned; and which had most of Wonder in them.

507, 510

This properly, the Physiological The-

ology of the Pagans, their Personating and Deifying the Natures of things, and Inanimate Substances. That the Ancient Poetick Fables of the Gods were many of them in their first and true meaning, thus Physiologically Allegorical, and not meer Herology, affirmed against Eusebius. Zeno, Cleanthes and Chrysippus, Famous for thus Allegorizing the Fables of the Gods. Chrysippus his Allegorizing an Obscene Picture of Jupiter and Juno in Samos. Plato though no Friend to these Poetick Fables, yet confesses some of them to have contained Allegories in them: the same doth also Dionysius Halicarnassæus: and Cicero likewise, who affirmeth, this Personating and Deifying the Natures of things, to have filled the World with Superstition. Page 510, 512

Against Eusebius again, That the whole Theology of the Pagans, consisted not in thus Deifying the Natures of things, and Inanimate Bodies; because he that acknowledgeth no Animant God, acknowledges no God at all, but is a downright Atheist.

512

Neither ought this Physiological Theology of the Pagans, that consisted in Personating and Deifying the Natures of things and Inanimate Bodies, to be Confounded, with that Natural and Philosophical Theology of Varro, Scævola and others, which admitted of no other, but Animant Gods, and such as Really Existed in Nature: for which Cause it was called Natural, in opposition to the Fictitious and Phantastick, Poetick Gods.

512

S. Austin's just Censure and Condemnation of the Pagans, for their thus Theologizing of Physiology, or Fictitiously Personating and Deifying the Natures of things.

512, 513

But though the Pagans did thus verbally Personate and Deifie the things of Nature, yet did not the Intelligent amongst them, therefore account these True and Proper Gods. Cotta in Cicero, Though we call Corn Ceres, and Wine Bacchus, yet was there never any one so mad, as to take that for a God, which himself feeds upon and devours. The Pagans really ac-

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counted that only for a God, by the Invoking whereof, they might expect benefit to themselves; and therefore Nothing Inanimate. This proved from Plato, Aristotle, Lucretius, Cicero, and Plutarch. Wherefore these Natures of things Deified, but Fictitious and Phantastick Gods. Nor can any other sense be made of them than this, that they were really but so many several Names of one Supreme God, as severally manifested in his works: according to that Egyptian Theology, That God may be called by the Name of every thing, or every thing by the Name of God. With which agreeth Seneca, That there may be as many Names of God, as there are Gifts and Effects of his: and the Writer De Mundo, That God may be Denominated from every Nature, he being the Cause of all things.

Page 513, 515

Wherefore these Deified Natures of things, were not directly worshipped by the Intelligent Pagans, but only Relatively to the Supreme God, or in way of Complication with him only: and so not so much Themselves, as God worshipped in them. The Pagans Pretence, that they did not look upon the world with such Eyes as Oxen and Horses do, but with Religious Eyes, so as to see God in every thing. They therefore worshipped the Invisible Deity, in the Visible manifestations of himself; God and the World together. This sometimes called Pan and Jupiter. Thus was the whole World said to be the Greatest God, and the Circle of the Heavens worshipped by the Persians; not as Inanimate Matter, but as the Visible manifestation of the Deity, displayed from it, and pervaded by it. When the Roman Sea-Captains Sacrificed to the Waves, their worship intended to that God, who Stilleth the Waves, and Quieteth the Billows.

515, 516

These Pagans also apprehended a Necessity of permitting men to worship the Invisible God in his Visible Works. This account given by them in Eusebius. Plato himself approved of worshipping the Invisible God in the Sun, Moon, and

Stars, as his Visible Images. And though Maximus Tyrius would have men endeavour, to rise above the Starry Heavens, and all Visible things, yet does he allow the weaker, to worship God in his Progeny. And Socrates persuades Euthydemus to be contented herewith. Besides which, some Pagans worshipping the Elements, directed their Intention to the Spirits of those Elements, as Julian in Ammianus (these being supposed also to be Animated) or else to those Demons, whom they conceived to inhabit them, or preside over them.

Page 516, 518

XXXIII. Further to be observed, That amongst those Natures of things, some were merely Accidental, as Hope, Love, Desire, Memory, Truth, Vertue, Piety, Faith, Justice, Concord, Clemency, Victory, Echo, Night. According to which, the vulgar Athenians supposed S. Paul to have Deified Anastasis, or made a Goddess of the Resurrection, as well as a God of Jesus. Vices also sometimes thus Deified by them, as Contumely, and Impudence, (to whom were Temples dedicated at Athens) though to the end that these things might be Deprecated. These Accidents sometimes Deified under Counterfeit Proper Names, as Pleasure under the name of Volupia, and Lubentina Venus; Time under the name of Chronos or Saturn; Prudence or Wisdom, under the names of Athena or Minerva: against which Origen in his answer to Celsus. Cicero himself allowed of Dedicating Temples to Mind, Vertue, Piety, Faith, &c.

518, 520

But such Accidents and Affections of Things Deified, could not possibly be Accounted True and Proper Gods, they having not ὑπόστασις καὶ εἶδος, any Reall Subsistence, or Substantiall Essence of their own. And thus does Origen again dispute against Minerva's Godship, as Tropologized into Prudence. As he doth also elsewhere, upon the same Ground, against that of Memory the Mother of the Muses, and that of the Graces: he concluding, these and such like therefore, to be nothing but Figments of the Greeks, they being Things Personated, and Feigned with Humane

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Humane Members. Thus the Pagans condemned by Prudentius also, for Feigning Things Incorporeal, with Counterfeit Members. These Gods plainly Exploded by Cotta, or Cicero in disguise; as having onely Vim Rerum, but not Deorum, the Force of Things, but not of Gods in them; or being but Naturæ Rerum, and not Figuræ Deorum.

Page 520, 521

Wherefore the True meaning of these Deified Natures of Things could be no other then this, that God was to be acknowledged and worshipped in All things; or, as the Pagans themselves declare it, that the Force of every thing was, both governed by God, and it self Divine. Pliny of this Breaking and Crumbling of the Deity into Parts, Every one Worshipping that in God, and for a God, which himself most stood in need of. This dividing of the Simple Deity, and Worshipping it Brokenly by parcells and piecemeal, as manifested in all the Several Things of Nature, and Parts of the world, Justly Censured, and Elegantly Perstringed, by Prudentius against Symmachus. Where Prudentius grants, that Symmachus, who declared, that it was One thing which all worshipped; when he sacrificed to Victory, did sacrifice to God Almighty, under that Partiall Notion, as the Giver of Victory. This in the Egyptian Allegory, Osiris Mangled, and Cut in pieces by Typhon. Victory and Vertue, as well as Neptune, Mars, and Bellona, but several names or Notions of Jupiter, in the Prologue of Plautus his Amphitryo.

521, 522

Vossius his opinion, that these Deified Accidents, and Natures of Things, as well as the other Pagan Invisible Gods, were commonly lookt upon by the Vulgar, as so many Single Substantiall Minds, or Spirits Created by the Supreme God, and appointed to preside over those several things respectively. Where it is acknowledged: that neither the Politicall, nor the Poetical Gods of the Pagans, were taken so much as by the Vulgar, for so many Independent Deities.

523, 524

Probable, that by these Gods, the Wi-

fer Pagans sometimes understood, Demons in Generall, or Collectively; that is, whosoever they were that were appointed to preside over those several Things, or dispense them. As Æolus in Arrianus, seems to be taken for the Demons appointed by God Almighty to preside over the Winds.

Page 524, 525

Lactantius his Reason, why the Consecrated and Select Gods, vulgarly worshipped by the Romans, could not be Single Demons or Angels.

525

And from Aristotle's Observation, against Zeno, That according to Law or Civil Theology, One God was chief for one thing, and another for another; Concluded, that these Political Gods were not properly the Subservient Ministers of the Supreme; and therefore could be nothing, but several Names and Notions of One Natural God, according to his Various Powers and Effects.

525, 526

And thus does Vossius himself afterwards confess, That, according to the Natural Theology, all the Pagan Gods were but Several Denominations of one God. Where notwithstanding this Learned and Industrious Philologer, seems to take the Natural and Philosophick Theology, for the Physiologick, he making the God thereof, the Nature of things. Whereas the Natural Theology, was the True and Real, and Philosophical, opposed both to the Fictions of the Poets, and the Institutes of Law-makers and Politicians. As Varro affirmeth, that in Cities those things were Worshipped and believed, according to False Opinions, which had no Nature, nor Real Subsistence, neither in the World, nor without it. The God of the Pagans not the Nature of things, which could be the Numen of none but of Atheists; but an Understanding Being, the Great Mind, or Soul of the whole World, pervading all things. Thus unquestionably true, that the Many Poetical and Political Gods, were but several Names or Notions, of One Natural, Real, and True God. Besides which, there were other Inferiour Ministers of this Supreme God, acknowledged to be the Instruments

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of his Providence, and Religiously worshipped also. A brief, but full account, of the Pagans Natural Theology, set down by Prudentius. Page 526, 527

And when the more high-flown Pagans referred these Poetical and Political Gods to the Divine Idea's, or Patterns of things in the Archetypal World; which besides the Platonists, the Egyptians in Celsus are said to have done, making the Brute Animals worshipped by them, but Symbols of the Eternal Idea's; They hereby made these Gods to be but so many Partiall Considerations of One God neither, as being All things, or Containing in himself the Causes of all things; as Julian himself declareth in his Sixth Oration. 527, 528

An Anacephalæosis, That much of the Pagan Polytheism, was but the Polyonymy of One God; he being worshipped under several Names. First, according to several General Notions of him; as of Janus, Genius, Saturn, Minerva, Urania, or the Heavenly Venus, or Love, and others before declared. So also of Summanus, according to S. Austin, and Themis, afterwards to be mentioned. 528, 529

And Secondly, according to other more Particular Notions of him, (in their Special Gods) as Acting in some Parts of the world onely, or exercising some Particular Powers. 529, 530

And Lastly, as Pervading All things, and Being All things, or the Cause of All things, he was thereupon called by the Name of Every thing, or Every thing by his Name. The Pagans in S. Austin; That their Ancestors were not so sottish, as not to understand, that those Things of Nature were but Divine Gifts, and not Themselves Gods. And the Pagans in Eusebius; That the Invisible God, the Cause of All things, ought to be worshipped in his Visible Effects, wherein he hath displayed himself. 530

Though the Two former Kinds of these Gods onely, called by Athanasius Poetical and Fictitious, he opposing them to those of the Third sort, that were Natural and Real things; yet may these also be well cal-

led Poetical, Fictitious, and Phantastical Gods too; because though themselves were Real things, Existing in Nature, yet was their Personation, and Deification, meer Fiction, Fancy and Poetry. And accordingly, were they before called by Origen *Ἐλλήνων ἀναπλάσματα*, meer Figments of the Greeks. Page 530, 531

XXXIV. Of those Pagans who supposed the Supreme God to be the Whole Animated World. Hitherto shewed, that even the most Refined of the Pagans agreed in these Two things. First, in Breaking and Crumbling the One Simple Deity, and multiplying it into Many Gods; or Parcelling it out into several Particular Notions, according to its several Powers and Virtues. (*Πολυθεῖον* being, to these Pagans, the same thing with *Πολυδύναμον*.) And then, in Theologizing the whole World, Personating and Deifying the Natures of Things, Accidents, and Inanimate Bodies. They supposing God to Pervade all things, and Himself to be in a manner All things: Therefore every thing to the Religious, Sacred and Divine; and God to be Worshipped in All. 531, 532

We shall now add, that both those fore-mentioned Principles, of God's Pervading all things, and his Being all things, were carried on farther, by those Pagan Theologers, who had no higher Notion of the Supreme Deity then as the Soul of the World. For First, Whereas the more Refined Pagans supposed God to Pervade all things Unmixedly; These Mingled and Confounded him with the whole World. Some of them supposing him also to be a Subtile Body. 532, 533

Again, Whereas the other more Sublimated Pagans affirmed God so to be All, as nevertheless to be something also Above all; These concluded him, to be nothing Higher then the Animated World. 533

And though they supposed, that as well in this Mundane Animal, as in other Animals, there was something Principal and Hegemonical, (whether the Sun, or Ether, or Fire,) which therefore was Emphatically called God; yet did they conceive the whole Matter thereof to be Animated, and

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and so to be All God. Not barely as Matter, but by reason of the Soul thereof.

Page 534, 535

Now if the Whole World Animated be the Supreme God, then must all the Parts and Members of the World be the Parts and Members of One God; but not themselves therefore properly so Many Gods. This affirmed by Origen, as the True Sense of these Pagans, against that unwary Assertion of Celsus, That If the Whole were God, then must the several Parts thereof needs be Gods. 535

Wherefore though these Pagans Deified the Parts of the World and Natures of Things, as well as the Powers of the Mundane Soul; yet did not the Intelligent amongst them Worship them severally, as so many True and Proper Gods, but one-ly as the Parts and Members of one Great Animal or God; or rather Worship the great Mundane Soul (the Life of the whole World) in them all. This proved from S. Austin. 536, 537

The same plainly declared also by the Pagans in Athanasius, That not the Divided Parts of the World were by them accounted so many several Gods, but the Whole, made up of them All, One God; which yet might be worshipped in its several Parts. 537

The Pagans being thus divided, as to their Opinions, concerning the Natural and True Theology; some of them Worshipped the World as the Body of God, but others only as his Image or Temple. Thus Plutarch, though disliking the Deifying of Inanimate Things, did notwithstanding approve of Worshipping God in the Whole World, as his most Sacred Temple. And the Persian Magi, allowing of no Artificiall Temples, made with mens hands, Worshipped God sub Dio, and upon the Tops of Mountains, as conceiving the Whole World to be his Natural Temple. For the same Reason did they condemn also Artificiall Statues and Images, concluding Fire, Earth, and Water, and the like Parts of the World, to be the Natural Images of the Deity. Thus Dino in Clemens Alexandrinus. This Difference amongst the Pagan Theologers

noted by Macrobius. Thus were all the Pagans World-Worshippers, in different Senses: but not as a Dead and Inanimate Thing, but either as the Body of God, or else as his Temple or Image. Page

537, 539

Furthermore, the Pagans Universally acknowledging the World to be an Animal, those of them who supposed it not to be the First and Highest God, conceived it to be either a Second, or else a Third God; and so Worshipped it, not onely as a Temple or Image, but also as the Son of the First God. Celsus pretended the Christians to have called their Jesus, the Son of God, in Imitation of these Pagans, who styled the World so. 539, 540

Thus have we made it fully to appear, That, according to the Saying of Antisthenes, the Many Popular Gods of the Pagans were but One and the Same Natural God; or, according to that of Euclides, their Many Gods were but Many Names. So that neither their Poetical, nor yet their Political Theology, was lookt upon by them as True and Natural. 540

Nevertheless, the Wiser Pagans generally concluded, that there ought to be another Theology, besides the Natural, fitly Calculated for the Vulgar, and having a Mixture of Falsehood and Fabulosity in it. Varro and Scævola agreed, that the Vulgar being Uncapable of the True and Natural Theology, it was expedient for them to be Deceived in their Religion. Strabo also, that the Vulgar cannot by Philosophick Reason, and Truth, be carried on to Piety; but this must be done by Superstition, and by the help of Fables, and Prodigious Relations. The same partly acknowledged by Synesius for true. Plato also; That it is Hard to find out God, but Impossible to declare him to the Vulgar; and therefore a necessity of a Civil Theology, distinct from the Natural and Philosophical. 540, 542

XXXV. We come now to the next thing Proposed, That, besides this Seeming and Phantastick Polytheism of the Pagans, which was nothing but the Polyonymy of One God, they had another Reall Polytheism, even in their Natural and Philo-

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fophick Theology it self. But this not of Self-existent Gods, but Generated or Created ones onely. Thus, according to Plutarch, One Highest Unmade God, is the Maker and Father of all the other Gods, Generated or Derived from him. And Proclus concludes, All the Gods to derive their Godship from the First God; who therefore is the Fountain of the God-head. Page 542, 543

These Inferiour Pagan Gods, styled by Ammianus Marcellinus, Substantiall Powers, in way of opposition to those other Poetical and Political Gods, that were not Substantiall or Reall, but onely several Names or Notions of One Supreme God. Those Substantiall Powers (as Divination and Prophecy was by them imparted to men) said to be all Subject to that One Sovereign Deity, called Themis, placed by Pagan Theologers in the Throne of Jupiter. This Themis also another Name or Notion of the Supreme God, besides those before mentioned. Poetry and Phantastrie intermingled by the Pagans with their Natural or Philosophick Theology. 543, 544

Thus the Pagans held both One God, and Many Gods, in different Senses. Onatus and Plotinus, That the Majesty of the Supreme God consisteth, in having Multitudes of Gods Dependent on him, and Ruled by him; and that the Honour done to them, redounds to him. The Gods of the Oriental Pagans, not meer Dead Statues and Images, but Living Understanding Beings, Represented by them. That Christians asserted no Solitary Deity, as Pagans pretended, but agreed with this of Seneca, That God hath Generated, or Created, innumerable Understanding Beings Superiour to Men, Ministers of his Kingdom; The onely difference being this, that they gave them no Religious Worship: Out of Lactantius. 544, 546

XXXVI. That besides the Inferiour Gods, generally received by all the Pagans; (namely, Animated Stars, Demons, and Heroes) the more refined of them, who accounted not the Animated World the Supreme Deity, acknowledg-

ed a Trinity of Divine Hypostases, Superiour to them all. Which Doctrine affirmed by Plotinus to have been very Ancient, and no Invention of Plato's. Page 546

Parmenides an Asserter of a Trinity, long before Plato. This imputed to the Pythagoreans, by Moderatus in Simplicius, and Iamblichus in Proclus. Before Pythagoras, Orpheus had his Trinity, Phanes, Uranus, and Chronus; the same with Plato's Three Kings or Principles. Probable, that Pythagoras and Orpheus derived the same from the Theology of the Egyptian Hermes. Some Footsteps of such a Trinity, in the Mithraick Mysteries, amongst the Persians, and the Zoroastrian Cabala. The same expressly declared in the Magick or Chaldaick Oracles. A Trinity of Gods worshipped Anciently by the Samothracians, and called by an Hebrew name Cabiri, the Mighty Gods. From thence the Roman Capitoline Trinity derived; The Second whereof, Minerva, or the Divine Wisdom. The Ternary, a Number used by the Pagans, in their Religious Rites, as Mysterious. 546, 547

It being no way Probable, that such a Trinity of Divine Hypostases should have sprung from Humane Wit, we may reasonably assent to what Proclus affirmeth, that it was at first *ὑποστατικὴ θεολογία*, a Theology of Divine Tradition or Revelation: As having been first Imparted to the Hebrews, and from them communicated to other Nations. Nevertheless, as this Divine Cabbala was but little understood by these Pagans; so was it by many of them Depraved and Adulterated. 547, 548

This called Universally by them, a Trinity of Gods; or a First, Second, and Third God: by some a Trinity of Causes, and of Principles, and of Opificers. The Tradition of the Three Gods, in Proclus, Ancient and Famous. Numenius his Three Gods, called by him, the Father, the Son, and the Nephew, (or Grandson.) Nous or Intellect, to Plotinus, a Second God: as also the World an Image of all the Three Gods. Plotinus

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tinus and Porphyrius, their supposed Ec-
statick Union with the First of these
Three Gods. Page 548, 549

That Philo, a Religious Jew, and Zea-
lous Opposer of the Pagan Polytheism,
called, notwithstanding, the Divine Word
also, a Second God. This not agreeable
to the Principles of Christianity. Ne-
vertheless S. Austin partly excuses this
Language in the Pagans. 549, 550

And They perhaps the more excusable,
because they sometimes called also those
Three Hypostases, taken all together, the
First God. 551

Nor was this Trinity of Divine Hypo-
stases Ill-Languaged onely by the Pa-
gans, but also the Cabbala thereof much
Depraved and Adulterated, by some
Platonists and Pythagoreans. As First,
such as made the World to be the
Third God. Such a Trinity, a Con-
founding of God and Creature together.

551, 552

And that this an Adulterated Notion
of the Trinity, evident from hence; be-
cause no Reason why these Philosophers
should stop here, since the Sun, Moon and
Stars, and their other Generated Gods,
differ not in Kind, but onely in Degree,
from the World. 552

Neither will this excuse them, that they
understood this chiefly of the Soul of the
World; Since if there were such a Mun-
dane Soul, as together with the World
made up One Animal, this it self must
needs be a Creature also. ibid.

This probably the Reason, why Philo,
though acknowledging the Divine Word,
as a Second God, and Second Cause,
yet no-where speaketh of a Third God;
lest he should thereby seem to Deify the
whole Created World. Though he call
God also, in some Sense, the Soul of the
World too, (whether meaning thereby his
First, or his Second God.) So that Philo
seems to have acknowledged onely a Dua-
lity, and not a Trinity, of Divine Hy-
postases. 552, 553

Another Depravation of this *ἱεραγωγία*,
θεολογία, Theology of Divine Tra-
dition, or Cabbala of the Trinity, That
some of these Platonists and Pythagore-

ans, concluding all those several Idea's of
the Divine Intellect, or Archetypall
World, to be so many distinct Substances,
Animals, and Gods; have thereby made
their Second Hypostasis, not One, but a
Heap of Innumerable Gods and Hyposta-
ses; and consequently destroyed their
Trinity. Page 553

Though Philo again here Platonized so
far, as to suppose an Incorporeal Heaven
and Earth, and an Intelligible Sun,
Moon, and Stars, to have been made be-
fore the Corporeal and Sensible; yet does
he no-where declare them to be so many
distinct Substances and Animals; much
less Gods; but on the contrary censures
that for Pagan Idolatry. This Pretence
of worshipping the Divine Idea's, in all
Sensible things, that which gave San-
ctuary and Protection to the Foullest and
Sottishest of all the Pagan Idolatries; The
Egyptians worshipping Brute Animals thus,
and the Greeks, the Parts of the World
Inanimate, and Natures of Things.

554

A Third Depravation or Adulteration
of the Divine Cabbala of the Trinity, by
Proclus and other latter Platonists, as-
serting an innumerable Company of Hen-
ades, Particular Unities, Superiour to the
First Nous, or Intellect, their Second Hy-
postasis; as also innumerable Noes, Sub-
stantiall Minds or Intellects, Superiour to
the First Psyche, their Third Hypostasis.

555

These Noes seem to be asserted by
Plotinus also; as likewise the Henades
and Agathotetes were by Simplicius.

555, 556

A Swarm of Innumerable Pagan Gods
from hence; besides their Intelligible
Gods, or Idea's, Particular Henades and
Noes, Unities and Intellects. ibid.

Now since these Particular Henades
and Noes of theirs must needs be Crea-
tures; the Trinity of Proclus and such
others, nothing but a Scale or Ladder of
Nature, wherein God and the Creature
are Confounded together; the Juncture or
Commixture betwixt them being no-where
discernible; as if they differ'd onely in
Degrees: A gross Mistake and Adulte-

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ration of the Ancient Cabbala of the Trinity. Page 556, 557

This that Platonick, or rather Pseudo-Platonick Trinity, by us opposed to the Christian; viz. such a Trinity, as confounds the Differences betwixt God and the Creature; bringing the Deity, by degrees, down lower and lower, and at length scattering it into all the Animated Parts of the World; A Foundation for Infinite Polytheism, Cosmolatry or World-Idolatry, and Creature-Worship. Hence the Platonists and Pythagoreans, the Fittest men to be Champions for Paganism against Christianity. 557, 558

Concerning the Christian Trinity, Three things to be Observed. First, that it is not a Trinity of meer Names and Words, nor Logickall Notions, or Inadequate Conceptions of God; this Doctrine having been condemned by the Christian Church, in Sabellius and others; but a Trinity of Hypostases, Subsistences, or Persons. 558, 559

The Second thing Observable in the Christian Trinity, That though the Second Hypostasis thereof were Begotten from the First, and the Third Proceedeth both from the First and Second; yet neither of them Creatures. First, because not made ἐκ ἑνός, or from an Antecedent Non-existence brought forth into Being, but both of them Coeternall with the Father. Secondly, because all Necessarily existent, and Un-Annihilable. Thirdly, because all of them Universal, or Infinite, and Creatours of all other Particular Beings. 559

The Third Observable as to the Christian Trinity, That the Three Hypostases thereof are all Truly and Really One God; not onely by Reason of Agreement of Will, but also of a Mutuall περιχώρησις and ἐνσπάρξις, Permeation of each other, and Inexistence. Though no Instance of the like Unity to be found elsewhere in Nature; yet since two distinct Substances, Corporeal, and Incorporeal, make one Man and Person in our Selves; much more may Three Divine Hypostases be One God. ibid.

Though much of Mystery in the Chri-

stian Trinity, yet nothing of plain Contradiction to Reason therein; that is, no Nonsense, and Impossibility. The Ill Design of those, who represent the Christian Trinity as absolutely Contradictions to Reason, that they may thereby debauch mens Understandings, and make them swallow down other things which unquestionably are such. Page 560

The Christian Trinity much more agreeable to Reason, then the Pseudo-Platonick, in the Three Particulars before mentioned. First, its making their Third Hypostasis the Animated World, or Mundane Soul. Which, not onely too great a Leap betwixt the Second and Third, but also a gross Debasement of the Deity, and Confounding it with the Creature; a Foundation for World-Idolatry, and worshipping Inanimate Things, as Parts and Members of God. ibid.

God to Origen, but Quasi Anima Mundi, As it were the Soul of the World, and not Truly and Properly such. All the Perfection of this Notion to be attributed to God, but not the Imperfection thereof. 560, 561

Certain, that according to the more refined Platonists, their Third Divine Hypostasis, not a Mundane, but Supra-mundane Soul, and the δημιουργός or Opificer of the whole World. So to Amelius, Porphyrius, and Plotinus. A Double Soul of the World to Plato likewise. The Third Hypostasis, to these, no Creature, but a Creatour. 562

So in their Second Particular, (whereby the forementioned Pseudo-Platonick Trinity, no Trinity) its making all the Idea's and Archetypal Paradigms of things, so many Hypostases, Animals, and Gods. This a Monstrous Extravagancy. Not to be doubted, but that Plato well understood these Idea's to be Nothing but Noemata, or Conceptions of the Divine Mind, existing no-where apart by themselves; however called εἶδη, Essences or Substances, because not such Accidental and Evanid things as our Humane Thoughts are, they being the Standing and Eternall Objects of all Science: As also ζῷα, or Animals; to signify that they

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they were not meer Dead Forms, as Pictures upon Paper, or Carved Statues. And thus did not onely Amelius understand S. John, concerning the Logos, Whatsoever was made was Life in him, but also divers of the Ancient Fathers, Greek and Latin. This Deifying of Ideas, but a Piece of Pagan Poetry.

Page 562, 563

Lastly, whereas Proclus and others intermingle many Particular Gods, with those Three Universal Hypostases, as Henades and Agathotetes, Unities and Goodnesses, Substantiall above the First Intellect; and Noes, Particular Minds or Intellects, above the First Soul; This Hypothesis of theirs, altogether Irrational and Absurd; there being Nothing Essentially Goodness, Wisdom, and Sanctity, but the Three Divine Hypostases, all other Beings having onely a Participation thereof. Thus Origen expressly; who therefore acknowledgeth no higher Rank of Created Beings, then such as the Platonists call Souls, that are Self-moveable, Vitally Unitable to Bodies, and Peccable. With whom agreeth S. Jerome, and others of the Fathers, That God is the onely Impeccable Being; but all Understanding Creatures, Free-willed, and Lapsable.

564, 565

An Opinion of Simplicius, that even in that Rank of Beings called Souls (though not Essentially Immutable, but Self-moveable) some are of so high a Pitch, as that they can never Degenerate, nor Sink or Fall into Vicious Habits. Inso-much that he makes a Question whether Procreas belong to them or no. 565, 566

But whatever is to be thought of this, Origen too far in the other Extream, in denying any other Ranks of Souls above Humane; and supposing all the Difference, that is now betwixt the highest Angels, and Men, to have proceeded only from their Merits, and different uses of their Free Will; his Reason being this, because God would be otherwise a Protopoleptes or Acceptor of Persons. This also Extended by him to the Soul of our Saviour Christ; as not Partially chosen to that Dignity, but for its Faithfull ad-

herence to the Divine Word in a Pre-existent State; which he would prove from Scripture. But if a Rank of Souls below Humane, and Specifically differing from them; as Origen himself confesses those of Brutes to be; no reason why there might not also be other Ranks or Species Superiour to them. Page 566, 567

But least of all can we assent to Origen, when from this Principle, That all Souls are Essentially endued with Free Will, and therefore in their Nature Peccable, he infers those Endless Circuits of Souls, Upwards and Downwards, and consequently denies them any Fixed State of Holiness and Happiness by Divine Grace: an Assertion contrary to the Tenour and Promises of the Gospell. Thus perhaps that to be understood, That Christ brought Life and Immortality to Light thorough the Gospell: not as if he were the First who taught the Soul's Immortality, a thing believed before by the Pharisaeick Jews, and Generality of Pagans; but because these held their Endless Transmigrations and Circuits, therefore was he the first who brought everlasting Life and Happiness to Light. 567, 568

That Origen, a man well skilled in the Platonick Learning, and so much addicted to the Dogmata thereof, would never have gone so far into that other Extreme had there been any Solidity of Reason, for either those Henades, or Noes, of the Latter Platonists. This Opinion all one, as if a Christian should suppose, besides the First Person, or Father, a Multitude of Particular Paternities, Superiour to the Second Person; and also besides the One Son, or Word, a Multitude of Particular Sons or Words, Superiour to the Third, the Holy Ghost. This plainly to make a Breach upon the Deity, and to introduce a company of such Creaturately Gods, as imply a Contradiction in their very Notion. 568

Lastly, this not the Catholick Doctrine of the Platonick School neither, but a Private Opinion onely of some late Doctors. No Footsteps of those Henades and Agathotetes to be found any where in Plato; nor yet in Plotinus. This Language

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guage little Older then Proclus. Nor does Plato speak of any Abstract or Separate Mind, save onely One: His Second things about the Second, being Idea's; as his Thirds about the Third Created Beings. Plotinus also doubtfull and staggering about these Noes, he seeming sometimes to make them but the Heads or Summities of Souls. Wherefore this Pseudo-Platonick Trinity to be Exploded, as Confounding the Differences betwixt God and the Creature. Whereas the Christian Trinity Homogeneall, all Deity or Creatour; all other things being supposed to be the Creatures of those Three Hypostases, and produced by their Joynt-Concurrence and Influence; they being all Really but One God. Page 568, 570

Nevertheless, these forementioned Depravations and Adulterations of that Divine Cabbala of the Trinity, not to be charged upon Plato himself, nor all the other Ancient Platonists and Pythagoreans; some of which approached so near to the Christian Trinity, as to make their Three Hypostases all truly Divine, and Creatours, other things being the Creatures of them. *ibid.*

First therefore, Plato himself, in his Timæus, carefully distinguisheth betwixt God and the Creature, and determineth the bounds of each, after this manner. That the First, is that which Always Is, and was never Made; the Second, that which is Made and had a Beginning, but truly Is not. His meaning here perverted by Junior Platonists, whom Boetius also followed. Where Plato takes it for granted, That whatsoever hath a Temporary and Successive Duration, had a Beginning; and whatsoever had no Beginning, hath no Successive, but Permanent Duration; and so concludes, That whatsoever is Eternall, is God; but whatsoever exists in Time, and hath a Beginning, Creature. 570, 572

Now to Plato, more Eternall Gods then One. Which not Idea's or Noemata, but true Substantiall Things; his First, Second, and Third, in his Epistle to Dionysius, or Trinity of Divine Hypostases, the Makers or Creatours of the whole World.

Cicero's Gods, by whose Providence the World and all its Parts were framed.

Page 572, 573

The Second Hypostasis in Plato's Trinity, to wit, Mind or Intellect, unquestionably Eternal, and without Beginning. The same affirmed by Plotinus also, of the Third Hypostasis, or Psyche, called the Word of the Second, as the Second, the Word of the First. Porphyrius his Testimony to this purpose in S. Cyril; where also Mind, or the Second Divine Hypostasis, (though said to have been Begotten from the First, yet) called *αὐτογάτωρ*, and *αὐτογενής*, Its Own-Parent, and its Own-Offspring, and said to have sprung out *αὐτογενώς*, Self-begottenly. Page 573, 574.

This Mysterious Riddle expounded out of Plotinus. The plain meaning thereof no more then this, That though this Second Hypostasis proceeded from the First, yet was it not produced by it after a Creaturely manner, nor Arbitrarily by Will and Choice, but in way of Natural and Necessary Emanation. Thus have some Christians ventured to call the Logos, *αὐτότερον*, and *Ex seipso Deum*, God from himself. 574, 575

Dionysius Petavius, having declared the Doctrine of Arius, that the Father was the onely Eternal God, and the Son, or Word, a Creature, made in Time, and out of Nothing; Concludes it undeniably manifest from hence, that Arius was a German, True, and Genuine Platonist. Whereas it is most certain from hence, that Arius was no Platonist at all; and that Petavius himself did not well understand the Platonick Doctrine. Had Plato denied the Eternity of his Second Hypostasis, called Nous, he must have denied the Eternity of Wisdom and Understanding it self; this being to him that Wisdom by which God himself is Wise, and whereby he made the World. With which agreesh also Athanasius; Our Lord is Wisdom, and not Second to any other Wisdom: and, The Father of the Word is not himself Word: and, That was not Word and Wisdom, which produced Word and Wisdom. This in opposition to Arius,

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Arius, who maintained Another Word and Wisdom, Senior to that Word and Wisdom in Christ. These Platonists, so far from denying the Eternity of the Word, that they rather attributed too much to it, in making it Self-begotten. Wherefore Plato, asserting the Eternity of his Second Hypostasis, Nous or Logos, and not of the World, did thereby, according to Athanasius his own Doctrine, make it to be no Creature.

Page 575

Nor is there any force at all in that Testimony of Macrobius, cited by Petavius, to the contrary, wherein the First Hypostasis is said to have Created Mind from it self, and the Second to have Created Soul; because these Ancient Pagans did not confine the word Create, to such a narrow sense as Christians commonly do; but used it generally for all manner of Production. Petavius his mistake, chiefly from that Spurious Trinity of the latter Platonists, whose Third God is by themselves called *μινυα*, a Creature. But this not the Doctrine of the Ancients.

576

Nevertheless, some more Reason to doubt, whether Plato's Third Hypostasis were Eternal, because in his Timæus, he Generates the Mundane Soul. This Controversy decided, by supposing a Double Psyche, *ψυχῆς*, and *ψυχῆς*, a Mundane, and Supra-Mundane Soul; the first of these called by Plotinus, a Heavenly Venus, and a Separate Soul. Wherefore though the Lower Venus, or Mundane Soul, according to Plato, made in Time together with the World; yet the Higher Divine Soul, or Heavenly Venus, the Son of Chronus without a Mother, his Third Hypostasis, Eternal, and without Beginning.

576, 577

This further Evident from hence, Because Plato in his Epistle to Dionysius, affirmeth as well of the Second, and Third, as of the First, that in all those things that are Cognate to our Humane Soul, (or Creaturely) there is *οὐδὲν τι*, Nothing like thereunto.

577

Secondly, The Three Hypostases of Plato's Trinity, not onely all Eternall, but also Necessarily Existent, and Absolutely Unannihilable. Nor could the First any more Exist without the Second and Third, then the Sun without its Primary Light, and Secondary Splendor. These according to Plotinus, the Three Principles of the Universe; so that there could be neither More, nor Fewer. They also who called the Second, Autopator, signified thereby, the Necessity of its Existence.

577, 578

Thirdly, These Three Platonick Hypostases, as Eternall, and Necessary, so likewise Universal, or Comprehensive of the Whole World, that is, Infinite and Omnipotent. Therefore called Principles, and Causes, and

Opificers. Though Nous or Mind vulgarly lookt upon as the Highest Principle of all things, yet Plato set before it, One Most Simple Good. When Nous said by Plato, to be *ἰσότης*, of the Same Kind, with the First Cause of all things; this all one as if he had affirmed it to be *ἰσότης*, Co-Essential or Consubstantial with it. Pag. 578,

579

Plato's Third Hypostasis, Psyche, or the Superiour Mundane Soul, called by him Zeus, from *ζῆν*, as also the Cause and Fountain of Life, and the Prince and King of all things. And when said to be *ἕκαστος*, the Offspring of the Highest Mind, thereby made Consubstantiall with it also. So that Plato's whole Trinity Homousian.

579

Though by the Demiurgus or Opificer, Plato commonly meant the Second Hypostasis, Mind or Intellect; yet Atticus, Amelius, Plotinus and others, called the Third or the Higher Psyche also, by that Name. Wherefore according to the Genuine Platonick, and Parmenidian Trinity, all the Three Hypostases Joynt-Creatours of the whole World. Thus Ficinus often, and Proclus. Porphyrius his Affirmation, that the Deity according to Plato, Extends to Three Hypostases.

Ibid.

Certain therefore, that Arius did not Platonize, but rather Athanasius and the Nicene Fathers; who notwithstanding made not Plato, but the Scriptures, their Foundation. The Genuine Trinity of Plato and Parmenides, a Middle betwixt that of Sabellius, and that of Arius: it being neither a Trinity of Words and Names, as the Former; nor an Heterousious Trinity, a Confused Jumble of God and Creature together; but Homousious and Homogeneall: all Eternall, Necessarily Existent, Infinite or Omnipotent, and Creatour.

579,

580

But that it may yet more fully appear, how far the most refined Platonick and Parmenidian Trinity, does either Agree or Disagree, with the Scripture and Christian Doctrine, Two things further to be Observed concerning it. First, that the Platonists Universally asserted an Essentiall Dependence of their Second and Third Hypostases upon the First, as also a Gradual Subordination in them. Thus Plotinus; Chronos, or the Second Hypostasis, is in a Middle State betwixt his Father who is Greater, and his Son who is Inferiour. And that in this Eternal Generation or Emanation, no Progress Upward, but all Downward, and a Gradual Descent.

580, 581

More of the Dependence and Gradual Subordination of the Second and Third Hypostases of the Platonick Trinity, to the First. Each following Hypostasis called *ἕκαστος*, and *ἕκαστος*,

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and εἰς αὐτόν, and εἰς δὲ αὐτόν, and οὐ μὴν αὐτὸν of that before it. Philo's Offensive Expression, That the Logos, or Word, is the Shadow of God. This Gradation commonly Illustrated by the ἐκλαμπής or ἀπαύλασμα, the Effulgency or Out-shining Splendor of the Sun. Page 581, 582

The same further manifested, from the several Distinctive Characters, given to each Hypostasis, in the True Platonick or Parmenidian Trinity. The First, ἐν πρὸ πάντων, One before all things; The Second, ἐν παντί, One All things, as to their Distinct Idea's; The Third, ἐν καὶ παντί, One Really producing All things. The First, Unity and Goodness Essentiall; the Second, Understanding and Wisdom; the Third, Self-Active Love and Power. The First or Father ἀναρέγγοντο, Above Action: The Second or Son the Demiurgus, The Maker or contriving Architect of the World, but an Immoveable Nature: The Third a Movable Deity; and the Immediate Governour of the whole World. Amelius his Distinction of them into τὸν ὄντα, τὸν ἔχοντα, τὸν ὁρῶντα. 582, 583

The greatest Difficulty in the distinctive Characters of these Three Platonick Hypostases; That Understanding, Reason, and Wisdom, should be made Peculiar to the Second, as if the First were therefore devoid of Mind, Reason and Wisdom. This an Arcanum of the Platonick and Pythagorick Theology: That whereas Anaxagoras, Aristotle, and the Vulgar, make Mind and Understanding, the Oldest of all things, and the Highest Principle in the Universe; this supposes Mind, Knowledge, and Wisdom, to be, not the First, but Second. Partly because there is Multiplicity in Knowledge, but there must be Unity before Multiplicity. And partly because there must be Νοῦς before Νῦς, An Object or Intelligible before Intellect. As also, because Intellection, or Knowledge, is not the Highest Good, or Happiness; and therefore to be some Substantiall thing, in order of Nature Superiour to Mind. Hence concluded, that the Supreme Deity is Better then Logos, Reason, Word, or Intellect. That not Logos, from whence Logos is derived. Thus Philo; The God before Reason or Word, better then all the Rationall Nature. But this Difficulty common to Platonism, with Christianity; which likewise makes Word or Reason and Wisdom, not the First, but Second Hypostasis. Thus does Athanasius denie that there is any Word, Reason, or Wisdom, before the Son of God. What then? Is the First Hypostasis therefore ἀνους and ἀλογος, Devoid of Reason and Mind? Plotinus his Attempts to answer this; That the First hath αὐτὸς ἀπλῶς, A Simple Light, different from that Multiform Light of Knowledge. Again, That the First

is Νόνος αὐτὸν, Intelligence it self, and therefore Superiour to Intellect, or that which hath Intellection. (For ἡ νόσις ἃ νοεῖ, Intelligence it self doth not Understand.) Besides which, another Attempt also to salve this Difficulty. Page 583, 586

The Ground of this Platonick Dependence and Subordination in the Divine Hypostases; Because there is but One Fountain of the Godhead; so that the Second must needs differ from the First, as the ἀπαύλασμα from the αὐτός, The Splendor from the Sun. 586, 587

Though the Second Hypostasis said to have been Begotten, from the First; yet this not to be taken for such a Generation, as that of Men, where Three Men, (Father, Son, and Grandson) all Adult, have no Essential Dependence upon one another, nor Gradual Subordination. This but an Imperfect Generation. 587

Furthermore, the Platonists would recommend this their Gradation in the Deity, or Subordination of Hypostases, from hence, Because by this meant, not so great a Leap or Jump in the Creation, as otherwise there must be; nor the Whole Deity screwed up to such a Disproportionate Height, as would render it Uncapable of having any Intercourse with the Lower World. Were the whole Deity, either One Simple Monade, or else an Immoveable Mind, it could have no such Liberty of Will as is commonly attributed to it, nor be Affectible with anything here below; nor indeed any fitter Object for mens Devotion, then an Adamantine Rock. Whereas all the Phænomena of the Deity salvageable by this Platonick Gradation. 587, 588

As also according to this Hypothesis, some reasonable satisfaction to be given, why just so many Divine Hypostases, and neither Fewer, nor More. 588

The Second thing to be Observed, concerning the Genuine Platonick, or Parmenidian Trinity; That though the Hypostases thereof be called Three Natures, and Three Principles, and Three Opificers, and Three Gods; yet they all Really make up but One Divinity. For the World, being Created by all Three, and yet having but One Creation, they must needs be all One Creatour. Porphyrius in S. Cyril explicitly, That, according to Plato, the Essence of the Deity extendeth to Three Hypostases. 588, 589

Platonists further adde, That were it not for this Essential Dependence, and Subordination, the Three Divine Hypostases must needs be Three Co-ordinate Gods; and no more One God, then Three Men are One Man, or Three Suns One Sun. Whereas the Sun, its Splendor, and Derivative Light, may all well be accounted One and the same Thing. 589, 590

These Platonists therefore suppose, so close a Union,

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Union, and so near a Conjunction, betwixt their Three Hypostases; as no where else to be found in Nature. Plotinus, That there is Nothing between them, and That they are Onely Not the very same. They acknowledge also, their Perichoretis or Mutuall Inexistence. The Three Hypostases One Divinity to the Platonists, in the same manner, as the Centre, Radious Distance Immoveable, and Movable Circumference of a Sphear, all One Sphear. The First Infinite Goodness, the Second Infinite Wisdom, the Third Infinite Active Love, and Power Substantiall. Page 590, 591

From this full Account of the True and Genuine Platonick Trinity, its both Agreement and Disagreement with the Christian, Plainly appeareth. First, its Agreement in the Three Fundamentall things before mentioned; and consequently its Discrepance from Arianism.

591, 592

Secondly, its Disagreement notwithstanding, from the Now-received Doctrine, in that it supposes the Three Hypostases not to have One and the same Singular Essence, nor yet an Absolute Co-Equality, but a Gradual Subordination, and Essentiall Dependence. Upon which account, said by some, to Symbolize with Arianism, however different from it in the Main Point.

592

Besides which, the best of the Platonists, sometimes Guilty of Extravagant Expressions. Plotinus his *ἡ πρώτη οὐσία*, That our Humane Soul, or Third Hypostasis; That being but the Elder Sister. Which indeed is to make it Co-Essentiall or Consubstantiall with us Men, as S. Augustine understood it. This a Foundation for Creature-Worship or Idolatry. Why the Arians by Constantine called Porphyrianists. But this Doctrine, as Repugnant to Plato, so elsewhere Contradicted by Plotinus himself.

593, 594

That notwithstanding, a Platonick Christian would Apologize for Plato and the Genuine Pythagoreans, after this manner. First, That having no Scriptures, Councils, nor Creeds, to direct them in the Darknes of this Mystery, and to guide their Language, they the more excusable, if not always Uniform, and sometimes Extravagant. More to be wondred at, that they should approach so near the Christian Truth.

594, 595

And for their Gradual Subordination of Hypostases, and Dependence of the Second and Third upon the First; That these Platonists herein the more excusable, because the Majority of Christian Doctors, for the first Three Centuries, seem to have asserted the same.

595, 596

The Platonick Christians further Apologie;

That the Platonists Intention in Subordinating their Three Hypostases, onely to exclude a Plurality of Co-ordinate Independent Gods. That none of Plato's Three Hypostases, Creatures, but that the Essence of the Godhead belongs to them All; they being all Eternal, Necessarily Existent, Infinite, or Omnipotent, and Creators. Therefore in the sense of the Nicene Council, Consubstantiall and Co-equal. The Essence of the Godhead, wherein all the Three Hypostases agree, as well to the Fathers, as Platonists, Generall and Universall. Page

596, 597

Besides which, the Genuine Platonists would acknowledge also, all their Three Hypostases to be Homousian, Co-essentiall or Consubstantiall, yet in a further Sense, as making up One Entire Divinity: As the Root, Stock, and Branches, Co-essentiall to a Vine. The Trinity not so Undivided, as if Three were not Three in it. The Inequality and Subordination in the Platonick Trinity, within the Deity it self onely, and in the Relation of the Hypostases to one another; they being ad extra all One and the same God, Joyntly Concurring in the same Actions, and in that respect, devoid of Inequality.

597, 598

Furthermore, the Platonick Christian would urge, That according to the Principles of Christianity it self, there must needs be some Dependence and Subordination in these Hypostases, in their Relation to one another; a Priority and Posteriority of Order and Dignity: That which is Originally of it Self, having some kind of Priority and Superiority, over that which is wholly Derived from it. The Second and Third Hypostases, not so Omnipotent as the First, because not able to Beget or Produce that. Hence the First styled by Macrobius, the Most Omnipotent of all. Sundry passages in Scripture, favouring this Hypothesis, as also Orthodox Fathers. Athanasius his Resemblances to the Originall Light and the Secondary Splendor; to the Fountain and the Stream, the Root and the Branch, the Water and the Vapour. The Equality asserted by the Orthodox, in way of opposition to the Arian Inequality, of God and Creature; That they Equally God, or Uncreated. Notwithstanding which, some Inequality amongst them allowed by Petavius and others, as This God, and That Person.

599, 600

However, no necessity of any more Inequality and Subordination in the Platonick, then in the Christian Trinity; they being but Infinite Goodness, and Infinite Wisdom, and Infinite Active Love, and Power Substantiall. Another Hypothesis of some Platonists, hinted by S. Augustine out of Porphyry, which makes the Third Hypostasis a Myddle betwixt the First

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and Second; and implies, not so much a Gradation, as a Circulation in the Trinity. Page 600, 601

As for the Platonists supposing their Three Hypostases (though One Entire Divinity) to have their Distinct Singular Essences, without which they conceive they could be nothing but Three Names; the Platonick Christian would make this Apology; That the Orthodox Fathers themselves were generally of this persuasion, That the Essence of the Godhead wherein all the Three Persons agree, not One Singular, but only One Common or Universal Essence. Their Distinction to this purpose, betwixt *ὁμοούσιος* and *ὁμοῦσιος*; that the former was Common or General, the latter Singular or Individual. Theodoret, Basil, and many others. Petavius his acknowledgement, that the Greeks Universally agreed herein. 601, 602

The Opinion of Gregory Nyssen, Cyril, Damascen, and others; That the Persons of the Trinity no otherwaies One, then as Three Individuals under the same Species, or as Three Men agree in the same common Humanity. These the Chief Asserters of an Absolute, Independent, and Un-subordinate Co-equality. This the only fault that S. Cyril finds in the Platonists, that they did not assert such a Consubstantiality. Whereas this Trinity, Tritheism: the Three Persons thereof being no more One God, then Three Men are One Man, However this certain, that these Fathers did not suppose, the Three Hypostases of the Trinity to have all the same Singular Essence. Another Extream, that sprung up afterwards in the room of the former Tritheism, and owned by no other Authority, then of a Lateran Council. 603, 604

And that this Sameness of Singular Essence was not asserted by the Nicene Fathers, and first Opposers of Arius; First, clearly acknowledged by Petavius. 604, 605

But this further Evident from hence; Because the same Orthodox Fathers, who opposed Arianism, did also condemn Sabellianism; which asserted, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, to be but One Hypostasis, that is, to have but One and the same Singular Essence; and consequently acknowledged no other Trinity then of Names or Words. 605

It appeareth also from hence, Because the Word Homousios had never any other Sense, then to signify the Agreement of things Numerically differing, in some Common and General Nature or Essence. S. Basil, That the same thing is not Homousios, Co-essential, or Consubstantial with it self; but always One thing with another. To *ὁμοούσιος* the same with *ὁμοῦσιος* in Plotinus. So also in Athanasius, he affirming the Branches to be Homousios and Congene-

rous with the Root. Besides which, *ὁμοούσιος*, *ὁμοῦσιος*, and *ὁμοῦσιος*, used by Athanasius, and others, as Synonymous with *ὁμοῦσιος*. None of which words signify an Identity of Singular Essence, but General or Universal onely. The Council of Chalcedon, That our Saviour Christ as to his Humanity, was Homousios or Consubstantial with us Men. Thus does Athanasius deny, the Son or Word, as such, to be Homousios or Consubstantial with Creatures; as also he affirmeth men to be Consubstantial with one another; every Son Consubstantial and Co-essential with his Father. Page 605, 606

Moreover the Sense of the Nicene Fathers, in their Consubstantiality, may more fully appear from the Doctrine of Arius opposed by them; which made the Son a Creature, and therefore (as Athanasius writeth) *ἕτεροούσιος* or *ἀλλοοῦσιος*, of a different Essence or Substance from the Father. Proved clearly from Athanasius, that by the Consubstantiality of the Word, was meant no more then its being not a Creature, or Uncreated. 606, 608

Further Proof, out of Athanasius, that by Consubstantiality, is not meant a Sameness of Singular, but onely of General Essence. As also out of S. Austine. 608, 611

Lastly, That the Homousian Fathers did not assert against Arius, a Sameness of Singular Essence, evident from their Disclaiming those two other words, *ταυτοούσιος*, and *μονοούσιος*, (as having a Sabellian Sense in them,) the former by Epiphanius, the latter by Athanasius. So that they who asserted the Son to be Homousios, Consubstantial with the Father, denied him to be Monousios or Tautoousios, that is, to have the same Singular Essence. 612 613

From all these Considerations, concluded by the Platonick Christian, That as the Genuine Trinity of Plato agreed with that of the Orthodox Christians, in being not Heterousian, but Homousian, Co-essential or Consubstantial; not made up of God and Creature, but all Homogeneal of Uncreated, or Creatour: so did the Trinity of the First Orthodox Anti-Arians herein agree with the Platonick Trinity; that it was not Monousian, or Tautoousian, One and the same Singular Essence, under Three Names or Notions onely; but really Three Hypostases or Persons. 612

Nevertheless, here remaineth a Question to be Answered; Whether Athanasius, the Nicene Fathers, and all the First Anti-Arians did therefore assert the same thing with Greg. Nyssen, Cyril, and others, That the Three Persons in the Trinity, were but Three Co-ordinate Individuals, under the same Species, having onely a Specifick Unity or Identity; (besides Consent of Will) or that they all agree in the Uncre-

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Uncreated Nature onely. This Grossly asserted in the Dialogues of the Trinity, Vulgarly Imputed to Athanasius; and to that purpose also, That Three Men are not Three Men, but onely then, when they Dissent from one another in Will and Opinion. But these Dialogues Pseudepigraphous. Nevertheless to be Granted, that Athanasius himself, in that Book of the Common Essence of the Persons, seems to lay something too much Stress upon this Common Nature, Essence, or Substance, of the Three Persons, as to the making of them all but One God. However, it is certain he does not there rely upon that alone; and elsewhere acknowledgeth it to be insufficient. The true Reason, why Athanasius laid so great a Stress upon the Homouoiotes, not because this alone would make them One God, but because they could not possibly be One God without it. For if the Father be Uncreated, and the Son a Creature, then can they not both be One God. Several Passages of Athanasius Cited to this purpose. Those Expressions in him of One Godhead, and the Sameness of the Godhead, and One Essence or Substance in the Trinity, not so to be understood, as if the Three Persons were but several Names, Notions, or Modes of One Thing. Page 612, 616

Wherefore though Athanasius lay his Foundation in this εἰς ἓν εἶναι, Common Specifick Unity of the Persons, (which is their Confubstantiality,) in order to their being One God; yet does he superadde other Considerations also thereunto. As first of all this, That they are not Three Principles, but onely One; the Essence of the Father being the Root and Fountain of the Son and Spirit: and the Three Hypostases, gathered together under One Head. Where Athanasius implies, That were they perfectly Co-ordinate and Independent, they would not be One, but Three Gods. 616

In the next place, he further addeth; That these Three Hypostases are not Three Separated Disjoined Things, but Indivisibly United; as the Splendor is Indivisible from the Sun, and Wisdom from him that is Wise. That neither of these Persons could be without the other; nor any thing come between them: they so immediately Conjoynd together, as that there is a kind of συνέχου or Continuity betwixt them. 616, 617

Thirdly, Athanasius goes yet higher; affirming these Three Hypostases, not onely to be Indivisibly Conjoynd, but also to have a Mutual Inexistence in each other. This afterwards called an Emperichorelis. That of our Saviour, I am in the Father, and the Father in me, therefore Quarrell'd at by the Arians, because they conceived of Things Incorporeal, after a Corporeal manner. That the Godhead of the Son, is the Godhead of the Father; and the Fa-

ther exercises a Providence over all, in the Son. Page 617, 619

Lastly, Athanasius also in Sundry Places, supposes the Three Divine Hypostases to make up one Entire Divinity; as the Fountain and the Stream make up one entire River; the Root, Stock, and Branches, one entire Tree. Accordingly the word Homouoiotes used by Athanasius, in a further Sense, not onely to signify things Agreeing in one Common and General Essence, but also such as Essentially Concurr to the making up of One Entire thing. That the Three Hypostases do Outwardly, or Ad extra, produce all, *ὡς ἐκ ἑνός*, One and the self-same Action; the Father, By the Word, In the Holy Spirit, doing all things. That all this Doctrine of Athanasius would have been readily assented to by Plato and his Genuine Followers: The Platonick Christian therefore Concludeth, That there is no such Real Difference, betwixt the Genuine Platonick Trinity, and that of the First Orthodox Anti-Arian Fathers, as some conceive. From which notwithstanding that Trinitistick Trinity, of S. Greg. Nyssen, Cyril, and others, of Three Co-ordinate Individuals under the same Species, (as Three Men) seems to have been a Deviation. 619, 620

Hitherto the Platonick Christians Apology, for the Genuine Platonick Trinity; or Endeavour to reconcile it with the Doctrine of the Ancient Church: Where nothing is asserted by ourselves, but all Submitted to the Judgement of the Learned in these Matters. And whatsoever in Plato's Trinity shall be found Discrepant from the sense of the First Orthodox Anti-Arian Fathers, utterly disclaimed by us. Athanasius a great Instrument of Divine Providence, for preserving the Christian Church from Lapsing into a kind of Paganick and Idolatrous Christianity. ibid.

The Reason of this Apology, for the Genuine Platonick Trinity; Because it is against the Interest of Christianity, that this should be made more Discrepant from the Christian, than indeed it is. Moreover certain, that this Genuine Platonick Trinity was Anti-Arian; or rather the Arian, Anti-Platonick. Wherefore Socrates wondered, that Georgius and Timotheus Presbyters, should adhere to the Arian Faction; when one of them was accounted much a Platonist, the other an Origenist. 620, 621

Furthermore, Platonick Pagans after Christianity, highly approved of the Beginning of S. John's Gospell, concerning the Logos, as exactly agreeing with their Platonick Doctrine. Thus Amelius in Eusebius, and others. A Platonist in S. Austine, That it deserved to be writ in Golden Letters, and set up in some Eminent places, in every Christian Church. But that

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which is most of all Considerable, to Justify this Apology, The generality of Christian Fathers, before and after the Nicene Council, look'd upon this Platonick Trinity, if not as really the Same thing with the Christian, yet as approaching so near thereunto, that it differed chiefly in Circumstances, or Manner of Expression. Thus Justin Martyr, Clemens Alexandrinus, Origen, S. Cyprian, or the Author of the Book De Spiritu Sancto, Eusebius Cæsariensis; and, which is most of all to the purpose, Athanasius himself; be giving a Signal Testimony thereunto. To which may be added, S. Austine, and Theodoret. S. Cyril, though blaming the Platonick Subordination, (Himself supposing the Trinity to be Three Co-ordinate Individuals, under the same Specifick Nature of the Godhead) yet acknowledges that Plato was not altogether ignorant of the Truth, &c. But that Plato's Subordination, of his Second Hypostasis to the First, was not (as the Arian) of a Creature to the Creatour; already made unquestionably Evident.

Page 621, 625

Wherefore a Wonderfull Providence of Almighty God here to be taken notice of; That this Doctrine, of a Trinity of Divine Hypostases, should be entertained in the Pagan World before Christianity, as it were to prepare a way for the Reception of it amongst the Learned. Which the Junior Platonists were so sensible of, that besides their other Adulterations of the Platonick Trinity before mentioned. (for the Countenancing of their Polytheism and Idolatry) they at length Innovated and Altered the whole Cabala; now no longer acknowledging a Trinity, but at least a Quaternity of Divine Hypostases, namely, before and besides the Trinity, another Hypostasis superiour thereunto, and standing alone by itself. This first started by Iamblichus, carried on by Proclus, taken notice of by S. Cyril: besides which, Proclus also added other Phantastick Trinities of his own.

625,
627

Another Advantage of this Platonick Trinity, extending to the present time; perhaps not Unintended also by Divine Providence, to abate the Confidence of those Conceited Wits, who so boldly decry the Trinity for Non-sense, Absolute Contradiction to Reason, and Impossibility; when they shall find, that the Best and Freest Wits amongst the Pagans, though having no Scripture-Revelation to impose upon them, were yet fond of this Hypothesis.

627

And now it sufficiently appears, That the Ancient Platonists and Pythagoreans, were not to be taxed for Polytheists and Idolaters, in giving Religious Worship to their Three Divine Hypostases. One grand Design of Christianity, to free the World from Idolatry and

Creature-Worship: And this the reason, why the Ancient Fathers so zealously opposed Arianism, because it thwarted that Design; it Paganizing and Idolatrizing that, which was intended for the Unpaganizing of the World. One Remarkable Passage of Athanasius to this purpose.

Page 627, 629

Where First Observable, That Athanasius expressly affirmeth the Pagans to have Worshipped onely One Uncreated, and Many Created Gods. Thus Greg. Naz. That there was but One Divinity amongst the Pagans also. And Irenæus, That they attributed the first place of the Deity to One Supreme God, the Maker of this Universe. And Secondly, That to Athanasius, and all those other Fathers, who charged the Arians with Idolatry, this was supposed not to consist in Worshipping Many Independent, and Self-Existent Gods, but in giving Religious Worship to Creatures: As the Arians gave a Religious Worship to the Son or Word, supposed by themselves to be but a Creature.

629. 630

But if Arians guilty of Polytheism or Idolatry, for bestowing Religious Worship upon the Son, or Word, as a Creature, (though the Chief of Creatures, and that by which all others were Made) much more they guilty hereof, who Religiously worshipped other Inferiour Beings. Athanasius; That no Creature the Object of Religious Worship, and That the Orthodox worshipped the Divinity, in the Humanity of our Saviour Christ. Nestorius branded with the name of a Man-worshipper. Some suppose That necessary to Idolatry, which is Impossible; to Worship more then One, as Omnipotent, or with Mental Latria.

630. 632

And now have we sufficiently Answered the Objection against the Naturality of the Idea of God, as including Oneliness in it; from the Pagan Polytheism. What farther here intended concerning the same, (as a Foundation for our Defence of Christianity) deferred, to make room for a Confutation of all the Atheistick Arguments.

CHAP. V.

A Particular Confutation of all the Atheistick Grounds.

THE First Atheistick Argument; *That there is no Idea of God. That in Answer to this, The Idea of God hath been already declared: viz. A Perfect Understanding Being, Unmade, or Self-Existent from Eternity, and the Cause of all other Things. In which, Nothing Unconceivable, nor Contradictious. That these Confounded Atheists themselves, who deny that*

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that there is any Idea of God at all, must notwithstanding of necessity suppose the contrary; because otherwise, denying his Existence, they should deny the Existence of Nothing. And that they agree also with Theists in the same Idea; The one denying the Existence of that, which the other Asserteth, That an Understanding Nature is the Original of all things. This Idea of God, as containing Oneliness and Singularity in it, not only largely Defended and made good against that Objection from the Pagan Polytheism; but also Proved, that the Generality of Mankind have a Natural Prolepsis or Anticipation in their Minds, concerning the Real and Actual Existence of such a Being. Atheists but Monsters, and Anomalies of mankind. This a sufficient Confutation of the First Atheistick Argument.

Page 633, 634

Nevertheless, That Atheists may not Pretend, any of their Strength to be Concealed; all their Particular Exceptions against the Idea of God here Declared, being Five. Their First Exception, That we can have no Idea nor Thought of any thing not Subject to Sense; much less any Evidence of the Existence thereof. The Answer. First, That whereas the Atheists suppose Sense to be the Only Knowledge, or at least Original Knowledge; Sense as such is not Knowledge, or Understanding; because if it were, then everyone that sees Light and Colours, or feels Heat and Cold, would understand Light and Colours, Heat and Cold. Plainly proved also, from that Atomick Philosophy, (which the Epicurean Atheists so much pretend to,) That there is a Higher Faculty of the Soul, which Judges of Sense, detects the Phantasm thereof, resolves Sensible Things into Intelligible Principles, &c. No Passion able to make a Judgement, either of it self, or of other things. The Confounded Democritus himself, sometimes acknowledged Sense to be but Seeming and Phantasm, and not to reach to the Absolute Truth and Reality of Things. He therefore Exploded Qualities out of the Rank of Entities, because Unintelligible; concluding them to be but our Own Phantasms. Undeniably Evident, that we have Idea's, Notions, and Thoughts, of many things that never were in Sense, and whereof we have no Genuine Phantasms. Atheists attend not to their own Cogitations. That Opinion, That there is Nothing in the Understanding which was not before in Sense, False and Atheistick. Men having a Notion of a Perfect Understanding Being, the Cause of all things, as the Object of their Devotion; the Atheists notwithstanding, would here Perswade them that they have none, and that the thing is a Non-Entity, merely because they have no Sensible Idea, or Phantasm thereof. And so may

they as well prove, not onely Reason and Understanding, Appetite and Volition, to be Non-Entities; but also Phancy and Sense it self; neither of these falling under Sense, but onely the Objects of them. Were God indeed Corporeal, as some mistaken Theists suppose, yet his Essence chiefly consisting in Mind and Understanding, this of him could not possibly be subject to Sense. But that there is also Substance Incorporeal, which therefore in its own Nature is Insensible, and that the Deity is such, will be elsewhere Demonstrated.

Page 634, 637

Though the Evidence of Singular Bodies Existing, depend upon the Information of Sense; yet the Certainty of this very Evidence, not from Sense alone, but a Complication of Reason and Understanding with it. Sense Phantastical, not reaching to the Absolute Truth of things; and obnoxious to Delusion. Our own Imaginations, taken for Sensations and Realities, in Sleep, and by Melancholized persons when awake. Atomick Atheists themselves, assert the Existence of such things as they have no Sense of; Atoms, Membranes, or Exuvius Images of Bodies, nay Incorporeal Space. If the Existence of Nothing, to be acknowledged, which falls not under Sense, then not the Existence of Soul and Mind. God the Great Mind, that Rules the whole Universe; whence our Imperfect Minds derived. The Existence of that God, whom no Eye can see, Demonstrated by Reason from his Effects.

637, 638

The Second Atheistick Pretence against the Idea of God, and his Existence; from Theists own acknowledging Him to be Incomprehensible; from whence they infer him to be a Non-Entity. Here perhaps it may be Granted, in a right Sense, that whatsoever is altogether Unconceivable, is either in It self, or at least to Us, Nothing. How that of Protagoras, That Every man is the measure of all things to himself, in his Sense false. Whatsoever any man's shallow understanding cannot clearly comprehend, not therefore to be presently expunged out of the Catalogue of Beings. Nevertheless according to Aristotle, the Soul and Mind in a manner All things. This a Crystalline Globe, or Notional World, that hath some Image in it of whatsoever is contained in the Real Globe of Being.

638

But this Absolutely False; That whatsoever cannot be fully Comprehended by us, is therefore utterly Unconceivable, and consequently Nothing. For we cannot fully Comprehend Our selves, nor have such an Adequate Conception of any Substance, as perfectly to Master and Conquer the same. That of the Scepticks so far True, That there is Something Incomprehensible in the Essence of Every thing; even of Body it self.

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self. Truth Bigger then our Minds. Proper to God Almighty, (who alone is wise) perfectly to Comprehend the Essences of all things. But it follows not from hence, that therefore we have no Idea nor Conception at all of any thing. We may have a Notion or Idea of a Perfect Being, though we cannot fully Comprehend the same by Our Imperfect Minds; as we may See and Touch a Mountain, though we cannot Enclasp it all round within our Arms. This therefore a False Theorem of the Atheists, That whatsoever cannot be fully Comprehended by Mens Imperfect Understandings, is an Absolute Non-Entity. Page 638, 639

Though God more Incomprehensible then other Things, because of his Transcendent Perfection; yet hath he also more of Conceptibility: as the Sun, though dazzling our Sight, yet hath more of Visibility, also, then any other Object. The Dark Incomprehensibility of the Deity, like the Azure Obscurity of the Transparent Ether, not any thing Absolutely in itself, but only Relative to us. 639, 640

This Incomprehensibility of the Deity so far from being an Argument against its Existence, that certain, on the Contrary, were there Nothing Incomprehensible to our Imperfect Minds, there could be no God. Everything Apprehended by some Internal Congruity. The Scantiness and Imperfection of our Narrow Understandings, must needs make them Asymmetrical or Incommensurate, to what Absolutely Perfect. 640

Nature it self Intimates, That there is Something Vastly Bigger then our Mind and Thoughts, by those Passions Implanted in us, of Devout Veneration, Adoration, and Admiration, with Ecstasie and Pleasing Horrour. That of the Deity which cannot enter into the Narrow Vessels of our Minds, must be otherwise apprehended, by their being Plunged into it, or Swallowed up and Lost in it. We have a Notion or Conception of a Perfect Being, though we cannot fully Comprehend the same; because our selves being Imperfect, must needs be Incommensurate thereunto. Thus no Reason at all, in the Second Atheistick Pretence, against the Idea of God, and his Existence; from his Confessed Incomprehensibility. ibid.

The Third follows, That Infinity, supposed to be Essentiall to the Deity, is a thing Perfectly Unconceivable, and therefore an Impossibility, and Non-Entity. Some Passages of a Modern Writer to this purpose. The meaning of them. That there is Nothing of Philosophick Truth in the Idea or Attributes of God, nor any other Sense in the words, then only to signify the Veneration and Astonishment of mens own Minds. That the word Infinite, signifies Nothing in the Thing it self so called, but

only the Inability of our Understandings, and Admiration. And since God by Theists, is denied to be Finite, but cannot be Infinite, therefore an Unconceivable Nothing. Thus another Learned Well-willer to Atheism, That we have no Idea of Infinite, and therefore not of God. Which in the Language of Atheists, all one as to say, that He is a Non-Entity. Page 640, 641

Answer. This Argument, That there can be nothing Infinite, and therefore no God; proper to the Modern and Neoterick Atheists only; but Repugnant to the Sense of the Ancients. Anaximander's ∞ Infinite Matter, though Melissus his ∞ the True Deity. Formerly both Theists and Atheists agreed in this; That there must be Something or other Infinite, either an Infinite Mind, or Infinite Matter. The ancient Atheists also asserted, a Numericall Infinity of Worlds. Thus do Atheists Confute or Contradict Atheists. 641, 642

That the Modern Atheists do no less Contradict Plain Reason also, and their very Selves, then they do their Predecessours, when they would disprove a God from hence, Because there can be Nothing Infinite. For First, Certain, that there was something or other Infinite in Duration, or Eternal without Beginning: Because, If there had been once Nothing, there could never have been Any thing. But hardly any Atheists can be so Sottish, as in good earnest to think there was once Nothing at all, but afterward Senseless Matter Happened to Be. Notorious Impudence in them, who assert the Eternity of Matter, to make this an Argument against the Existence of a God; Because Infinite Duration without Beginning, an Impossibility. 642, 643

A Concession to the Atheists of these Two Things; That we neither have a Phantasm of any Infinite, because there was never any in Sense; and that Infinity is not fully Comprehensible by Finite Understandings neither. But since, Mathematically Certain, That there was something Infinite in Duration, Demonstrated from hence, against Atheists, That there is Something Really Existing, which we have neither any Phantasm of, nor yet can fully Comprehend in our Minds. ibid.

Further Granted, That as for Infinity of Number, Magnitude, and Time without beginning; as we have no Phantasm nor full Comprehension of them, so have we neither any Intelligible Idea, Notion or Conception: From whence it may be Concluded, That they are Non-Entities. Number Infinite in Aristotle, only in a Negative Sense, because we can never come to an End thereof by Addition. For which very Reason also, there cannot possibly be any Number Positively Infinite, since One or More may always

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always be Added. No Magnitude so Great neither, but that a Greater may be Supposed. By Infinite Space, to be Understood, Nothing but a Possibility of more and more Body, further and further Infinitely, by Divine Power; or that the World could never be made so Great, as that God was not able to make it still Greater. This Potential Infinity, or Indefinity of Body, seems to be mistaken, for an Actual Infinity of Space. Lastly, no Infinity of Time Past, because then there must needs be Time Past, which never was Present. An Argument of a Modern Writer. Reason therefore Concludes, neither the World nor Time, to have been Infinite in Past Duration.

Page 643, 644

Here will the Atheist think, he has got a Great Advantage, for disproving the Existence of a God; They who thus take away the Eternity of the World, taking away also the Eternity of a God. As if God could not be Eternal otherwise, then by a Successive Flux of Infinite Time. But we say, that this affordeth a Demonstration of a God; Because since both the World and Time had a Beginning; there must of necessity be Something, whose Duration is not Successive, but Permanent, which was the Creatour of them both. Wherefore the Atheists can here only make Grimaces, and Quibble upon Nunc-Stans; as if this Standing Eternity of the Deity, were nothing but a Pitifull Moment of Time Standing still; and as if all Duration must needs be the same with ours, &c. 644, 645

Concluded, That Infinite and Eternal, are not Words which signify Nothing in the thing it self, but only the Idle Progress of our Minds, or our own Ignorance, Stupid Astonishment, and Veneration: not meer Attributes of Honour and Complement, but Attributes belonging to the Deity, (and that alone) of the most Philosophick Truth. And though we have no Adequate Comprehension thereof, yet must we have some Notion of that, which we can Demonstrate to belong to Something.

645, 646

But the Thing which the Atheists Principally Quarrel with, is Infinite Power, or Omnipotence; which they pretend also to be utterly Unconceivable, and Impossible, and a Name of Nothing. Where indeed our Modern Atheists have the joint Suffrage of the Ancients also, who concerned themselves in Nothing more, then Disproving Omnipotence, or Infinite Power. ib.

This Omnipotence, either Wilfully or Ignorantly Misrepresented by Atheists, as if it were a Power of doing things Contradictious. An Irony of a Modern Atheist; That God could turn a Tree into a Syllogism. The Absurd Doctrine of Cartesius; That God could have made Twice two, not to have been Four; or the

Three Angles of a Triangle, not to be Equal to two Right. This to make one Attribute of the Deity Devour and Destroy another; Infinite Will and Power, Infinite Understanding and Wisdom. To suppose God to Understand and be Wise, only by Will, Really to give him no Understanding at all. God not so Omnipotent, as that he can destroy the Intelligible Natures of things; which were to Baffle and Befool his own Wisdom. Infinite Power, That which can doe all that is Possible; that is, Conceivable, or Implies no Contradiction. The very Essence of Possibility, Conceptibility. And thus all the Ancient Theists. Absurd for Atheists to say, that a Power of doing Nothing but what is Conceivable, is Unconceivable.

ibid. 646

But because Atheists look upon Infinity as such a Mismo, we shall take off the Vizard from it; by declaring, That it is Really nothing else but Perfection. Infinite Understanding and Knowledge, Perfect Understanding, without any Defect, and the Knowledge of all things Knowable. Infinite Power, Perfect Power; or a Power of doing all things Possible. Infinite Duration, Perfection of Essence. Because Infinity, Perfection; therefore Nothing which includeth any thing of Imperfection in the Essence of it, can be truly and properly Infinite; as Number, Magnitude, and Time: all which can but Counterfeit Infinity. Nothing One way Infinite, which is not so Every way, or a Perfect Being.

647, 648

Now, That we have an Idea of Perfection, plain from that of Imperfection. Perfection First in Order of Nature, as the Rule and Measure. This not the want of Imperfection, but Imperfection the want of Perfection. A Scale or Ladder of Perfections in Nature, Perceived by means of that Idea, which we have of a Being Absolutely Perfect, the Measure of them. Without which, we could not take notice of Imperfection, in the most Perfect of all those things which we ever had Sense of. Boëtius; That whatsoever is Imperfect in any kind, Implies something in that kind Perfect, from whence it was derived. And that the Nature of things took not Beginning, from any thing Incomplete and Imperfect; but descended downward, from what was Absolutely Perfect, by steps and degrees, Lower and Lower.

648

Wherefore since Infinite, the same with Perfect; we having a Notion of the Latter, must needs have of the Former. And though the Word Infinite be Negative, yet is the Sense Positive. Finite the Negation of Infinite, as which in order of Nature is before it; and not Infinite of Finite. However, in things Uncapable of True Infinity; Infinity being here a meer

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Imaginary thing and Non-Entity, can be only conceived by the Negation of Finite, as Nothing is, by the Negation of Something. An Infinite Being, Nothing but a Perfect Being, such as never Was Not, and could produce all things Possible, or Conceivable. Page 648, 649

The Fourth Atheistick Pretence against the Idea of God; That it is an Arbitrary Complement of Contradictious Notions. Where First we deny not, but that as some Religio- nists Extend the Divine Power to things Con- tradictious, so may others compound Contra- dictions together in the Nature of the Deity. But it does not follow from thence, that Theolo- gy itself is therefore Contradictious, no more then that Philosophy is so, because some Phi- losophers also hold Contradictious things: Or that Nothing is Absolutely True, neither in Divinity, nor Philosophy, but all Seeming, and Phantastical; according to the Protagorean Doctrine. 649, 650

But though it be True, That whatsoever re- ally Implies a Contradiction, is a Non-Entity; yet is this Rule Obnoxious to much Abuse, when whatsoever means shallow Understandings cannot reach to, is therefore presently cried down by them, as an Impossibility or Nothing. As when the Atheists, and Materialists, explode Incorpo- real Substance upon this Pretence; or make it only an Attribute of Honour, expressing the Veneration of Mens Minds, but signifying No- thing in Nature, nor having any Philosophick Truth. But the Atheists true meaning in this Objection, and what kind of Contradictions they are, which they impute to all Theology, may appear from a Passage of a Modern Writer: Namely, such as these; when God is said to Per- ceive Sensible Things, and yet to have no Or- gans of Sense; as also to Understand, and yet to have no Brains. The Un-disguised meaning of the Writer, That Religion is not Philosophy, but Law, and all meer Arbitrary Constitution; nor God a Subject of Philosophy, as all Real Things are; he being no True Inhabitant of the World or Heaven, but only of mens Brains and Phancies; and his Attributes signifying neither True nor False, nor any thing in Nature, but only mens Reverence and Devotion, towards what they Fear. And so may any thing be said of God, no matter what, so it be agreeable to Civil Law. But when men mistake Attributes of Honour, for Attributes of Philosophick Truth; that is, when they will suppose such a thing as a God Really to Exist; then is all Ab- surd Nonsense and Contradiction. God's Understanding without Brains, no Contradi- ction. 650, 651

Certain, That no Simple Idea, as of a Tri- angle, or a Square, can be Contradictious to it

self; much less can the Idea of a Perfect Being, the most Simple of all. This indeed Pregnant of many Attributes, which if Contradictious, would render the whole a Non-Entity; but all the Genuine Attributes of the Deity, as De- monstrable of a Perfect Being, as the Properties of a Triangle, or a Square; and therefore can neither be Contradictious to it, nor one another. Page 652

Nay, the Genuine Attributes of the Deity, not only not Contradictious, but also all Ne- cessarily Connected together. ibid.

In Truth, All the Attributes of the Deity, but so many Partial and Inadequate Concep- tions of One and the Same Perfect Being, taken into our Minds; as it were, by Piece-meal. ibid.

The Idea of God, neither Fictitious, nor Fac- titious. Nothing Arbitrary in it; but a most Natural and Simple Idea, to which not the Least can be Added, nor any thing Detraict from it. Nevertheless, may there be different Apprehensions concerning God; every one that hath a Notion of a Perfect Being, not Under- standing all that Belongeth to it; no more then of a Triangle, or of a Sphear. ibid. 653

Concluded therefore, That the Attributes of God, No Confounded Non-sense of Religiously Astonished Minds, budding up together all Imaginable Attributes of Honour, Courtship, and Complement; but the Attributes of Ne- cessary Philosophick Truth: and such as do not only speak the Devotion of mens Hearts, but also declare the Reall Nature of the thing. Here the Wit of a Modern Atheistick Writer, ill placed. (Though no doubt, but some, either out of Superstition, or Ignorance, may Attribute such things to the Deity, as are Incongruous to its Nature.) Thus the Fourth Atheistick Pre- tence, against the Idea of God, Confuted. 653, 654

In the next place, The Atheists think them- selves concerned, to give an Account of this Un- questionable Phenomenon; the General Persua- sion of the Existence of a God, in the Minds of men, and their Propensity to Religion; whence this should come, if there were no Reall Object for it in Nature. And this they would doe by Im- puting it, partly to the Confounded Nonsense of Astonished Minds, and partly to the Impos- ture of Politicians. Or else to these Three Things; To Mens Fear; and to their Igno- rance of Causes; and to the Fiction of Law- Makers and Civil Sovereigns. 654

The First of these Atheistick Origins of Reli- gion; That Mankind by reason of their Natural Imbecillity, are in continual Solicitude and Fear concerning Future Events, and their Good and Evil Fortune. And this Passion of Fear raises

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raises up in them for an Object to it self, a most Affrightfull Phantasm; of An Invisibile Understanding Being, Omnipotent, &c. They afterwards Standing in awe of this their own Imagination, and Tremblingly Worshipping the Creature of their own Fear and Phancy.

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The Second Atheistick Origin of Theism and Religion; That Men having a Naturall Curiosity, to Enquire into the Causes of things, wheresoever they can discover no Visible and Naturall Causes, are prone to Feign Causes Invisibile and Supernatural. As Anaxagoras said, never to have betaken himself to a God, but onely when he was at a loss for Necessary Materiall Causes. Wherefore no wonder if the Generality of Mankind, being Ignorant of the Causes of all or most Things, have betaken themselves to a God, as to a Refuge and Sanctuary for their Ignorance. 654, 655

These two Accounts of the Phenomenon of Religion; from mens Fear and Solitude and from their Ignorance of Causes and Curiosity; Joyned together by a Modern Writer. As if the Deity were but a Mormo or Bugbear, raised up by mens Fear, in the Darknes of their Ignorance of Causes. The Opinion of other Ghosts and Spirits also, deduced from the same Originall. Mens taking things Casuall for Prognosticks, and being so addicted to Omens, Portents, Prophecies, &c. From a Phantastick and Timorous Supposition, That the things of the World are not disposed of by Nature, but by some Understanding Person. 655

But lest these Two Accounts of the Phenomenon of Religion, should prove Insufficient; the Atheists superadde a Third, Imputing it also to the Fiction and Imposture of Civill Sovereigns; who perceiving an advantage to be made from hence, for the better keeping men in Subjection, have thereupon Dextrously laid hold of mens Fear and Ignorance; and Cherished those Seeds of Religion in them, from the Infirmities of their Nature: Confirming their Belief of Ghosts and Spirits, Miracles, Prodigies, and Oracles, by Tales, publicly Allowed and Recommended. And that Religion might be every way Obsequious to their Desigus; have perswaded the People, that Themselves were but the Interpreters of the Gods, from whom they Received their Laws. Religion an Engin of State; to keep men busily Employed; Entertain their Minds; render them Tame and Gentle, apt for Subjection and Society. 655, 656

All this not the Invention of Modern Atheists. But an Old Atheistick Cabbal; That the Gods made by Fear. Lucretius; That the Causes of Religion, Terror of Mind and Darknes: and that the Empire of the Gods owes all its

Being to mens Ignorance of Causes, as also, that the Opinion of Ghosts proceeded from mens not knowing how to distinguish their Dreams, & other Frightfull Phancies, from Sensations. 656, 657

An Old Atheistick Surmize also; That Religion a Political Invention. Thus Cicero. The Atheists in Plato, That the Gods are not by Nature, but by Art and Laws onely. Critias, one of the Thirty Tyrants of Athens, his Poem to this purpose. 657, 658

That the Folly and Falseness of these Three Atheistick Pretences, for the Origin of Religion, will be fully Manifested. First, As to that of Fear and Phancy. Such an Excess of Fear, as makes any one constantly Believe the Existence of that, for which no manner of Ground, neither in Sense nor Reason, highly tending also to his own Disquiet; Nothing less then Distraction. Wherefore, the generality of mankind here affirmed by Atheists, to be Frighted out of their Wits, and Distempered in their brains; onely a few of themselves, who have escaped this Panick Terrour, remaining Sober or in their Right Senses. The Sobriety of Atheists, nothing but Dull Stupidity, and Dead Incredulity; they Believing onely what they can See or Feel. 658

True, That there is a Religious Fear, Consequent upon the Belief of a God; as also that the Sense of a Deity, is often awakened in mens Minds, by their Fears and Dangers. But Religion no Creature of Fear. None lesse Solicitous about their Good and Evill Fortune, then the Pious and Vertuous, who place not their Chief Happiness in things Aliene, but onely in the Right Use of their own Will. Whereas the Good of Atheists, wholly in things Obnoxious to Fortune. The Timorous Complexion of Atheists; from building all their Politicks and Justice upon the Foundation of Fear. 658, 659

The Atheists Grand Errour here; That the Deity, according to the generall Sense of Mankind, Nothing but a Terriculum, a Formidable, Hurtfull and Undesirable thing. Whereas men every where agree, in that Divine Attribute of Goodness and Benignity. *ibid.*

Φθονος το Δαιμόνιον, in the worst Sense, taken by none but a few Ill-natured Men; painting out the Deity according to their own Likeness. This condemned by Aristotle in the Poets, (he calling them therefore Liars) by Plutarch in Herodotus, as spoken Univerally; Plutarch himself restraining the Sense thereof to his Evill Principle. Plato's ascribing the World to the Divine Goodness: who therefore made all things most like Himself. The true meaning of this Proverb; That the Deity affecteth to Humble and Abase the Pride of men. Lucretius his Hidden Force, that hath as it were a Spite to all Overfelling Greatnesses; could be no other then the Deity. Those

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amongst Christians, who make the worst Representation of God, yet Phansy him Kind and Gracious to Themselves. Page 659, 660

True, that Religion often expressed by the Fear of God. Fear, Prima Mensura Deitatis, the First Impression that Religion makes upon men in this Lapsed State. But this not a Fear of God, as Mischievous and Hurtfull, nor yet as a meer Arbitrary Being, but as Just, and an Impartial Punisher of Wickedness. Lucretius his acknowledging, mens Fear of God to be conjoynd with a Conscience of Duty. A Naturall Discrimination of Good and Evill, with a Sense of an Impartial Justice, presiding over the World, and both Rewarding and Punishing. The Fear of God, as either a Hurtfull, or Arbitrary and Tyrannicall Being, (which must needs be joynd with something of Hatred) not Religion, but Superstition. Fear, Faith, and Love; Three Steps and Degrees of Religion, to the Son of Sirach. Faith better Defined in Scripture, then by any Scholasticks. God such a Being, as if he were not, Nothing more to be Wished for. 660, 661

The Reason why Atheists thus mistake the Notion of God, as a Thing onely to be Feared, and consequently Hated; from their own Ill Nature and Vice. The latter disposing them so much to think, that there is no Difference of Good and Evill by Nature, but onely by Law; which Law Contrary to Nature, as Restraining to Liberty. Hence their denying all Naturall Charity, and Acknowledging no Benevolence, or Good Will, but what arises from Imbecillity, Indigency, and Fear. Their Friendship at best no other, then Mercatura Utilitatum. Wherefore if there were an Omnipotent Deity, this (according to the Atheistick Hypothesis) could not have so much, as that Spurious Love or Benevolence to any thing, because standing in Need of Nothing, and Devoid of Fear. Thus Cotta in Cicero. All this asserted also, by a late Pretender to Politicks; He adding thereunto, that God hath no other Right of Commanding, then his Irresistible Power: nor men any Obligation to obey him, but onely from their Imbecillity and Fear, or because they cannot Resist him. Thus do Atheists Transform the Deity into a Monstrous Shape; an Omnipotent Being that hath neither Benevolence nor Justice in him. This indeed a Mormo or Bugbear. 661,

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But as this a false Representation of Theism; so the Atheistick Scene of things, most Uncomfortable, Hopeless, and Dismall; upon severall Accounts. True, that no Spightfull Deligns

in Senseless Atoms; in which Regard, Plutarch Preferred, even this Atheistick Hypothesis, before that of an Omnipotent Mischievous Being. However, no Faith, nor Hope neither, in Senseless Atoms. Epicurus his Confession, that it was better to believe the Fable of the Gods, then that Materiall Necessity of all things, asserted by the other Atheistick Physiologers, before himself. But he not at all mending the Matter, by his supposed Free Will. The Panick Fear of the Epicureans, of the Frame of Heaven's Cracking, and this Complement of Atoms being dissolv'd into a Chaos. Atheists running from Fear, plunge themselves into Fear. Atheism, rather then Theism, from the Imposture of Fear, Distrust, and Disbelief of Good. But Vice afterwards prevailing in them, makes them Desire, there should be No God. Page 663, 664

Thus the Atheists, who derive the Origin of Religion from Fear, First put an Affrightfull Vizard upon the Deity, and then conclude it to be but a Mormo or Bugbear, the Creature of Fear and Phancy. More likely of the Two, that the Opinion of a God, sprung from Hope of Good, then Fear of Evill; but neither of these True, it owing its Being to the Imposture of no Passion, but supported by the Strongest and clearest Reason. Nevertheless a Naturall Prolepsis, or Anticipation of a God also, in mens Minds, Preventing Reason. This called by Plato and Aristotle, a Vaticination. 664, 665

The Second Atheistick Pretence, to save the Phenomenon of Religion, from the Ignorance of Causes, and mens innate Curiosity, (Upon which Account the Deity said by them, to be nothing but an Asylum of Ignorance, or the Sanctuary of Fools,) next to be Confuted. 665

That the Atheists, both Modern and Ancient, here commonly Complicate these Two together, Fear, and Ignorance of Causes; making Theism the Spawn of both: as the Fear of Children in the Dark, raises Bugbears and Spectres. Epicurus his Reason, why he took such great pains in the Study of Physiology; that by finding out the Naturall Causes of things, he might free men from the Terrour of a God, that would otherwise Assault their Minds. ibid.

The Atheists thus Dabbling in Physiology, and finding out Materiall Causes for some of those Phenomena, which the unskilfull Vulgar save onely from a Deity; therefore Confident, that Religion had no other Originall, then this Ignorance of Causes: as also, that Nature, or Matter,

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Matter, does all things alone without a God. But we shall make it manifest, That Philosophy and the True Knowledge of Causes Lead to a Deity; and that Atheism; from Ignorance of Causes, and want of Philosophy. Page 665, 666

For First, No Atheist, who derives all from Senseless Matter, can possibly assign any Cause of Himself, his own Soul or Mind: it being Impossible, that Life and Sense should be Naturally produced, from what Dead and Senseless; or from Magnitudes, Figures, Sites, and Motions. An Atheistick Objection, nothing to the purpose; That Laughing and Crying things are made out of Not-Laughing and Crying Principles: because these result from the Mechanism of the Body. The Hylozoists never able neither, to produce Animal Sense, and Conscionfness, out of what Senseless and Inconscionf. The Atheists, supposing their own Life and Understanding, and all the Wisdom that is in the World, to have sprung, meerly from Senseless Matter, and Fortuitous Motion; Grossely Ignorant of Causes. The Philosophy of Our Selves, and True Knowledge of the Cause of our own Soul and Mind, brings to God. Page 666, 667

Again, Atheists Ignorant of the Cause of Motion, by which they suppose all things done: this Phenomenon being no way Salvable, according to their Principles. First, undeniably certain, That Motion not Essential to all Body or Matter as such, because then there could have been no Mundane System, no Sun, Moon, Earth, &c. All things being continually Torn in Pieces, and Nothing Cohering. Certain also, That Dead and Senseless Matter, such as that of Anaximander, Democritus, and Epicurus, cannot Move it self Spontaneously, by Will or Appetite. The Hylozoists further considered elsewhere. Democritus could assign no other Cause of Motion, then this, That one Body moved another from Eternity Infinitely; without any First Cause or Mover. Thus also a Modern Writer. To Assert an Infinite Progress in the Causes of Motion, according to Aristotle, to assign no Cause thereof at all. Epicurus, though an Exploder of Qualities, forced here to fly to an Occult Quality, of Gravity. Which, as Absurd in Infinite Space, and without any Centre of Rest; so indeed nothing but to make his own Ignorance, and He Knows not Why, to be a Cause. The Motion of Body, from the Activity of something Incorporeal. Though Motion taken for Translation, be a Mode of Matter; yet as it is taken for the Vis Movens, a Mode, or Energy, of something that is Incorporeal, and Self-Active. The Motion of the whole Corporeal Universe, Originally from the Deity. Thus the Ignorance of the Cause of

Motion, another Ground of Atheism. Page 667 669

Thirdly, The Atheists also Ignorant of the Cause of that Grand Phenomenon, the $\pi\alpha\lambda\alpha\iota$, the Regular and Artificial Frame of the Mundane System, and of the Bodies of Animals; together with the Harmony of all. They who boast they can give Causes of all things, without a God, able to give no Cause of this, but only, that it Happened by Chance so to be. This, either to make the Absence of a Cause, a Cause; (Chance being but the Absence of an Intending Cause) or their Own very Ignorance of the Cause, and They Know not Why, to be a Cause; or to make One Contrary, the Cause of Another; (Confusion of Order and Harmony, Chance of Art and Skill,) or Lastly, to deny it to have any Cause at all, since they deny an Intending Cause. 669

But here the Atheists make several Pretences, for this their Ignorance. First, That the World is not so Well Made, but that it might have been much Better; and many Flaws to be found therein: whereas a God, or Perfect Being, would have Bungled in Nothing, but have made all things after the Best manner. But this a Twelfth Atheistick Argumentation, and the Confutation thereof to be expected afterwards. Reasons why some Modern Theists give Atheists so much advantage here, as to acknowledge Things be Ill Made; whilst the Ancient Pagan Theists stood their Ground, and generously maintained, that Mind being the Maker of all things, and not Blind Fortune or Chance, nor Arbitrary Will, and Irrational Humane Omnipotent; the $\tau\epsilon\beta\lambda\eta\tau\epsilon\varsigma$, That which is Absolutely the Best, in order to the Good of the Whole, (so far as the Necessity of things would admit) the Measure and Rule of Nature, and Providence. 669, 670

Again, the Atomick and Epicurean Atheists Pretend, That though many things serve for Uses, yet it does not therefore follow, that they were made Intentionally for those Uses; because things that Happen by Chance, may have Uses Consequent. Thus Lucretius, and the old Atheistick Philosophers before Aristotle, of the Parts of the Bodies of Animals, and all other things. The Answer, That when things consist of many Parts, all Artificially Proportioned together, with much Curiosity, as for example the Eye; no man who considers the Anatomy thereof, and its whole Structure, can reasonably conclude, that it Happened so to be made; and the Use of Seeing Followed: but that it was made Intentionally for the Use of Seeing. But to maintain, that not only Eyes Happened to be so made, and the Use of Seeing Followed, but also Ears, and a Mouth, and Feet, and Hands, and

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and all the other parts Organical and Similar, (without any of which, the Whole would be Inept or Useless) all their several Uses, Un-Intended, following; Gross Insensibility, and Stupidity. Galen of the Use of Parts. Page 671, 672

Democritus his Dotages; Countenanced also by Cartesius His Book of Meteors, (first written with design to Salve all those Phenomena without a God,) but Unsuccessfully. Nevertheless we acknowledge, That God and Nature doe all things in the most Frugal and Compendious way; and that the Mechanick Powers are taken in, so far as they will serviceably comply with the Intellectual Platform. But Nature not Mechanical and Fortuitous onely, but also Vital and Artificial; the Archeus of the whole World. ibid.

Again, Atheists further Pretend, That though it may well seem strange, that Matter Fortuitously Moved, should, at the very First, fall into such a Regularity and Harmony, as is now in the World; yet not at all strange, that Atoms, moving from all Eternity, and making all manner of Combinations and Contextures, and trying all Experiments, should after innumerable other Inept, and Discongruous Forms, at length fall into such a System as This. They say therefore, That the Earth, at first, brought forth divers Monstrous and Irregular Shapes of Animals; some wanting Feet, some Hands, some without a Mouth, &c. to which the Ancients added Centaurs, Scylla's, and Chimæra's; mixtly Bovi-form, and Homini-form Animals. Though Epicurus, ashamed to own these, would seem to exclude them, but without Reason. But because we have now no such Irregular Shapes Produced out of the Earth, they say that the Reason is, because none could Continue and Propagate their kind by Generation, but onely such as Happened to be fitly made. Thus Epicurus, and the Atheists before Aristotle. They also adde hereunto, their Infinite Worlds; amongst which they Pretend, not one of a Thousand, or of Ten thousand, hath so much Regularity in it as this of ours. Lastly, they Presage likewise, that this World of ours shall not always continue such, but after a while fall into Confusion and Disorder again; and then may we have Centaurs, Scylla's, and Chimæra's as before. 672, 674

Nevertheless, because this Universal and Constant Regularity of things, for so many Ages together, is so Puzzling; they would persuade us, that the Senseless Atoms, Playing and Toying up and down, from Eternity, without any Care or Thought; were at length Taught, by the Necessity of things, and driven to a kind of Trade or Habit of Artificialness and Methodicalness. 674, 675

To all which Atheistick Pretences Replied.

First, That this an Idle Dream, or Impudent Forgery, That there was once an Inept Mundane System; and in this World of ours all manner of Irregular Shapes of Animals: not onely because no Tradition of any such thing; but also because no Reason possibly to be given, why such should not be Produced out of the Earth still, though they could not Continue long. That also Another Atheistick Dream, That in this World of ours, all will quickly fall into Confusion and Nonsense again. And as their Infinite Worlds, an Impossibility, so their Assertion of the Irregularity of the supposed other Worlds, well enough Answered, by a Contrary Assertion; That were every Planet a Habitable Earth, and every Fixed Star, a Sun, having all more or fewer such Habitable Planets moving round about them, and none of them Desert or Un-inhabited; there would not be found so much as one Ridiculous or Inept System amongst them all; the Divine Act being Infinite. Page 675

Again, That the Fortuitous Motions of Senseless Atoms, should in length of Time grow Artificial, and contract a Habit or Trade of Acting as Regularly, as if directed by perfect Art and Wisedome; This Atheistick Fanaticism. 675, 676

No more Possible, That Dead and Senseless Matter, Fortuitously Moved, should at length be Taught, and Necessitated by it self, to produce this Artificial System of the World; then that a dozen or more Persons, unskilled in Musick, and striking the Strings as it Happened, should at length be Taught, and Necessitated to fall into Exquisite Harmony; Or that the Letters in the Writings of Plato and Aristotle, though having so much Philosophick Sense, should have been all Scribbled at randome. More Philosophy in the Great Volume of the World, then in all Aristotle's and Plato's Works; and more of Harmony, then in any Artificial Composition of Vocall Musick. That the Divine Art and Wisedom, hath printed such a Signature of it self upon the Matter of the Whole World, as Fortune and Chance could never Counterfeit. 676, 677

But in the next place, the Atheists will for all this undertake to Demonstrate, That things could not Possibly be made by any Intending Cause, for Ends and Uses; as Eyes for Seeing, Ears for Hearing, from hence, Because things were all in Order of Time, as well as Nature, before their Uses. This Argument seriously propounded by Lucretius in this manner; If Eyes were made for the Use of Seeing, then, of necessity, must Seeing have been before Eyes; But there was no Seeing before Eyes; Therefore could not Eyes be made for the sake of Seeing. 677, 678

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Evident, that the Logick of these Atheists, differs from that of all other Mortalls; according to which, the End for which any thing is designedly made, is only in Intention First, but in Execution Last. True, that Men are Commonly excited, from Experience of things, and Sense of their Wants, to Excogitate Means and Remedies: but it doth not therefore follow, that the Maker of the World could not have a Preventive Knowledge of whatsoever would be Usefull for Animals, and so make them Bodies Intentionally for those Uses. That Argument ought to be thus framed: Whatsoever is made Intentionally for any End, as the Eye for that of Seeing; that End must needs be in the Knowledge and Intention of the Maker, before the Actual Existence of that which is made for it; But there could be no Knowledge of Seeing, before there were Eyes; Therefore Eyes could not be made Intentionally for the sake of Seeing. Page 678

This the True Scope of the Premised Atheistick Argument, however disguised by them in the first Propounding. The Ground thereof, Because they take it for granted, That all Knowledge is derived from Sense, or from the Things Known, Pre-Existing without the Knower. And here does Lucretius Triumph. The Controversy therefore at last resolved into this; Whether all Knowledge be in its own Nature, Junior to Things; for if so, it must be Granted, that the World could not be Made by any Antecedent Knowledge. But this afterwards fully Confuted; and Proved, That Knowledge is not, in its own Nature, Eclypsall, but Archetypall; and that Knowledge was Older then the World, and the Maker thereof. 679

But Atheists will Except against the Proving of a God, from the Regular and Artificiall frame of things; That it is unreasonable to think, there should be no Cause in Nature, for the Common Phænomena thereof; but a God thus Introduced to save them. Which also, to suppose the world Bungled and Botcht up. That Nature is the Cause of Naturall things, Which Nature doth not Intend, nor Act for Ends. Wherefore the Opinion of Finall Causality for things in Nature, but an Idolum Specus. Therefore rightly banished, by Democritus, out of Physiologie. 679, 680

The Answer: Two Extreams here to be avoided, One of the Atomick Atheists, who derive all things from the Fortuitous Motion of Senseless Matter; Another of Bigotticall Religionists, who will have God to doe all things Himself Immediately, without any Nature. The Middle betwixt both, That there is not only a Mechanicall and Fortuitous, but also an Arti-

ficiall Nature, Subservient to the Deity, as the Manuary Opificer, and Drudging Executioner thereof. True, that some Philosophers have absurdly attributed their own Properties or Animal Idiopathies to Inanimate Bodies. Nevertheless, this no Idol of the Cave or Den, to suppose the System of the World to have been framed by an Understanding Being, according to whose Direction, Nature, though not it self Intending, Acteth. Balbus his Description of this Artificiall Nature in Cicero. That there could be no Mind in us, were there none in the Universe. That of Aristotle True, That there is more of Art in some things of Nature, then in any thing Made by Men. Now the Causes of Artificiall things, as a House or Clock, cannot be declared, without Intention for Ends. This Excellently pursued by Aristotle. No more can the Things of Nature be rightly Understood, or the Causes of them fully Assigned, meerly from Matter and Motion, without Intention of Mind. They who banish Finall or Mentall Causality from Philosophy, look upon the Things of Nature, with no other Eyes then Oxen and Horses. Some pitifull Attempts of the Ancient Atheists, to save the Phænomena of Animals, without Mentall Causality. Democritus and Epicurus so cautious, as never to pretend, to give an Account of the Formation of the Foetus. Aristotle's Judgements here to be Preferred before that of Democritus. Page 680, 683

But nothing more Strange, then that these Atheists should be justified in this their Ignorance, by Professed Theists and Christians; who Atomizing likewise, in their Physiologie, contend that this whole Mundane System, resulted onely from the Necessary and Unguided Motion of Matter, either Turned Round in a Vortex, or Jumbled in a Chaos, without the Direction of any Mind. These Mechanick Theists more Immodest then the Atomick Atheists themselves; they supposing these their Atoms, though Fortuitously moved, yet never to have produced any Inept System, or Incongruous Forms; but from the very first, all along, to have Ranged themselves so Orderly, as that they could not have done it better, had they been directed by a Perfect Mind. They quite take away that Argument for a God, from the Phænomena, and that Artificiall Frame of things, leaving onely some Metaphysicall Arguments; which though never so good, yet by reason of their Subtlety, cannot doe so much Execution. The Atheists Gratified to see the Cause of Theism thus betrayed, by its professed Friends; and the Grand Argument for the same, totally Shutt'd by them. 683, 684

As this, Great Insensibility of Mind, to look upon the Things of Nature with no other Eyes then

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then Brute Animals do; so are there Sundry Phænomena, partly Above the Mechanick Powers, and partly Contrary to the same, which therefore can never be Salv'd, without Mentall and Finall Causality. As in Animals, the Motion of the Diaphragma in Respiration; the Systole and Diastole of the Heart (Being a Muscular Constriction and Relaxation) To which might be added others in the Macrocosm: as the Interfection of the Planes of the Equator and Ecliptick; or the Earth's Diurnall Motion upon an Axis not Parallell with that of its Annual. Cartesius his Confession, that according to Mechanick Principles, these should continually come nearer and nearer together; which since they have not done, Finall or Mentall Causality here to be acknowledged; and because it was Best it should be so. But the Greatest Phænomenon of this kind, the Formation and Organization of Animals; which these Mechanists never able to give any Account of. Of that Posthumous Piece of Cartesius, De la Formation Du Fœtus. Page 684, 685

Pretended, That to assign Finall Causes, is to presume our selves to be as Wise as God Almighty, or to be Privy to his Counsells. But the Question, not Whether we can always reach to the Ends of God Almighty, or know what is Absolutely Best in every Case, and accordingly Conclude things therefore to be so; but Whether any thing in the World be made for Ends, otherwise then would have resulted from the Fortuitous Motion of Matter. No Presumption, nor Intrusion into the Secrets of God Almighty, to say, that Eyes were made by him Intentionally for the sake of Seeing. Anaxagoras his Absurd Aphorism, That Man was therefore the most Solert of all Animals, because he Chanced to have Hands. Far more Reasonable to think, (as Aristotle concludeth) That because Man was the wisest of all Animals, therefore he had Hands given him. More proper to give Pipes, to one that hath Musick skill, then upon him that hath Pipes, to bestow Musick skill. 685

In the Last place, The Mechanick Theists Pretend, and that with some more plausibility, That it is below the Dignity of God Almighty, to perform all those Mean and Triviall Offices of Nature, Himself Immediately. This Answered again; That though the Divine Wisdom, it self Contrived the System of the whole, for Ends; yet is there an Artificial Nature under him, as his Inferiour Minister and Executioner. Proclus his Description hereof. This Nature to Proclus, a God or Goddess; but anely as the Bodies of the Animated Stars were called Gods, because the Statues of the Gods. 685,

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That we cannot otherwise Conclude, concerning

these Mechanick Theists, who derive all things in the Mundane System, from the Necessary Motions of Senseless Matter, without the Direction of any Mind or God; but that they are Imperfect Theists, or have a certain Tang of the Atheistick Enthusiasm, (the Spirit of Infidelity) hanging about them. Page 687

But these Mechanick Theists Counterbalanc'd by another sort of Atheists, not Fortuitous nor Mechanick; namely the Hylozoists; who acknowledge the works of Nature to be the works of Understanding, and deride Democritus his Rough and Hooky Atoms, devoid of Life; they attributing Life to all Matter as such, and concluding the Vulgar Notion of a God, to be but an Inadequate Conception of Matter, its Energetick Nature being taken alone by it self as a Compleat Substance. These Hylozoists, never able to satisfy that Phænomenon, of the One Agreeing and Conspiring Harmony throughout the whole Universe: every Atom of Matter, according to them, being a Distinct Perceptient; and these Unable to confer Notions with One another. 687

Nor can the other Cosmo-Plastick Atheists (to whom the whole World, but one Huge Plant or Vegetable, Endued with a Spermatick, Artificiall Nature, Orderly disposing the whole, without Sense or Understanding,) doe any thing towards the Salving of This, or any other Phænomena: it being Impossible, That there should be any such Regular Nature, otherwise then as Derived from, and Depending on, a Perfect Mind. ibid.

Besides these Three Phænomena, of Cogitation, Motion, and the Artificial Frame of things, with the Conspiring Harmony of the Whole, (no way Salvable by Atheists) Here further Added, That those who asserted the Novity of the World, could not possibly give an Account neither, of the First Beginning of Men, and other Animals, nor now Generated out of Putrefaction. Aristotle sometimes doubtfull and staggering concerning the World's Eternity. Men and all other Animals not produced at first by Chance, either as Worms out of Putrefaction, or out of Eggs, or Wombs, growing out of the Earth; Because no Reason to be given, why Chance should not as well produce the same out of the Earth still. Epicurus his vain Pretence, that the Earth, as a Child-bearing Woman, was now grown Effete and Barren. Moreover, Men and Animals, whether first Generated out of Putrefaction, or excluded out of Wombs or Egge-shells, supposed by these Atheists themselves, to have been produced in a Tender, Infant-like State, so that they could neither supply themselves with nourishment, nor defend themselves from harms. A Dream of Epicurus, That

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That the Earth sent forth streams of Milk after those her New-born Infants and Nurslings; Confuted by Critolaus in Philo. Another Precarious Supposition or Figment of Epicurus; That then no immoderate Heats nor Colds, nor any blustering Winds. Anaximander's way of Salving this Difficulty; That Men were first generated and nourished in the bellies of Fishes, till able to shift for themselves; and then disgorged upon dry land. Atheists swallow any thing, rather than a God. Page 688, 689

Wherefore here being Dignus Vindice Nodus, a Gordian Knot, Reasonably introduced, in the Mosaick Cabbala, to solve the same. It appearing, from all Circumstances put together, that this whole Phenomenon surpasses, not only the Mechanick, but also the Plastick Powers; there being much of Discretion therein. However, not denied, but that the Ministry of Spirits (Created before Man, and other Terrestrial Animals) might be here made use of. As in Plato, after the Creation of Immortal Souls, by the Supreme God, the Framing of Mortal Bodies is committed to Junior Gods. 689, 690

Furthermore, Atheists no more able to Salve that ordinary Phenomenon, of the Conservation of Species, by the Difference of Sexes, and a due Proportion of Number, kept up between Males and Females. Here a Providence also, Superiour, as well to the Plastick, as Mechanick Nature. ibid.

Lastly, Other Phenomena, as Real, though not Phycal; which Atheists cannot possibly Salve, and therefore do commonly Deny; as of Natural Justice or Honesty, and Obligation; the Foundation of Politicks, and the Mathematicks of Religion. And of Liberty of Will, not only That of Fortuitous Self-determination, when an equal Eligibility of Objects; but also That which makes men deserve Commendation and Blame. These not commonly distinguished, as they Ought. Epicurus his endeavour to Salve Liberty of Will, from Atoms Declining Uncertainly from the Perpendicular, meer Madness and Frenzy. 690, 691

And now have we already Preventively Confuted the Third Atheistick Pretence, to Salve the Phenomenon of Theism, from the Fiction and Imposture of Politicians; we having proved, That Philosophy, and the true Knowledge of Causes, inferre the Existence of a God. Nevertheless this to be here further Answered. 691

That States-men and Politicians could not have made such use of Religion, as sometimes they have done, had it been a meer Cheat and Figment of their own. Civil Sovereigns in all the distant places of the World, could not have so universally conspired, in this one Piece of

State-craft or Cozenage: nor yet have been able, to possess the Minds of men every-where with such a constant Awe and Dread of an Invisible Nothing. The World would long since have discovered this Cheat, and suspected a Plot upon their Liberty, in the Fiction of a God; at least Governours themselves would have understood it; many of which notwithstanding as much awed with the Fear of this Invisible Nothing, as any Others. Other Cheats and Juggles, when once Detected, no longer Practised. But Religion now as much in Credit as ever, though so long since Decried by Atheists, for a Political Cheat. That Christianity, a Religion Founded in no Humane Policy, prevailed over the Craft and Power of all Civil Sovereigns, and Conquered the Persecuting World, by suffering Deaths and Martyrdoms. This Prefignified by the Prophetick Spirit. Page 691, 692

Had the Idea of God, been an Arbitrarious Figment, not conceivable, how men should have universally agreed in the same, and the Attributes belonging thereunto: (This Argument used by Sextus:) Nor that Civil Sovereigns themselves should so universally have Jumped in it. 692, 693

Furthermore; Not Conceivable, how this Thought or Idea of a God should have been Formed by any, had it been the Idea of Nothing. The Superficialness of Atheists, in Pretending, that Politicians, by telling men of Such a thing, put the Idea into their Minds. No Notions, or Idea's, put into mens minds by Words, but only the Phantasms of the Sounds. Though all Learning be not Remembrance; yet is all Humane Teaching, but Maieutical or Obstetricious; not the Filling of the Soul as a Vessel, by Pouring into it from without; but the Kindling of it from within. Words signifie nothing, to him that cannot raise up within himself the Notions, or Idea's, correspondent to them. However, the Difficulty still remains; How States-men themselves, or the first Inventer of this Cheat, could have framed any Notion at all of a Non-Entity. 693, 694

Here the Atheists Pretend, That there is a Feigning Power in the Soul, whereby it can make Idea's and Conceptions of Non-Entities; as of a Golden Mountain, or a Centaur: and that by this, an Idea of God might be framed, though there be no such Thing. Answer; That all the Feigning Power of the Soul, consisteth only in Compounding Idea's of things, that Really Exist Apart, but not in that Conjunction. The Mind cannot make any New Conceptive Cogitation, which was not Before; as the Painter or Limner cannot Feign Colours. Moreover the whole of these Fictitious Idea's, though it have no Actual, yet

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hath it a Possible Entity. *The Deity it Self, though it could Create a World out of Nothing, yet can it not Create more Cogitation or Conception, then Is, or was always contained in its own Mind from Eternity; nor frame a Positive Idea of that, which hath no Possible Entity.*

Page 694, 695

The Idea of God, no Compliment or Aggregation of things, that Exist Severally, apart in the World; because then it would be a meer Arbitrary thing, and what Every one Pleas'd; the contrary whereunto hath been before manifested.

695

Again; Some Attributes of the Deity, nowhere else to be found in the whole World; and therefore must be Absolute Non-Entities, were there no God. Here the Painter must Feign Colours, and Create New Cogitation, out of Nothing.

ibid.

Lastly; Upon Supposition, That there is no God, it is Impossible not onely, that there should be any for the Future, but also, that there should ever have been any; whereas all Fictitious Idea's must have a Possible Entity, since otherwise they would be Unconceivable, and No Idea's.

ibid.

Wherefore some Atheists will further Pretend; That besides this Power of Compounding things together, the Soul hath another Ampliating, or Amplifying Power; by both which together, though there be no God Existing, nor yet Possible; the Idea of him might be Fictitiously Made: those Attributes which are nowhere else to be found, arising by way of Amplification or Augmentation of Something found in Men.

695, 696

Answer; First, That according to the Principles of these Atheists, that all our Conceptions are nothing but Passions from Objects without; there cannot Possibly be any such Amplifying Power in the Soul, whereby it could make More then Is. Thus Protagoras in Plato; No man can Conceive any thing, but what he suffers. Here also, (as Sextus Intimateth,) the Atheists guilty of that Fallacy, called a Circle or Diallelus. For having First undiscernedly made the Idea of Imperfection, from Perfection; they then goe about again, to make the Idea of Perfection, out of Imperfection. That men have a Notion of Perfection, by which, as a Rule, they Judge things to be Imperfect; Evident from that Direction given by all Theologers, To Conceive of God, in way of Remotion or Abstraction of all Imperfection. Lastly, Finite Things added together, can never make up Infinite; as more and more Time backward, can never reach to Eternity without Beginning. God differs from Imperfect things, not in Degree, but Kind. As for Infinite Space, said to consist of Parts Finite; we certain of no more

then this, that the Finite World might have been made Bigger and Bigger Infinitely; for which very Cause, it could never be Actually Infinite. Gassendus his Objection, That the Idea of an Infinite God, might as well be Feigned, as that of Infinite Worlds. But Infinite Worlds, are but Words or Notions ill Put together, or Combined; Infinity being a Real Thing in Nature, but Misapplied, it being Proper onely to the Deity.

The Conclusion; That since the Soul can neither Make the Idea of Infinite, by Amplification of Finite; nor Feign or Create any New Cogitation, which was not before; nor make a Positive Idea, of a Non-Entity; certain, that the Idea of God, no Fictitious Thing.

697

Further made Evident, That Religion not the Figment of Civil Sovereigns. Obligation in Conscience, the Foundation of all Civil Right and Authority. Covenants without this, Nothing but Words and Breath. Obligation, not from Laws neither; but before them; or otherwise they could not Oblige. Lastly, This derived, not from Utility neither. Were Obligation to Civil Obedience Made by mens Private Utility, then could it be Dissolved by the Same. Wherefore if Religion, a Fiction or Imposture; Civil Sovereignty must needs be so too.

697, 698

Had Religion been a Fiction of Politicians, they would then have made it every way Pliable, and Flexible; since otherwise it would not Serve their Turn, nor consist with their Infinite Right.

698

But Religion in its own Nature, a Stiff, Inflexible thing, as also Justice, it being not Factitious, or Made by Will. There may therefore be a Contradiction, betwixt the Laws of God, and of Men; and in this case does Religion conclude, That God ought to be Obeyed, rather then Men. For this Cause, Atheistick Politicians of Latter times, declare against Religion as Inconsistent with Civil Sovereignty; It destroying Infinite Right, Introducing Private Judgment, or Conscience, and a Fear Greater then that of the Leviathan; to wit, of him who can Inflict Eternal Punishments. Senseless Matter the Atheists Natural God; the Leviathan or Civil Sovereign, his Artificial One. Religion thus disowned and disclaimed by Politicians, as Inconsistent with Civil Power, could not be the Creature of Political Art. Thus all the Three Atheistick Pretences, to Salve the Phenomenon of Religion; from Fear, Ignorance of Causes, and Fiction of Politicians; fully Confuted.

698, 700

But because, besides those Ordinary Phenomena, before mentioned, there are certain other Extraordinary ones, that cannot be Salved by Atheists,

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Atheists, which therefore they will impute, Partly to Mens Fear and Ignorance, and Partly to the Fiction and Imposture of Civil Governours, (*viz.* Apparitions, Miracles, and Prophecies;) the Reality of these, here also to be briefly Vindicated. Page 700

First, as for Apparitions; Though much of Fabulosity in these Relations, yet unquestionably something of Truth. Atheists imputing these things to mens mistaking their Dreams and Phancies for Sensations, Contradict their own Fundamental Principle, That Sense is the onely Criterion of Truth; as also Derogate more from Humane Testimony, then they ought. *ibid.*

That some Atheists Sensible hereof, have acknowledged the Reality of Apparitions, concluding them nevertheless to be the Meer Creatures of Imagination; as if a Strong Phancy could produce Real Substances, or Objects of Sense. The Fanaticism of Atheists, who will rather Believe the greatest Impossibilities, then endanger the Being of a God. Invisible Ghosts Permanent, easily introduce One Supreme Ghost of the whole World. 700, 701

Democritus yet further Convinced; That there were Invisible Beings Superiour to Men, Independent upon Imagination, and Permanent; (called by him Idols) but having nothing Immortal in them; and therefore that a God could be no more proved from the Existence of them, then of Men. Granted by him, that there were, not onely Terrestrial, but also Aerial and Etherial Animals; and that all those Vast Regions of the Universe above, were not Desert and Uninhabited. Here something of the Fathers, asserting Angels to have Bodies: but more afterwards. 701, 702

To this Phenomenon of Apparitions, may be added those Two others, of Witches and Demoniacks; both of these proving, That Spirits are not Phancies, nor Inhabitants of mens Brains onely, but of the World: as also, That there are some Impure Spirits, a Confirmation of the Truth of Christianity. The Confident Exploders of Witchcraft, suspicious for Atheism. As for Demoniacks or Energumeni, certain from Josephus, That the Jews did not take these Demons or Devils, for Bodily Diseases; but Real Substances, possessing the Bodies of Men. Nor probable, that they supposed, as the Gnosticks afterward, all Diseases to be the Infestation of Evil Spirits; nor yet, (as some think) all Demoniacks to be Mad-men. But when there were any Unusual and Extraordinary Symptoms, in any Bodily Distemper, but especially that of Madness, they supposing this to be Supernatural, imputed it to the Infestation of some Devil. Thus also the Greeks. 702, 704

That Demoniacks and Energumeni, are a Real Phenomenon; and that there are such also in these Times of ours, Asserted by Fernelius and Sennertus. Such Maniacal Persons, as not onely discover Secrets, but also speak Languages, which they had never learnt, Unquestionably Demoniacks or Energumeni. That there have been such in the Times since our Saviour, proved out of Plessus; as also from Fernelius. This for the Vindication of Christianity, against those who suspect the Scripture-Demoniacks for Figments. Page 704, 706

The Second Extraordinary Phenomenon Proposed; That of Miracles, and Effects Supernatural. That there have been such things amongst the Pagans, and since the Times of Christianity too; Evident from their Records. But more Instances of these in Scripture. 706

Two Sorts of Miracles. First, Such as, though they cannot be done by Ordinary Causes, yet may be effected by the Natural Power of Invisible Spirits, Angels, or Demons. As Illiterate Demoniacks, speaking Greek. Such amongst the Pagans that Miracle of the Whetstone, cut in two with a Razor. Secondly, Such as transcend the Natural Power of all Second Causes, and Created Beings. 706, 707

That late Politico-Theological Treatise, denying both these Sorts of Miracles; Inconsiderable, and not deserving here a Confutation. 707

Supposed in Deut. That Miracles of the Former sort, might be done by False Prophets, in Confirmation of Idolatry. Wherefore Miracles alone, not sufficient to confirm every Doctrine. *ibid.*

Accordingly in the New Testament do we read, of Τεῖματα Ψευδῶς Lying Miracles; that is, Miracles done in Confirmation of a Lie, and by the Power of Satan, &c. God permitting it, in way of Probation of some, and Punishment of others. Miracles done for the promoting of Creature-Worship or Idolatry, in stead of Justifying the same, themselves Condemned by it. 708

Had the Miracles of our Saviour been all of the Former Kind onely, yet ought the Jews, according to Moses Law, to have acknowledged him for a True Prophet, he coming in the Name of the Lord, and not Exhorting to Idolatry. Supposed in Deut. That God would not Permit False Prophets to do Miracles, save onely in the Case of Idolatry; or when the Doctrine is discoverable to be False by the Light of Nature; because that would be an Invincible Temptation. Our Saviour, That Eximious Prophet foretold, by whom God would again reveal his Will to the World; and no more out of Flaming Fire. Nevertheless some Miracles of our Saviour

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Christ's such also, as could be done onely by the Power of God Almighty. Page 708, 709

All Miracles evince Spirits; to disbelieve which is, to disbelieve Sense, or Unreasonably to Derogate from Humane Testimony. Had the Gentiles entertained the Faith of Christ, without Miracles, This it self would have been a Great Miracle. 709

The Last Extraordinary Phænomenon, Divination or Prophecy. This also evinces Spirits, (called Gods by the Pagans;) and thus that of theirs True; If Divination, then Gods. 710

Two Sorts of Predictions likewise, as of Miracles. First, such as might proceed from the Natural Prefaging Power of Created Spirits. Such Predictions acknowledged by Democritus, upon account of his Idols. Not so much Contingency in Humane Actions, by reason of Mens Liberty of Will, as some suppose. 710, 711

Another Sort of Predictions of Future Events, Imputable onely to the Supernatural Prescience of God Almighty. Epicurus his Pretence, That Divination took away Liberty of Will; either as Supposing, or Making a Necessity. Some Theists also denying the Prescience of God Almighty, upon the same Account. Certain, That no Created Being can foreknow Future Events, otherwise then in their Causes. Wherefore Predictions of such Events, as had no Necessary Antecedent Causes, Evince a God. 711, 712

That there is Foreknowledge of Future Events, Unforeknowable to Men; formerly the general Perswasion of Mankind. Oracles and Predictions amongst the Pagans, which Evince Spirits; as that of Actius Navius. Most of the Pagan Oracles, from the Natural Prefaging Power of Demons. Nevertheless some Instances of Predictions of a higher kind amongst them; as that of Vectius Valens, and the Sibyls. Thus Balaam, Divinely assisted to Predict our Saviour. 712, 713

Scriptures Triumphant over Pagan Oracles. Predictions concerning our Saviour Christ, and the Conversion of the Gentiles. Amongst which that remarkable one, of the Seventy Weeks. 713, 714

Other Predictions concerning the Fates of Kingdoms, and of the Church. Daniel's Fourth Ten-Horned Beast, the Roman Empire. This Prophecy of Daniel's, carried on further in the Apocalyps. Both of them Prophetick Calendars of Times, to the End of the World. *ibid.*

That this Phænomenon of Scripture-Prophecies, cannot Possibly be Imputed by Atheists, as some others, to Fear, or Ignorance of Causes, or to the Fiction of Politicians. They not onely

Evince a Deity, but also the Truth of Christianity. To this Purpose, of more Use to us, who now live, then the Miracles themselves Recorded in Scripture. Page 714, 715

These Five Extraordinary Phænomena, all of them evince, Spirits to be no Fancies, but Substantiall Inhabitants of the World; from whence a God may be Inferred. Some of them, Immediately prove a Deity. *ibid.*

Here have we not onely fully Confuted all the Atheistick Pretences from the Idea of God, but also by the way, already Proposed several Substantiall Arguments for a Deity. The Existence whereof will now be further proved from its very Idea. *ibid.*

True, That some of the Ancient Theists themselves, Declare God Not to be Demonstrable. Thus Alexander Aphrodis. Clemens Alexand. But their meaning therein no more then this, That God cannot be Demonstrated à Priori, from any Antecedent Necessary Cause. Not follow from hence, That therefore no Certainty, or Knowledge of the Existence of a God; but onely Conjectural Probability, Faith, and Opinion. We may have a Certain Knowledge of things, the *idon* whereof cannot be Demonstrated à Priori; as, That there was Something or other Eternal, without Beginning. Whensoever a thing is Necessarily Inferred, from what is altogether Undeniable, this may be called a Demonstration. Many Geometrical Demonstrations such; or of the *en* onely. 715, 716

A Sceptical Position of Cartesius; That there can be no Certainty of any thing, no not of Geometrical Theorems, nor Common Notions; before we be Certain of the Existence of a God, Essentially Good, who therefore cannot Deceive. From whence it would follow, That neither Atheists, nor such Theists, as assert an Arbitrary Deity, can ever be certain of anything; as That, Two and Two are Four. 716, 717

However some appearance of Piety in this Assertion; yet is it a Foundation of Eternal Scepticism, both as to all other things, and the Existence of a God. That Cartesius here went Round in a Circle, proving the Existence of a God, from our Faculties; and then the Truth of our Faculties, from the Existence of a God; and consequently Proved nothing. If it be possible, that our Faculties might be False, then must we confess it possible, that there may be no God; and Consequently remain for ever Sceptical about it. *ibid.*

Wherefore a Necessity of Exploding and Confuting this New Sceptical Hypothesis, of the Possibility of our Faculties being so made, as to Deceive us, in all our Clearest Perceptions. Omnipotence it self cannot make any thing to be Indifferently True or False. Truth not Factitious. As

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As to the Universal Theorems of Abstract Science, the Measure of Truth, no Forrein or Extraneous thing, but only our own Clear and Distinct Perception. Here whatsoever is Clearly Perceived, Is. The very Essence of Truth, Perceptibility. Granted by all, That there can be no False Knowledge or Understanding. The Perception of the Understanding, never False, but only Obscure. Not Nature that Erreth in us, but We Our selves, in Assenting to things not Clearly Perceived. Conclusion; That Omnipotence cannot Create any Understanding Faculties, so as to have as Clear and Distinct Conceptions of all Fallhoods and Non-Entities, as of Truths: because whatsoever is Clearly and Distinctly Perceived, hath therefore an Entity; and Omnipotence it self (to speak with Reverence) cannot make Nothing, to be Something, or Something Nothing. This no more, then That it cannot doe Things Contradictious. Conception the Measure of Power. Page 717, 719

True, That Sense as such, is but Phantastical and Relative: and were there no other Perception, all Truth would be Private, Relative, and Seemings; none Absolute. This probably the Reason, why some have suspected the same of Knowledge also. But Mind and Understanding reaches beyond Phancy and Appearance, to the Absoluteness of Things. It hath the Criterion of Truth within it self. 719, 720

Objected; That this an Arrogance, for Creatures to Pretend to an Absolute Certainty of any thing. Answer; That God alone is Ignorant of Nothing, and Infallible in All things: but no Derogation from the Deity, to suppose, that he should make Created Minds such, as to have a Certainty of Something; as the Whole to be Greater then the Part, and the like: since otherwise they would be but a meer Mockery. Congruous to think, that God hath made Men so, as that they may Possibly attain to some Certainty of his own Existence. Origen, That Knowledge is the only thing that hath Certainty in it. 720, 721

Having now some Firm Ground or Footing to stand upon; a Certainty of Common Notions, without which nothing could be proved by Reason; we shall endeavour by means hereof, to Demonstrate the Existence of a God from his Idea. ibid.

Cartesius his Undertaking to doe this with Mathematical Evidence; as this Idea includeth in it Necessary Existence. This Argument hitherto not so Successfull, it being by many concluded to be a Sophism. That we shall impartially set down all that we can, both For it, and Against it; leaving others to make a Judgment. 721

First, Against the Cartesian Demonstration of

a God. That because we can frame an Idea of a Necessarily Existent Being, it does not at all follow, that It Is; since we can frame Idea's of things, that Never Were, nor Will be. Nothing to be gathered from hence, but only that it is Not Impossible. Again, from this Idea, Including Necessary Existence, nothing else Inferrible, but That, what hath no Necessary Existence, is not Perfect; and, That if there be a Perfect Being, its Existence always was, and will be Necessary: but not Absolutely, That it doth Exist. A Fallacy, when from the Necessity of Existence affirmed only Hypothetically, the Conclusion is made Absolutely. Though a Perfect Being, Must Exist Necessarily; yet not therefore follow, that it Must and Doth Exist. The Latter a thing Indemonstrable. Page 721,

723

For the Cartesian Demonstration of a God. As from the Notion of a thing Impossible, we conclude, That it never was nor Will be; and of that which hath a Contingent Schesis to Existence, That it Might be, or Might not be; so from that which hath Necessary Existence in its Nature, That it Actually Is. The force of the Argumentation, not meerly Hypotheticall, If there be a Perfect Being, then is its Existence Necessary; because this supposes, that a Necessary Existent Being, is Contingent to be, or not to be: which a Contradiction. The Absurdity of this will better appear, if instead of Necessary Existence, we put in Actuell. No Theists can otherwise prove, that a God, though supposed to Exist, might not Happen by Chance to Be. Nevertheless God, or a Perfect Being, not here Demonstrated à Priori, when from its own Idea. The Reader left to make a Judgment.

723, 724

A Progymnasma, or Prælusory Attempt, towards the proving of a God from his Idea, as including Necessary Existence. First, From our having an Idea of a Perfect Being, Implying no manner of Contradiction in it, it follows, that such a thing is Possible. And from that Necessary Existence Included in this Idea, added to the Possibility thereof, it further follows, that it Actually Is. A Necessary Existent Being, if Possible, Is; because upon the supposition of its Non-Existence, it would be Impossible for it, ever to have been. Not so in Contingent things. A Perfect Being, is either Impossible to have Been, or else it Is. Were God Possible, and yet Not, He would not be a Necessary, but Contingent Being. However no Stress laid upon this.

724, 725

Another Plainer Argument, for the Existence of a God, from his Idea. Whatsoever we can frame an Idea of in our Minds, implying no Contradiction, this either Actually Is, or else (b 3) if

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if it Be Not, is Possible to Be. But if God Be Not, he is not Possible to Be. Therefore He Is. The Major before Proved, That we cannot have an Idea of any thing, which hath neither Actuell nor Possible Existence. Page 725

A Further Ratiocination from the Idea of God, as including Necessary Existence, by certain Steps. First, Certain, that something or other did Exist of It self from Eternity, without Beginning. Again, Whatsoever did Exist of It self from Eternity, did so Exist Naturally and Necessarily, and therefore there is a Necessary Existent Being. Thirdly, Nothing could Exist of It self from Eternity Naturally and Necessarily, but what contained Necessary Self-Existence in its Nature. Lastly, A Perfect Being, and nothing else, containeth Necessary Existence in its Nature. Therefore It Is. An Appendix to this Argument; That no Temporary Successive Being, could be from Eternity without Beginning. This Proved before. 725, 726

Again, The Controversie betwixt Atheists and Theists, First Clearly Stated from the Idea of God, and then Satisfactorily Decided. Premised; That as every thing was not Made, so neither was every thing Unmade. Atheists agree in both. The State of the Controversie betwixt Theists and Atheists; Whether that which being it self Unmade, was the Cause of all other things Made, were the Most Perfect, or the Most Imperfect Being. A certain kind of Atheistick Theism, or Theogonism, which acknowledging a God, or Soul of the World, pretending over the Whole, supposed him notwithstanding, to have Emerged out of Night and Chaos; that is, to have been Generated out of Senseless Matter. 726, 728

The Controversie thus Stated, easily Decided. Certain, That Lesser Perfection may be derived from Greater, or from that which is Absolutely Perfect; but Impossible, That Greater Perfection, and Higher Degrees of Entity, should rise out of Lesser and Lower. Things did not Ascend, but Descend. That Life and Sense may Naturally rise from the meer Modification of Dead and Senseless Matter; as also Reason and Understanding from Sense; the Philosophy of the Kingdom of Darknes. The Hylozoists so Sensible of this, that there must be some Substantial Unmade Life and Understanding; that Atheizing, they thought it Necessary to Attribute Life and Understanding to all Matter, as such. This Argument, a Demonstration of the Impossibility of Atheism. 728, 729

The Controversie again more Particularly Stated, from the Idea of God, as including Mind and Understanding in it. Viz. Whether

all Mind were Made or Generated out of Senseless Matter; or Whether there were an Eternal Unmade Mind, the Maker of all. This the Doctrine of Theists, That Mind the Oldest of all things; of Atheists, That it is a Postnate thing, Younger then the World, and an Umbratile Image of Real Beings. Page 729

The Controversie thus Stated, again Decided. Though it does not follow, That if once there had been no Corporeal World or Matter, there could never have been any; yet it is certain, That if once there had been no Life nor Mind, there could never have been any Life or Mind. Our Imperfect Minds, not Of Themselves from Eternity, and therefore Derived from a Perfect Unmade Mind. 729, 730

That Atheists think, their chief strength to lie here, in their Disproving a God, from the Nature of Understanding and Knowledge. According to them, Things made Knowledge, and not Knowledge Things. All Mind and Understanding, the Creature of Sensibles, and a Phantastick Image of them: and therefore no Mind their Creatour. Thus does a Modern Writer conclude, That Knowledge and Understanding is not to be Attributed to God, because it implieth Dependence upon Things without; which is all one as if he should have said, That Senseless Matter is the most Perfect of all things, and the Highest Numen. 730

A Compendious Confutation of the Premised Atheistick Principles. Knowledge not the Activity of Sensibles upon the Knower, and his Passions. Sensible things themselves, not Known by the Passion, or Phancy of Sense. Knowledge not from the Force of the Thing Known, but of the Knower. Besides Phantasms of Singular Bodies, Intelligible Idea's Universal. A late Atheistick Paradox, That Universals, nothing but Names. Axiomatical Truths in Abstract Sciences no Passion from Bodies by Sense, nor yet gathered by Induction from Many Singulars; we at once Perceiving it Impossible, that they should be otherwise. An Ingenious Observation of Aristotle's; That could it be Perceived by Sense, the Three Angles of a Triangle to be Equal to Two Right; yet would not this be Science, or Knowledge, Properly so called: which is of Universals First, and from thence descends to Singulars. 730, 732

Again; We have Conceptions of things Incorporeal, as also of such Corporeals as never did Exist, and whose Accuracy Sense could not reach to: as a Perfect straight Line, and Plain Superficies, an Exact Triangle, Circle, or Sphear. That we have a Power of framing Idea's of things that never were nor will be, but onely Possible. 732

Inferred from hence, That Humane Science

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it self, not the meer Image and Creature of Singular Sensibles, but Proleptical to them. and in order of Nature Before them. But since there must be *Non-ēn*, before *Nōs*, Intelligibles, before Intellection; the onely true Account of Knowledge and its Original, is from a Perfect Omnipotent Being, Comprehending it self, and the Extent of its own Power, or the Possibilities of all things, their Relations and Immutable Truths. And of this one Perfect Mind, all Imperfect Minds Partake. Page 732,

733

Knowledge therefore in the Nature of it, supposeth the Existence of a Perfect Omnipotent Being, as its *Non-ēn*, or Intelligible. This Comprehending it self, the First Original Knowledge, a Mind before the World, and all Sensibles, not *Eūypall*, but *Archetypall*, and the Framers of all. Wherefore not Atheism, but Theism, Demonstrable from Knowledge and Understanding.

733, 734

This further Confirmed from hence; Because there are Eternal Verities, such as were never Made, nor had any Beginning. That the Diagonal of a Square, Incommensurable to the Sides, an Eternal Truth to Aristotle. Justin Martyr's *αἰώνια λόγια*, or Eternal Moralls, Geometrical Truths, not Made by any man's Thinking, but before all Men; as also before the World and Matter it self.

734

Now if there be Eternal Verities, the Simple Reasons and Intelligible Essences of Things, must needs be Eternal likewise. These called by Plato, Things that Always Are, but were never Made, Ingenerable and Incorruptible. However Aristotle quarrels with Plato's Idea's, yet does he also agree with him in this, That the Forms or Species of things, were Eternal, and Never Made; and that there is No Generation of them; and that there are other things besides Sensibles, the Immutable Objects of Science. Certain, That there could be no Immutable Science, were there no other Objects of the Mind, but Sensibles. The Objects of Geometrical Science, no Material Triangles, Squares, &c. These, by Aristotle, said to be No where. The Intelligible Natures of things to Philo, the most Necessary Essences.

735, 736

Now if there be Eternal Truths, and Intelligibles, whose Existence also is Necessary; since these can be no where but in a Mind; there must be an Eternal, Necessarily Existing Mind, Comprehending all these Idea's and Truths at once, or Being them. Which no other, then the Mind of a Perfect Omnipotent Being, Comprehending it self, and all Possibilities of things, the Extent of its own Power.

736, 737

Wherefore there can be but One onely Original Mind; which all other Minds Partake

of. Hence Idea's, or Notions, exactly alike in several men; and Truths Indivisibly the Same: Because their Minds all Stamped with the same Original Seal. Themistius; That One man could not Teach Another, were there not the same Notion both in the Learner and Teacher. Nor could men confer together as they doe, were there not One Mind, that All Partaked of. That Anti-Monarchical Opinion, of Many Understanding Beings Eternal, and Independent; Confuted. And now have we not onely asserted the Idea of God, and Confuted all the Atheistick Pretences against it; but also from this Idea, Demonstrated his Existence.

Page 737, 738

S E C T. II.

A Confutation of the Second Atheistick Argument, Against Omnipotence and Divine Creation; That Nothing can by any Power whatsoever, be Made out of Nothing. In Answer to which, Three things to be Insisted on. First, That *De Nihilo Nihil*, Nothing out of Nothing, is in some Sense an Axiome of Unquestionable Truth, but then makes Nothing against Theism, or Divine Creation. Secondly, That Nothing out of Nothing, in the Sense of the Atheistick Objectors, viz. That Nothing which once was Not, could by any Power whatsoever, be brought into Being, is Absolutely False; and that if it were True, it would make no more against Theism, then it doth against Atheism. Lastly, That from this very Axiome, Nothing from Nothing, in the True Sense thereof, the Absolute Impossibility of Atheism is Demonstrable.

738

De Nihilo Nihil, Nothing from Nothing, in some Sense, is a Common Notion of Unquestionable Truth. For First, Certain, That Nothing which once was Not, could ever Of It Self come into Being; or, That Nothing can take beginning of Existence from It self; or, That Nothing can be Made or Produced, without an Efficient Cause. From whence Demonstrated, That there was never Nothing; or, That every thing was not Made, but Something did Exist of It Self from Eternity, Unmade, or Underived from any thing else.

738, 739

Again, Certain also, That Nothing could be Efficiently Produced by what hath not at least Equal Perfection, and a Sufficient Active or Productive Power. That of an Effect, which Transcends the Perfection of its supposed Cause, must Come from Nothing, or be Made without a Cause. Nor can any thing be Produced by another, though having Equal Perfection; unless it have also a Sufficient Active or Productive

ductive

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ductive Power. Hence Certain, That were there once no Motion at all in the world, and no other Substance besides Body, which had no Self-Moving Power, there could never Possibly be any Motion or Mutation to all Eternity, for want of a Sufficient Cause; or Productive Power. No Imperfect Being, hath a Productive Power of any New Substance, which was not before, but onely of New Accidents and Modifications; that is, No Creature can Create. Which Two forementioned Senses respect the Efficient Cause.

Page 739

Thirdly, Nothing can be Materially Produced out of Nothing Præ-Existing or Inexisting. And therefore in all Natural Generations (where the Supernaturall Power of the Deity interposes not) No New Reall Entity or Substance Produced, which was not Before, but onely New Modifications of what Substantially Præ-Existed.

739, 740

Nothing out of Nothing, so much Insisted on by the old Physiologers before Aristotle, in this Sense; commonly misunderstood by Modern Writers, as if they designed thereby, to take away all Divine Creation out of Nothing Præ-Existing. Granted, This to have been the Sense of the Stoicks and of Plutarch; He affirming, the World to have been no otherwise Made by God, then a Houfe is by a Carpenter, or a Garment by a Tailour. Plutarch and the Stoicks therefore, Imperfect Theists, but nevertheless Zealous Religionists. But the Ancient Italick Philosophers here Aïed onely as Physiologers, and not as Theologers, or Metaphysicians; they not directing themselves, against a Divine Creation out of Nothing Præ-Existing; but onely contending, That neither in Naturall Generations, any new Reall Entity was Created, nor in Corruptions, Annihilated; but onely the Modifications of what before Existed, Changed: or, That No New Reall Entity could be Made out of Matter.

740, 741

That this was the True meaning of those Ancient Physiologers, Evident from the Use which they made of this Principle, Nothing out of Nothing; Which Twofold. First, Upon this Foundation, they Endeavoured to establish a Peculiar Kind of Physiology, and some Atomology or other, either Similar or Dissimilar; Homœomery or Anomœomery. Anaxagoras from hence concluded, because Nothing could be Made out of Nothing Præ-Existing and Inexisting, that therefore there were in every Body, Similar Atoms, of all Kinds, out of which, by Concretions, and Secretions, all Naturall Generations Made; so that Bone was Made out of Bony Atoms Præ-Existing and Inexisting; Flesh out of Flethy, and the like. This the Anaxagorean Homœomery, or Similar Atomolo-

gy, built upon this Princile, Nothing out of Nothing.

Page 741, 742

But the Ancient Italicks, both before and after Anaxagoras, (whom Leucippus, Democritus, and Epicurus here followed) with greater Sagacity concluded, from the same Principle, Nothing out of Nothing; That those Qualities and Forms of Bodies, Naturally Generated and Corrupted, were therefore no Reall Entities, distinct from the Substance of Matter, but onely Different Modifications thereof, Causing Different Phancies in us; and this an Anomœomery, or Dissimilar Atomology, the Atoms thereof being Devoid of Qualities. Those Simple Elements or Letters (in Nature's Alphabet) out of which, variously Combined, these Philosophers Spelled out, or Compounded all the Syllables and Words (or Complexions) of Corporeall Things, Nothing but Figure, Site, Motion, Rest, and Magnitude of Parts. Were Qualities and Forms, Reall Entities distinct from these, and not Præ-Existing, (as Anaxagoras dreamed) they must then have come from Nothing, in Naturall Generations; which Impossible.

742, 743

Another Improvement of this Principle, Nothing out of Nothing, made by the Italick Philosophers; That the Souls of Animals, especially Humane, since they could not Possibly result from the meer Modifications of Matter, Figure, Site, Motion, &c. were not Produced in Generations, nor Annihilated in Deaths and Corruptions; but being Substantiall things, did Præ and Post Exist. This set down as the Controversy betwixt Atheists and Theists, in Lucretius; Whether Souls were Generated, or Insinuated into Bodies. Generations and Corruptions of Animals, to these Pythagoreans, but Anagrammatical Transpositions. That those Philosophers who asserted the Præ-Existence and Ingenerability of Souls, did not therefore Suppose them to have been Self-Existent and Uncreated, but derived them all from the Deity. Thus Proclus, though maintaining the Eternity of Souls, with the World. The Ingenerability of Souls in Plato's Timæus, no more then this, that they were not Generated out of Matter: and for this Cause also, were they called Principles, in the same Sense, as Matter was so accounted. Souls therefore to Plato, Created by God, though not In the Generation of Animals, but Before.

743, 745

Saint Austine himself, Sometime Staggering and Sceptical, in the Point of Præ-Existence. That we have a Philosophick Certainty of no more then this, That Souls were Created by God, out of Nothing Præ-Existing, some time or other; either In Generations, or Before them. That unless Brutes be meer Machines, the Reason the same also, concerning Brutish Souls; That these not Generated out of Matter, but Created,

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Created, sometime or other, by the Deity; as well as the Matter of their Bodies was. Page

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That all these Three Forementioned Particulars, wherein it is True, that Nothing can Possibly come from Nothing, are reducible to this One Generall Propolition, That Nothing can be Caused by Nothing; which will no way clash with the Divine Omnipotence or Creative Power, as shall be shewed afterwards; but Confirm the same. But those same words, Nothing out of Nothing, may carry another Sense; when that ἐκ οὐκ ὅτι, Out of Nothing, is not taken Causally, but onely to signify the Terminus A Quo, the Term From which, or an Antecedent Non-Existence: and then the meaning thereof will be, That Nothing which before was Not, could afterwards, by any Power whatsoever, be brought into Being. And this the Sense of the Democritick and Epicurean Objectors; viz. That no Reall Entity can be Made, or Brought out of Non-Existence into Being; and therefore the Creative Power of Theists, an Impossibility.

ibid.

Our Second Undertaking, in way of Answer hereunto; To shew That Nothing out of Nothing, in this Sense, is False; as also That, were it True, yet it would make no more against Theism, then it doth against Atheism; and therefore ought not to be used by Atheists, as an Argument against a God. If this Universally True, That Nothing at all which once was Not, could ever be brought into Being, then could there be no Making, nor Causing at all, no Motion nor Action, Mutation or Generation. But our selves have a Power of Producing New Cogitation in our Minds, and New Motion in our Bodies. Wherefore Atheists forced to restrain this Propolition, to Substantialls onely. And here some Deceived with the Equivocation, in this ἐκ οὐκ ὅτι, Out of Nothing; which may be taken either Causally, or else to signify the Term From which, that is, From an Antecedent Non-Existence; they confounding both these together; whereof the First onely True, the Latter False. Again, Others Staggered with the Plausibility of this Propolition; Partly, because no Artificiall thing (as a House or Garment) can be made by Men, but out of Præ-Existing Matter; and Partly, because Ancient Physiologers maintained the same also, concerning Naturall Generations, That no New Reall Entity or Substance, could be therein Produced; and Lastly, because it is certain, that no Imperfect Created Being, can Create any New Substance: They being therefore apt to measure all Power whatsoever, by these Scantlings. But as easy, for a Perfect Being to Create a World, Matter and all, Out of Nothing, (in this Sense, that is, out of an Antecedent Non-

Existence,) as for us to Create a Thought, or to Move a Finger, or for the Sun to send out Rays. For an Imperfect Substance which once was Not, to be brought into Being by God, this not Impossible, in any of the Forementioned Senses. He having not onely Infinitely Greater Perfection, but also Sufficient Productive or Emanative Power. True, That Infinite Power cannot doe things in their own Nature Impossible; but Nothing thus Impossible, but what Contradictious: and though a Contradiction for any thing, at the same time, to Be and Not Be; yet none at all, for an Imperfect Being, (which is in its Nature Contingent to Existence) after it had Not been, to Be. Wherefore since the making of a Substance to Be, which was not Before, is no way Contradictious, nor consequently, in its own Nature Impossible; it must needs be an Object of Perfect Power.

Page 746, 748

Furthermore, If no Reall Entity or Substance, could possibly be brought out of Non-Existence into Being; then must the Reason hereof be, Because no Substance can Derive its Whole Being from another Substance. But from hence, it would follow, That whatsoever is Substantiall, did not onely Exist from Eternity, but also Of It Self, Independently upon any thing else. Whereas, First, The Præ-Eternity of Temporary Beings, not agreeable to Reason: and then, To suppose Imperfect Substances, to have Existed Of Themselves and Necessarily, is to suppose Something to come from Nothing, in the Impossible Sense; they having no Necessary Self-Existence in their Nature. As they who affirm, all Substance to be Body, and no Body to be able to Move it Self, though supposing Motion to have been from Eternity; yet make this Motion to Come from Nothing, or be Caused by Nothing. What in its Nature Contingently Possible, to Be, or Not Be, could not Exist Of It Self; but must Derive its Being from Something else, which Necessarily Existeth. Plato's Distinction therefore, betwixt Two kinds of Substances, must needs be admitted, That which always Is, and was never Made; and, That which is Made, or had a Beginning.

748, 749

Lastly, If this True, that No Substance Makenable or Productible; it would not onely follow from thence, (as the Epicurean Atheist supposes) that Matter, but also that all Souls, (at least Humanē) did Exist Of Themselves, from Eternity, Independently upon any thing else; it being Impossible, that Mind or Soul, should be a Modification of Senseless Matter, or Result from Figures, Sites, Motions, and Magnitudes. Humane Souls Substantiall, and therefore, according to this Doctrine, must have been Never Made; whereas Atheists stily deny both their Præ, and Post-Existence. Those Pagan Theists,

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who held the Eternity of Humane Minds, supposed them notwithstanding, to have Depended upon the Deity, as their Cause. Before Proved; That there can be but One Understanding Being Self-Existent. If Humane Souls Depend upon the Deity as their Cause, then Doubtless Matter also. Page 749, 750

A Common, but Great Mistake; That no Pagan Theist ever acknowledged any Creative Power out of Nothing; or else, That God was the Cause of any Substance. Plato's Definition of Effective Power, in General, and his Affirmation, That the Divine Efficiency is that, whereby things are Made; after they had Not been. Certain, That he did not understand this, of the Production of Souls out of Matter, he supposing them to be Before Matter, and therefore Made by God out of Nothing Præ-Existing. All Philosophers, who held the Immortality and Incorporeity of the Soul, asserted it to have been Caused by God, either in Time, or from Eternity. Plutarch's Singularity here. Unquestionable, That the Platonists supposed, One Substance to receive its whole Being from Another; in that they derive their Second Hypostasis or Substance, though Eternal, from the First; and their Third from Both; and all Inferiour Ranks of Beings from all Three. Plotinus, Porphyrius, Iamblichus, Hierocles, Proclus, and Others, derived Matter from the Deity. Thus the Chaldee Oracles; and the old Egyptian, or Hermaick Theology also, according to Iamblichus. Those Platonists who supposed the World and Souls Eternal, conceived them to have received their Being, as much from the Deity, as if Made in Time. 750, 752

Having now Disproved this Proposition, Nothing out of Nothing, in the Atheistick Sense, viz. That no Substance was Caused, or Derived its Being from Another; but whatsoever is Substantial, did Exist Of It self from Eternity, Independently; we are in the next place, to make it appear also, That were it True, it would no more oppose Theism, then it doth Atheism. Fallhoods (though not Truths) may Disagree. Plutarch, the Stoicks, and Others, who made God the Creatour of no Substance, though not Genuine, yet Zealous Theists. But the Ancient Atheists, both in Plato and Aristotle, Generated and Corrupted All things; that is, Produced All things out of Nothing, or Non-Existence, and Reduced them into Nothing again; the bare Substance of Matter onely Excepted. The same done by the Democritick and Epicurean Atheists themselves, the Makers of this Objection: though, according to the Principles of their own Atomick Phylology, it is Impossible, that Life and Understanding, Soul and Mind, should be meer Modifications of

Matter. As Theists give a Creative Power of All, out of Nothing, to the Deity; so do Atheists, to Passive and Dead Matter. Wherefore this can be no Argument against Theism; it Equally opposing Atheism. Page 752, 756

An Anacephalæosis; wherein Observable, That Cicero makes De Nihilo fieri, and Sine Causa, To be made out of Nothing, and to be made without a Cause, One and the Self-same thing; as also that he doth not Confine this to the Material Cause onely. Our Third and Last Undertaking; To Prove that Atheists Produce Real Entities out of Nothing, in the First Impossible Sense; that is, Without a Cause.

756, 757

A Brief Synopsis of Atheism; That Matter being the onely Substance, is therefore the onely Un-made Thing; and That whatsoever else is in the World, besides the Bare Substance thereof, was Made out of Matter, or Produced from that alone.

757

The First Argument; When Atheists affirm, Matter to be the onely Substance, and all things to be Made out of that; they Suppose all to be Made without an Efficient Cause; which is to bring them from Nothing, in an Impossible Sense. Though Something may be Made, without a Material Cause Præ-Existing; yet cannot any thing Possibly be Made, without an Efficient Cause. Wherefore if there be any thing Made, which was Not before, there must of Necessity be besides Matter, some other Substance, as the Active, Efficient Cause thereof. The Atheistick Hypothesis supposes, Things to be Made, without any Active or Effective Principle. Whereas the Epicurean Atheists, Attribute the Efficiency of all to Local Motion; and yet deny Matter or Body (their onely Substance) a Self-moving Power. They hereby, make all the Motion that is in the World to have been Without a Cause, or to Come from Nothing; all Action, without an Agent; all Efficiency, without an Efficient.

758

Again; Should we grant these Atheists, Motion without a Cause; yet could not Dead and Senseless Matter, together with Motion, ever beget Life, Sense, and Understanding; because this would be Something out of Nothing, in way of Causality: Local Motion, onely Changing the Modifications of Matter, as Figure, Place, Site, and Disposition of Parts. Hence also, those Spurious Theists Confuted, who Conclude God to have done no more in the Making of the World, then a Carpenter doth in the Building of a House, (upon this Pretence, That Nothing can be made out of Nothing;) and yet suppose him, to Make Souls out of Dead and Senseless Matter, which is to bring them from Nothing, in way of Causality.

758, 759

Decla-

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Declared before, That the Ancient Italicks and Pythagoricks, Proved in this manner; That Souls could not possibly be Generated out of Matter; because Nothing can come from Nothing, in way of Causality. The Subterfuge of the Atheistick Ionicks, out of Aristotle; That Matter being the only Subtance; and Life, Sense, and Understanding, Nothing but the Passions, Affections, and Dispositions thereof; the Production of them out of Matter, no Production of any new Reall Entity.

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Answer; Atheists taking it for granted, That there is no other Subtance besides Body or Matter, therefore fallly conclude, Life, Sense, and Understanding, to be Accidents or Modes of Matter; they being indeed, the Modes or Attributes of Subtance Incorporeal and Self-Active. A Mode, That which cannot be Conceived, without the Thing whereof it is a Mode; but Life and Cogitation may be Conceived, without Corporeal Extension; and indeed cannot be Conceived with it.

759, 760

The chief Occasion of this Errour, from Qualities and Forms; as, Because the Quality of Heat, and Form of Fire, may be Generated out of Matter; therefore Life, Cogitation, and Understanding also. But the Atomick Atheists themselves, Explode Qualities, as things Really distinct from the Figure, Site, and Motion of Parts, for this very reason, Because Nothing can be made out of Nothing Causally. The Vulgar Opinion of such Real Qualities in Bodies, onely from mens mistaking their own Phancies, Apparitions, Passions, Affections, and Seemings, for things Really Existing without them. That in these Qualities, which is distinct from the Figure, Site, and Motion of Parts, not the Accidents and Modifications of Matter; but of Our own Souls. The Atomick Atheists infinitely Absurd; when exploding Qualities, because Nothing can come out of Nothing, themselves bring Life, Sense, and Understanding, out of Nothing, in way of Causality. That Opinion, That Cogitation is Nothing but Local Motion, and Men themselves meer Machines, Prodigious Sottishness, or Intolerable Impudence.

760, 762

Very Observable here, That Epicurus himself, having a Mind to assert Contingent Liberty, confesseth, that he could not doe this, unless there were some such thing in the Principles; because Nothing can be made out of Nothing, or Caused by Nothing; and therefore does he Ridiculously feign a Third Motion of Atoms, to salve that Phenomenon of Free-Will. Wherefore he must needs be guilty of an Impossible Production, of Something out of Nothing, when he brings Soul and Mind, out of Dead and

Senseless Atoms. Were there no Substantial and Eternal Life and Understanding in the Universe, there could none have been ever Produced; because it must have come from Nothing, or been Made without a Cause. That Dark Philosophy which Educes, not onely Real Qualities and Substantial Forms, but also Souls themselves, at least Sensitive, out of the Power of the Matter, Educes them Out of Nothing, or Makes them without a Cause; and so prepares a direct way to Atheism.

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They who suppose Matter, otherwise then by Motion, and by a kind of Miraculous Efficiency, to Produce Souls, and Minds, attribute that Creative Power to this Senseless and Unactive Matter, which themselves deny, to a Perfect Being, as an Absolute Impossibility. Thus have we Demonstrated, the Impossibility and Nonsense of all Atheism, from this very Principle; That Nothing can be made from Nothing, or without a Sufficient Cause.

763,

764

Wherefore, If no Middle betwixt these Two; but all things must either Spring from a God, or Matter; Then is this also a Demonstration of the Truth of Theism, by Deduction to Impossible: Either there is a God, or else all things are derived from Dead and Senseless Matter; But this Latter is Impossible; Therefore a God. Nevertheless, that the Existence of a God, may be further Directly Proved also from the same Principle, rightly understood, Nothing out of Nothing Causally, or Nothing Caused by Nothing, neither Efficiently, nor Materially.

764

By these Steps; First, That there was never Nothing, but Something or other did Exist Of It Self from Eternity, Un-made, and Independently upon any thing else, Mathematically Certain; from this Principle, Nothing from Nothing. Had there been once Nothing, there could never have been Anything. Again, Whatsoever did Exist Of It Self from Eternity, must have so Existed Necessarily, and not by any Free-Will and Choice. Certain therefore, That there is Something Actually in Being, whose Existence Is, and always Was Necessary. Now that which Exists Necessarily, Of It Self, must have Necessity of Existence in its Nature; which Nothing but a Perfect Being hath. Therefore there Is a Perfect Being; and Nothing Else besides this, did Exist Of It Self from Eternity, but All other things whatsoever (whether Souls or Matter) were Made by it. To suppose any thing to Exist Of It Self Necessarily, that hath no Necessary Existence in its Nature, is to suppose that Necessary Existence to have Come from Nothing.

764, 764

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Three

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Three Reasons, why some Theists have been so Staggering and Sceptical about the Necessary Self-Existence of Matter. First, From an Idiotical Conceit, That because Artificiall Things cannot be made by men, but Out of Præ-Existent Matter, therefore Nothing by God, or a Perfect Being, can be otherwise Made. Secondly, Because some of them have supposed ὑλὴ ἀσώματος, an Incorporeal Hyle, or First Matter Un-made; an Opinion Older then Aristotle. Whereas this Really Nothing, but a Metaphysical Notion of the Potentiality or Possibility of Things, respectively to the Deity. Lastly, Because some of them have conceived, Body and Space to be Really the same thing; and Space to be Positively Infinite, Eternal, and Necessarily Existent. But if Space be not the Extension of the Deity it Self, as some suppose; but of Body, onely considered Abstractly, from This or That, and therefore Immoveably; then no sufficient Ground, for the Positive Infinity, or the Indefiniteness thereof, as Cartesius Imagined: we being certain of no more then this, That be the World and its Space, or Extension, never so Great, yet it might be still Greater and Greater Infinitely; for which very Cause, it could never be Positively Infinite. This Possibility of more Body and Space, further and further Indefinitely, or Without End, as also its Eternity, mistaken, for Actual Space and Distance Positively Infinite and Eternal. Nor is there perhaps any such great Absurdity, in the Finiteness of Actual Space and Distance, (according to this Hypothesis,) as some conceive.

Page 765, 766

Moreover, the Existence of a God may be further proved, from this Common Notion, Nothing from Nothing Causally; not onely because were there no God, that Idea which we have of a Perfect Being, must have Come from Nothing, and be the Conception of Nothing; but also all the other Intelligible Idea's of our Minds, must have Come from Nothing likewise, they being not Derived from Sense. All Minds, and their Intelligible Idea's, by way of Participation, from One Perfect Omnipotent Being, Comprehending it Self.

766,

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However, Certain from this Principle, Nothing from Nothing, or Nothing Caused by Nothing; That Souls and Minds could never have Emerged out of Dead and Senseless Matter; or from Figures, Sites, and Motions: and therefore must either have all Existed Of Themselves, Necessarily from Eternity; or else be Created by the Deity, out of Nothing Præ-Existent. Concluded, That the Existence of a God is altogether as certain, as That our

Humane Souls did not all Exist from Eternity, Of themselves, Necessarily. Thus is the Second Atheistick Argumentation against Omnipotence or Divine Creation, from that False Principle, Nothing out of Nothing, in the Atheistick Sense, (which is, That Nothing could be brought out of Non-Existence into Being, or No Substance derive its Whole Being from another Substance; but all was Self-Existent from Eternity) abundantly Confuted. It having been Demonstrated, That unless there be a God, or a Perfect Omnipotent Being, and Creatour, Something must have Come from Nothing in the Impossible Sense; that is, have been Caused by Nothing, or Made without a Cause.

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SECT. III.

THE Six following Atheistick Argumentations, driving at these Two things, (The Disproving, First of an Incorporeal, and then of a Corporeal Deity) next taken all together. In way of Answer to which, Three Things. First, To Confute the Atheistick Argumentations against an Incorporeal Deity, being the Third and Fourth. Secondly, To Shew, That from the very Principles of the Atheistick Corporealism, in their Fifth and Sixth Arguments, Incorporeal Substance is Demonstrable. And Lastly, That therefore the Two following Atheistick Arguments, (built upon the Contrary Supposition) are also Insignificant.

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Before we come to the Atheistick Arguments, against an Incorporeal Deity, Premised; That though all Corporealists be not Atheists, yet Atheists universally, meer Corporealists. Thus Plato in his Sophist; writing of those who maintained, That Nature Generated all things without the Direction of any Mind; affirmeth, That They held, Body and Substance to be One and the Self-same thing. From whence it follows, That Incorporeal Substance, is Incorporeal Body, or Contradictious Nonsense; and That whatsoever is not Body, is Nothing. He likewise addeth, That they who asserted the Soul to be a Body, but had not the Confidence, to make Prudence, and other Vertues Bodies, (or Bodily,) quite overthrow the Cause of Atheism. Aristotle also representeth the Atheistick Hypothesis thus, That there is but One Nature, Matter; and this Corporeal, (or endued with Magnitude) the onely Substance; and all other things, the Passions and Affections thereof.

767, 769

In Disproving Incorporeal Substance, some Difference amongst the Atheists themselves. First,

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First, Those who held a Vacuum, (as Epicurus and Democritus, &c.) though taking it for granted, That what is Un-extended or Devoid of Magnitude, is Nothing; yet acknowledged a Double Extended Nature; the First Impenetrable and Tangible, Body; the Second Penetrable and Intangible, Space or Vacuum; To them the Only Incorporeal. Their Argument thus; Since Nothing Incorporeal besides Space, (which can neither Doe nor Suffer any thing) therefore no Incorporeal Deity. The Answer. If Space be a Real Nature, and yet not Bodily; then must it needs be either an Affection of Incorporeal Substance; or else an Accident without a Substance. Gassendus his Officiousness here, to help the Atheists; That Space is neither Accident, nor Substance, but a Middle Nature, or Essence betwixt Both. But, whatsoever Is, must either Subsist by it Self, or else be an Attribute, Affection, or Mode of Something that Subsisteth by it Self. Space, either the Extension of Body, or of Incorporeal Substance, or of Nothing: but Nothing cannot be Extended; wherefore Space, supposed, not to be the Extension of Body, must be the Extension of an Incorporeal Substance Infinite, or the Deity; as some Theists Assert.

Page 769, 770

Epicurus his Pretended Gods, Such as could neither Touch, nor be Touched, and had not Corpus, but Quasi Corpus only; and therefore Incorporeals distinct from Space. But Granted, that He Colluded or Juggled in this.

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Other Atheists who denied a Vacuum, and allowed not Space to be a Nature, but a meer Imaginary thing, the Phantasm of a Body, or else Extension considered Abstractly, Argued thus. Whatsoever is Extended, is Body, or Bodily; But whatsoever Is, is Extended; Therefore whatsoever Is, is Body.

770, 771

This Argument against Incorporeal Substance, Answered Two manner of ways: Some Asserters of Incorporeal Substance denying the Minor, Whatsoever Is, is Extended; others the Major of it, Whatsoever is Extended, is Body. First, The Generality of Ancient Incorporealists really maintained, That there was Something Un-Extended, Indistant, Devoid of Quantity, and of Magnitude, Without Parts, and Indivisible. Plato, That the Soul is before Longitude, Latitude, and Profundity. He also Denies, That whatsoever is in no Place, is Nothing. Aristotle's First Immoveable Mover also, Devoid of Magnitude. So likewise is Mind, or That which Understands, to him. He also denies Place, and Local Motion to the Soul, otherwise then by Accident with the Body.

771, 773

Philo's Double Substance, Distant and In-

distant. God also to him, both Every-where, (because his Powers Extend to all things) and yet No-where, as in a Place; Place being Created by him, together with Bodies. Plotinus much concerned in this Doctrine. Two Books of his upon this Subject, That One and the same Numerical thing, (viz. the Deity) may be All, or the Whole Every-where. God to him, Before all things that are in a Place; therefore Wholly Present to whatsoever Present. This would be prove also from Natural Instincts. He Affirmeth likewise, That the Humane Soul is Numerically the Same, both in the Hand, and in the Foot. Simplicius his Argument for Un-Extended Substance; That Whatsoever is Self-Moving, must be Indivisible and Indistant. His Affirmation, That Souls, Locally Immoveable, Move the Body by Cogitation.

Page 773, 775

None more full and express in this, then Porphyrius. His Assertion, That were there such an Incorporeal Space, (as Democritus and Epicurus supposed) Mind, or God, could not be Co-Extended with it; but only Body. The whole Deity, Indivisibly and Indistantly Present, to every Part of Divisible and Distant things.

775, 776

Thus Origen in his Against Celsus. Saint Austine, That the Humane Soul hath no Dimensions, of Length, Breadth, and Thickness, and is in it Self Illocabilis. Boëtius reckons this amongst the Common Notions, known onely to wise men, That Incorporeals are in No Place.

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This therefore no Novel or Recent Opinion, That the Deity is not Part of it Here, and Part of it There, nor Mensurable by Yards and Poles; but the Whole Undivided, Present to every Part of the World. But because many Objections against this; we shall further Shew, how these Ancient Incorporealists endeavoured to Quit themselves of them. The First Objection; That to suppose the Deity, and other Incorporeal Substances, Un-Extended, is to make them Absolute Parvities, and so Contemptible things. Plotinus his Answer; That what is Incorporeal, not so Indivisible as a Little thing; either a Physical Minimum, or Mathematical Point; for thus God could not Congruere with the whole World, nor the Soul with the whole Body. Again, God not so Indivisible, as the Least, he being the Greatest of all, not in Magnitude, but Power. He so Indivisible, as also Infinite. This an Error proceeding from Sense and Imagination; That what Un-Extended, therefore Little, Incorporeal Substance, the Whole of which is Present to every Part of Body, therefore Greater then Body. Porphyrius to the same purpose, That God is neither to

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be look'd upon as the Least, nor as the Greatest, in a way of Magnitude. Page 776, 778

The Second Objection; That what neither Great nor Little, and possesses no Place, a Non-Entity. This according to Plato, Plotinus, and Porphyrius, a Mistake, proceeding from mens adhering to Sense and Imagination. They Grant, That an Un-Extended Being, *ἄσπετον* Un-Imaginable. Porphyrius, That Mind and Phancy are not the same, as some maintain. That which can either Doe, or Suffer, not Nothing, though it swell not out into Distance. Two Kinds of Substances to Plotinus; Bulky Tumours, and Un-bulky Active Powers. Which latter, said by Simplicius, to have nevertheless a certain Depth or Profundity in them. Something *ἀσπετον* Un-imaginable, even in Body it self. We cannot Possibly Imagine the Sun of such a Bigness, as Reason Evinces it to be. Urged also by Plotinus, That an Un-stretcht-Out Duration, or Timeless Eternity, as difficult to be Conceiv'd, as an Un-Extended Substance; and yet must this needs be Attributed to the Deity. 778, 781

That God and Humane Souls, no otherwise Incorporeal, then as *σῶμα λεπτομερές*, a Thin or Subtile Body, False. Because the Difference of Grossness and Subtily in Bodies, according to True Philosophy, onely from Motion. That the most Subtile Body, may possibly be made as Grosse as Lead or Iron; and the Grossest, as Subtile as Æther. No Specifick Difference of Matter. 781

The Third Argument, against Un-Extended Substance; That to be All in the Whole, and All in every Part, a Contradiction, and Impossibility. This Granted by Plotinus to be True of Bodies, or that which is Extended, That it cannot be *ὅμω πάν* but Impossible, that what hath no Parts, should be a Part here, and a Part there. Wherefore the word *ὅλον* (in that, Whole in the Whole, and Whole in every Part) to be taken onely in a Negative Sense, for *μὴ μεμερισμένον*, Undivided. The Whole Undivided Deity Every-where; and not a Part of it Here onely, and a Part There. 782, 783

The Last Objection is against the Illocality and Immobility of Finite Created Spirits, and Humane Souls onely. That this not onely Absurd, but also Contrary to that Generally Received Tradition amongst Theists, of Souls Moving Locally after Death, into another Place, called Hades. Two Answers of Plotinus to this. First, That by Hades, may be meant onely the Inivible; or the Soul's Aiding without the Body. Secondly, That if by Hades, be Meant a Worser place, the Soul may be said to be there, where its Idol is. But when this same Philosopher, supposeth the Soul (in Good men)

to be separable also from this Idol, be departed from the Genuine Cabbala of his own School. That Souls alwaies united to some Body or other. This asserted here by Porphyrius; That the Soul is never quite naked of all Body; and therefore may be said to be there, wheresoever its Body is. Page 784, 785

Some Excerptions out of Philoponus; where-in the Doctrine of the Ancients, concerning the Soul's Spirituous or Airy Body, (after Death) is Largely declared. 785, 787

Intimated here by Philoponus, That, according to some of these Ancients, the Soul hath such a Spirituous Body here in this Life, as its Interior Indument, which then adheres to it, when its Outer Garment is stript off by Death. An Opinion of some, That the Soul may in this Spirituous Body, leave its Groffer Body for some time, without Death. True, That our Soul doth not immediately Act upon Bones and Flesh; but certain Thin and Subtile Spirits, the Instruments of Sense and Motion. Of which Porphyrius thus; The Bloud is the Food of the Spirit, and the Spirit the Vehicle of the Soul. 787, 788

The same Philoponus further Addeth, That according to the Ancients, besides both the Terrestrial, and this Spirituous or Airy Body, there is yet a Third kind of Body, peculiar to such as are Souls, as are more thoroughly purged after Death; called by them a Luciform, and Heavenly, and Ætherial, and Starre-like Body. Of this Proclus also, upon the Timæus, (who affirmeth it to be Un-organized;) as likewise Hierocles. This called the Thin Vehicle of the Soul, in the Chaldee Oracles, according to Psellus and Pletho. By Hierocles, a Spiritual Body, in a Sense agreeable to that of the Scripture: by Synesius, the Divine Body. This Distinction of Two Interior Vehicles, or Tunicles of the Soul, besides the Terrestrial Body, (called by Plato the Oltreaceous) no Invention of Latter Platonists since Christianity; it being plainly insisted upon by Virgil, though commonly not Understood. 788, 790

That many of these Platonists and Pythagoreans, supposed the Soul, in its First Creation, when Made pure by God, to be Clothed with this Luciform and Heavenly Body; which also did alwaies Inseparably adhere to it, in its After-Descents, into the Aërial and Terrestrial; though Fouled and Obscured. Thus Pletho. And the same Intimated by Galen; when he calls this, the First Vehicle of the Soul. Hence was it, that besides the Moral and Intellectual Purgation of the Soul, they recommended also, a Mystical or Telestick way of Purifying the Ætherial Vehicle, by Diet and Catharms. This much Insisted on by Hierocles. What Pliny's, Dying

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Dying By Wisdom, or the Philosophick Death. Page 790, 792

But this not the Opinion of all, That the Same Numerical Æthereal Body, always adhereth to the Soul; but onely, that it every where either Finds, or Makes a Body, suitable to it self. Thus Porphyrius. Plato also seems to have been of that Perswasion. 792, 793

This Affirmed by Hierocles, to have been the Genuine Cabbala of the Ancient Pythagoreans, which Plato afterwards followed. Hierocles his Definition of a Man, A Rational Soul together with a Cognate Immortal Body; he declaring, This enlivened Terrestrial Body, to be but the Idol or Image of the True man, or an Accession to him. This therefore the Answer of the Ancient Incorporealists, to that Objection against the Illocality and Immobility of Created Incorporeals; That these being all Naturally United to Some Body or other, may be thus said to be in a Place, and Locally Moved. And, That it does not follow, that because Created Incorporeals are Un-extended, they might therefore inform the whole Corporeal Universe. 793, 794

That it would be no Impertinent Digression here, To Compare the forementioned Pythagorick Cabbala, with the Doctrine of Christianity; and to consider their Agreement or Disagreement. First therefore, A Clear Agreement of these most Religious Philosophers with Christianity in this, That the Highest Happinefs, and Perfection of Humane Nature, consisteth not, in a Separate State of Souls, Un-united to any Body; as some High-flown Persons have Conceited. Thus Plotinus; who sometimes runs as much into the other Extream, in supposing Humane Souls to Animate, not onely the Bodies of Brutes, but also of Plants. Thus also Maimonides amongst the Jews; and therefore suspected for denying the Resurrection. His Iggereth Teman, written purposely to purge himself of this Suspicion. The Allegorizers of the Resurrection, and of the Life to come. 794, 795

Again, Christianity Correspondeth with the Philosophick Cabbala, concerning Humane Souls, in this, That their Happinefs consisteth not, in Conjunction with such Gross Terrestrial Bodies, as these we now have: Scripture, as well as Philosophy, complaining of them, as a Heavy Load, and Burthen to the Soul; which therefore not to be taken up again, at the Resurrection. Such a Resurrection as this, called by Plotinus, a Resurrection to Another Sleep. The Difference betwixt the Resurrection-Body, and this Present Body, in Scripture. The Resurrection-Body of the Just, (as that of the Philosophick Cabbala) Immortal and Eter-

nal; Glorious and Lucid; Star-like and Spiritual; Heavenly and Angelical. Not this Gross Fleishly Body, Guilded and Varnished over in the outside onely, but Changed throughout. This the Resurrection of Life, in Scripture, Emphatically called The Resurrection. Our Souls, Strangers and Pilgrims in these Terrestrial Bodies: Their proper Home and Country, the Heavenly Body. That the Grosslest Body that is, according to Philosophy, may meerly by Motion be brought into the Purity and Tenuity of the Finest Æther. Page 795, 799

But whether Humane Souls after Death, always United to some Body, or else quite Naked from all Body, till the Resurrection; not so Explicitly determined in Christianity. Souls after Death, Live unto God. According to Origen, This a Priviledge Proper to the Deity, to Live and Act alone, without Vital Union with any Body. If Natural to the Soul, to Enliven a Body; then not probable, that it should be kept so long in an Unnatural State of Separation. 799, 800

Again; Probable from Scripture, That wicked Souls after Death, have Punishment of Sense or Pain, besides Remorse of Conscience: which not easily Conceivable How they should have, without Bodies. Thus Tertullian. He adding, That Men have the same Shape, or Effigies, after this Life, which they had here. Though indeed he drive the business too far, so as to make the Soul it self to be a Body, Figure and Colourate. 800, 801

But Irenæus plainly supposed, the Soul after Death (being Incorporeal) to be Adapted to a Body, such as has the same Character and Figure, with its Body here in this Life. 801, 802

Origen also of this Perswasion, That Souls after Death, have certain Subtile Bodies, retaining the same Characterizing Form, which their Terrestrial Bodies had. His Opinion, That Apparitions of the Dead are from the Souls themselves, surviving, in that which is called a Luciform Body. As also that Saint Thomas did not doubt, but that the Body of a Soul departed, might appear, every way like the Former: onely be disbelieved our Saviour's appearing in the Same Solid Body, which he had before Death. 802, 804

Our Saviour telling his Disciples, That a Spirit had no Fleish and Bones, that is, no Solid Body, as himself then had; seems to Imply, them to have Thinner Bodies, which they may Visibly Appear in. Thus in Apollonius, is Touch made the Sign, to distinguish a Ghost Appearing, from a Living Man. Our Saviour's Body after his Resurrection, according to Origen,

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Origen, in a Middle State, betwixt This Gross
or Solid Body of ours, and That of a Ghost.

Page 804

A place of Scripture, which as interpreted by
the Fathers, would Naturally Imply, the Soul
of our Saviour after Death, not to have been
quite Naked of all Body, but to have had a Cor-
poreal Spirit. Moses and Elias, Visibly appea-
ring to our Saviour, had therefore True Bodies.

804, 805

That the Regenerate here in this Life, have a
certain Earnest of their Future Inheritance,
(which is, their Spiritual or Heavenly Body)
Gathered from Scripture by Irenæus, and No-
vatian. Which Prælibations of the Spiritual
Body, cannot so well consist with a Perfect Se-
paration from all Body, after Death, till the
Day of Judgement.

805, 806

This Opinion of Irenæus, Origen, and others,
supposed by them, not at all to Clash with the Chri-
stian Article of the Resurrection. Nothing
in this Point determined by us.

806

The Last thing in the Pythagorick Cabbala,
That Demons or Angels, and indeed all Crea-
ted Understanding Beings, consist, as well as
Men, of Soul and Body, Incorporeal and Cor-
poreal, United together. Thus Hierocles, U-
niversally of all the Rational Nature; and that
no Incorporeal Substance, besides the Supreme
Deity, is Compleat, without the Conjunction of
a Body. God the Only Incorporeal in this
Sense; and not a Mundane, but Supra-Mun-
dane Soul.

806, 808

Origen's full Agreement with this Old Py-
thagorick Cabbala, That Rational Creatures
are neither Body, nor yet without Body; but
Incorporeal Substances, having a Corporeal
Indument.

808, 809

Origen misrepresented by Huetius, as asser-
ting Angels not to Have Bodies, but to Be Bo-
dies: whereas he plainly acknowledged the Hu-
mane Soul to be Incorporeal, and Angels also
to have Souls. He proveth Incorporeal Crea-
tures, from the Scriptures; which though them-
selves not Bodies, yet always Use Bodies.
Whereas the Deity is neither Body, nor yet
clothed with a Body, as the Proper Soul thereof.

809, 810

Some of the Fathers, so far from supposing
Angels altogether Incorporeal, that they ran
into the other Extream, and concluded them
altogether Corporeal; that is, to be All Body,
and Nothing else. The Middle betwixt both
these, the Origenick and Pythagorick Hypo-
thesis, That they consist of Incorporeal and
Corporeal Substance, Soul and Body Joyned
together. The Generality of the Ancient Fa-
thers, for neither of those Extreams. That
they did not suppose Angels to be perfectly Un-

bodied Spirits; Evident from their affirming
Devils, as the Greek Philosophers did De-
mons, to be Delighted with the Nidours of Sa-
crifices; as having their Vapourous Bodies, or
Airy Vehicles, refreshed thereby. Thus Porphy-
rius, and before him Celsus. Amongst the
Christians, (besides Origen) Justin, Athenag-
oras, Tatianus, &c. S. Basil, concerning the Bo-
dies of Demons or Devils, being Nourished with
Vapours; not by Organs, but throughout their
whole Substance.

Page 810, 812

Several of the Fathers plainly asserting, both
Devils and Angels to consist of Soul and Body;
Incorporeal and Corporeal Substance, Joyned
together. Saint Austine, Claudianus, Mamert-
tus, Fulgentius, Joannes Thessalonicensis;
and Pfellus, who Philosophizeth much con-
cerning this.

812, 814

That some of the Ancients, when they called
Angels Incorporeal, understood Nothing else
thereby, but onely that they had not Gross, but
Subtile Bodies.

814, 815

The Fathers, though herein Happening to A-
gree with the Philosophick Cabbala, yet seemed
to have been led thereunto by Scripture. As from
that of our Saviour, They who shall obtain the
Resurrection of the Dead, shall be *ἐσθλῶν*, E-
qual to the Angels; that is, according to Saint
Austine, shall have Angelical Bodies. From
that of Saint Jude, That Angels Sinning, lost
their Own Proper Dwelling-House; that is,
their Heavenly Body, (called *δυνάμις* by Saint
Paul) which made them Fit Inhabitants of the
Heavenly Regions; and thereupon Cast down
into the Lower Tartarus; interpreted by Saint
Austine, to be this Caliginous Air or Atmo-
sphere of the Earth. Again, From that Fire
said to have been Prepared for the Devils;
which being not to be taken Metaphorically,
therefore (as Pfellus concludeth) Implies them
to be Bodied; because an Incorporeal Substance
alone, and not Vitally United to any Body, can-
not be Tormented with Fire.

815, 817

Now if all Created Incorporeals, Superiour to
Men, be Souls vitally United to Bodies, and
never quite Separate from all Body; then Pro-
bable, that Humane Souls, after Death, not quite
Naked from all Body, as if they could Live and
Act compleatly without it; a Priviledge Superi-
our to that of Angels, and proper to the Deity.
Nor is it at all Conceivable, how Imperfect Be-
ings could have Sense and Imagination without
Bodies. Origen Contra Celsum, Our Soul in
its own Nature Incorporeal, *ἀμείωτος* Standeth
in need of a Body, suitable to the place wherein
it is. And accordingly, Sometimes Putteth
Off what it had before; and Sometimes again
Putteth On something New. Where the follow-
ing words being vitiated; Origen's Genuine
Sense

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Sense restored. Evident that Origen distinguisheth, the Tabernacle in S. Paul, (Translated, Tabernacle,) from the Earthly House; he understanding by the former, a Thin Spirituous Body, which is a Middle betwixt the Earthly and the Heavenly, and which the Soul remaineth still clothed with, after Death. This Opinion of Origen's, That the Soul after Death, not quite Separate from all Body, never reckoned up in the Catalogue of his Errours. Origen not Taxed by Methodius, for asserting Souls to Have Bodies, but for not asserting them to Be Bodies; there being no truly Incorporeall Substance, according to Methodius, but the Deity. This One of the Extreame mentioned. And the Origenick Hypothesis, to be preferred before that of Methodius. Page 817, 820

Already Observed, That Origen not Singular, in this Opinion concerning Humane Souls; Irenæus, Philoponus, Joannes Thessalonicensis, Pfellus, and others, asserting the same. S. Austine in his De Gen. ad Lit. Granteth, That Souls after Death cannot be carried to any Corporall Places, nor Locally Moved, without a Body. Himself seems to think, the Punishment of Souls, before the Resurrection, to be Phantasticall. But gives Liberty of thinking otherwise. In his Book De Civ. D. He Conceives, that Origenick Opinion not Improbable, That some Souls after Death, and before the Resurrection, may Suffer from a certain Fire, for the consuming and burning up of their Drofs: which could not be without Bodies. 820

Hitherto shewed, How the Ancient Asserters of Unextended Incorporealls, Answered all the Objections made against them; but especially that of the Illocality and Immobility of Created Incorporealls; namely, That by those Bodies, which they are always Vitally United to, they are Localized, and made Capable of Motion; according to that of Origen, The Soul stands in need of a Body for Locall Motions. Next to be considered, their Reasons for this Assertion, of Unextended and Indistant Substance, so repugnant to Imagination. 822

That whatsoever Arguments do Evince other Substance besides Body, the Same against the Atheists Demonstrate, that there is Something Unextended; themselves taking it for granted, that whatsoever is Extended, is Body. Nevertheless, other Arguments propounded by these Ancients, to prove directly, Unextended Substance. Plotinus his First; To prove the Humane Soul and Mind such. Either every Part of an Extended Soul, is Soul; and of Mind, Mind; or Not. If the Latter, That no Part of a Soul, or Mind, is by it Self Soul, or Mind; then cannot the Whole, made up of all those Parts, be

such. But if every supposed Part of a Soul, be Soul, and of a Mind, Mind; then would all but One be Superfluous; or Every One be the Whole: which cannot be in Extended things. Page 822, 824

Again, Plotinus endeavours to Prove, from the Energies of the Soul, that it is Unextended; Because it is One and the Same Indivisible thing, that Perceiveth the whole Sensible Object. This further pursued; If the Soul be Extended, then must it either be One Physicall Point, or More. Impossible That it should be but One Physicall Point. If therefore More, then must every one of those Points, either Perceive a Point of the Object, and no more, or else the Whole. If the Former, then can nothing Perceive the Whole, nor compare one Part of it with another: If the Latter, then would every man have innumerable Perceptions of the whole Object at once. A Fourth Supposition, That the whole Extended Soul, Perceives both the Whole Object, and all the Parts thereof; (no Part of this Soul having any Perception by it Self.) Not to be Made; Because, the Whole of an Extended Substance, nothing but All the Parts: and so if no Part have any Perception, the Whole can have none. Moreover, To say, the Whole Soul Perceiveth all, and no Part of it any thing, is indeed to acknowledge it Unextended, and to have no Distant Parts. 824, 826

Again, This Philosopher would prove the same thing, from the Sympathy or Homopathy, which is in Animals; it being One and the Same thing, that perceives Pain in the Head, and in the Foot; and Comprehends the whole Bulk of the Body. 826

Lastly, He disputes further, from the Rational Energies. A Magnitude could not Understand, what hath no Magnitude, and what is Indivisible: whereas we have a Notion, not onely of Latitude Indivisible as to Thickness, and of Longitude as to Breadth, but also of a Mathematicall Point, every way Indivisible. We have Notions of things also, that have neither Magnitude nor Site, &c. Again, all the Abstract Essences of things Indivisible. We conceive Extended things themselves, Unextendedly; the Thought of a Mile, or a Thousand Miles Distance, taking up no more room in the Soul, then the Thought of an Inch, or of a Mathematicall Point. Moreover, were that which perceiveth in us, a Magnitude, it could not be Equall to every Sensible, and alike Perceive things Greater and Lesser, then it self. 827,

Besides which, they might Argue thus; That we, as we can Conceive Extension without Cogitation, and again Cogitation without Extension, (from whence their Distinction and Separability

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ty is Inferrible:) so can we not Conceive Cogitation with Extension; not the Length, Breadth, and Thickness of a Thought; nor the Half, or a Third, or Twentieth Part thereof; nor that it is Figurate, Round, or Angular. Thoughts therefore must be Non-Entities, if whatsoever is Unextended be Nothing; as also Metaphysicall Truths, they having neither Dimensions, nor Figure. So Volitions and Passions, Knowledge and Wisdome in self, Justice and Temperance. If the things belonging to Soul and Mind, be Unextended, then must themselves be so. Again, If Mind and Soul have Distant Parts, then could none of them be One, but Many Substances. If Life Divided, then a Half of it would not be Life. Lastly, no reason could be given, why they might not be as well Really, as Intellectually Divisible. Nor could a Theist deny, but that Divine Power might Cleave a Thought, together with the Soul wherein it is, into many Pieces. Page 828,

829

The Sense of the Ancient Incorporealists therefore this; That in Nature, Two kinds of Substances. The First of them Passive Bulk, or Distant and Extended Substance; Which is all, One thing without Another; and therefore as Many Substances, as Parts, into which it can be divided. Essentially Antitypous; one Magnitude Joynd to another, always Standing without it, and making the Whole so much Bigger. Body all Outside, having nothing Within, no Internall Energy, nor any Action besides Locall Motion; which it is also Passive to.

829

Were there no other Substance besides this, there could be no Motion. Action, Life, Cogitation, Intellection, Volition; but All would be a Dead Lump; nor could any one thing Penetrate another. Wherefore Another Substance, whose Character *quod spaciosus*, the Active Nature; Life, Self-Activity, Cogitation: which no Mode or Accident of Extension; it having more of Entity in it. Nor are these Two, Extension and Life, Inadequate Conceptions, of One and the Same Substance. A Thinker a Monad; or One Single Substance. Not Conceivable, how the Severall Parts of an Extended Substance, should Joyntly Concurr to Produce One and the Same Thought. 829, 830

The Energies of these Two Substances, very different. The one Nothing but Locall Motion, or Translation from Place to Place; a meer Outside Thing: The other Cogitation, an Internall Energy; or in the Inside of that which Thinks. Which Inside of the Thinking Nature, hath no Length, Breadth, or Profundity, no Out-swelling Tumour; because then it would be Outside again. Were a Cogitative

Being Extended, yet must it have besides this Extended Outside, an Unextended Inside. But One and the Same Substance cannot be Extended, and Unextended. Wherefore in this Opinion of Extended Incorporealls, a Complication of Two Substances, and a Confusion of them together into One. True nevertheless, That all Finite Incorporeall Substance, is always Naturally united with some Extended Body, as its Outside. Page 831

All Summed up Together. 832

Hierbo the Sense of the Ancient Asserters of Unextended Incorporealls, represented to the best Advantage. Nothing Asserted by us; but that these, and other Arguments, do Demonstrate against the Atheists, some Other Substance besides Body: but whether or no, they Prove this to be Indistant and Unextended; left to others to make a Judgment. The Atheists who deny this, must acknowledge every Thought, to be not onely Mentally, but also Physically Divisible and Separable; together with the Soul: as also deny Internal Energy; and consequently make Cogitation, Nothing but Locall Motion: and Lastly, Hold That no Substance can Co-Exist with Another Substance, more Inwardly, then by Juxta-Position. 832, 833

This the First Answer to the Forementioned Atheistick Argument against Incorporeall Substance; made by the Ancients, By denying the Minor; That though whatsoever is Extended be Body, yet Every thing is not Extended. But the Argument otherwise Answered, by some Learned Asserters of Incorporeall Substance, By denying the Major; That though every thing be Extended, or what Unextended Nothing; yet what-ever is Extended, is not Body; they asserting another Extension Incorporeall, which is both Penetrable, and not made up of Parts Physically Separable from one another; to which belongeth Life, Self-Activity, and Cogitation. Probable, That some would Compound both the Forementioned Hypotheses together; by supposing the Deity to be altogether Unextended, and Indivisibly all every-where; but Souls, or Created Incorporealls, to have an Unextended Inside, Diffused, as it were, into an Extended Outside. Our selves here onely to Oppose Atheists; and Dogmatize no further, then to Assert, what all Incorporealists agree in, That besides Body, there is Another Substance, which consisteth not of Parts Really Separable from one another; which is Penetrable of Body, and Self-Active, and hath an Internall Energy, distinct from Locall Motion. All which is Demonstratively Certain. This the Full Answer to the First Atheistick Argument, Against Incorporeal Substance; That either there is Something Unextended, or at least Extended otherwise,

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wise then Body, so as to be Penetrable thereof, and Indiscernibly One with it self, and Self-Active. Page 833, 834

The Second Atheistick Assault against Incorporeall Substance; By Pretending the Originall of this Mistake, to have sprung from the Scholastick Essences, Distinct from the things themselves; and the Abuse of Abstract Names and Notions, they being made to be Substances Existing by themselves. For, though the Opinion of Ghosts and Spirits, (whereof God is the Chief) sprung first from Fear; yet that these should be Incorporeall, could never have entered into the Minds of men, had they not been Enchanted with these Abstract Names and Separate Essences. 834

The First Generall Reply to this, That it is all but Romantick Fiction. That the Opinion of the Deity, sprung not from Fear, and That all Invisible Ghosts are not Phancies, already sufficiently Proved; as also The Existence of a God Demonstrated by Reason. That Apparitions are Real Phenomena; and Reasonable to think, That there may as well be Invisible Aeriall, and Etheriall; as there are Visible Terrestriall Animals. Sottishness to conclude, That there is no Understanding Nature, Superior to Man. 834, 835

The Second Particular Reply, That the Opinion of Spirits Incorporeall, sprung not from the Scholastick Essences, whether considered Concretely as Universals onely, or Abstractly. No man supposing, these to be Things Really and Substantially Existing without the Mind; either an Universall Man and Universall Horse, or else Humanity and Equinity: and that these walk up and down in Airy Bodies; they being onely Noemata, or the Intelligible Essences of Things, said to be Eternall, as their Verities. The meaning of these Eternall Essences; not, That they are so many Eternall Substances Incorporeall; but, That Knowledge is Eternall, and, That there is an Eternall Unmade Mind, that comprehends them; which all other Minds Partake of. 835, 836

Again, That another Atheistick Dream, That the Abstract Names and Notions of the Meer Accidents of Bodies, were Made Substances Incorporeall; Souls, Minds, and Ghosts. Conscious Life, no Accident of Bodies, as Atheists Suppose; but the Essentiall Attribute of Another Substance, which Incorporeall; as Magnitude, or Extension, is the Essentiall Attribute of Body. 836

The following Atheistick Arguments to be dispatched with more Brevity. That the Four Next, Fifth, Sixth, Seventh and Eighth, proceed onely upon this Supposition, That there is

no Other Substance in the World, besides Body or Matter; and therefore signify Nothing, to the Asserters of an Incorporeall Deity. Stoicks, and the like, onely concerned to Answer them. Nevertheless, From the Impossibility of these Atheistick Corporealisms, contained in the Fifth, and Sixth, a Necessity of Incorporeall Substance will be Evinced. Page 836

Here two Atheistick Corporealisms, Founded upon these Suppositions, That all is Body or Matter; and, That Matter as such, is devoid of Life and Understanding. The First in the way of Qualities and Forms, Generable and Corruptible, called the Hylopathian. This the most Ancient Atheistick Form, as we learn from Aristotle; viz. That Bulky Extension, the onely Substantiall and Unmade thing, and all other things, but the Passions, Qualities, and Accidents thereof; Makeable out of it, and Destroyable into it. The Consequence from whence; That there is no Substantiall Unmade Life and Understanding; And, That no Mind could be a God, or Creator; it being all Accidental, Factitious, and Creature. 836, 837

This Hylopathian Atheism, called also by us, Anaximandrian. Though we are not Ignorant, That Simplicius conceives, Anaximander to have held an Homœomery, or Similar Atomology, of Eternall Unmade Qualities, as Anaxagoras afterwards: onely, that he acknowledged no Unmade Life or Mind, but Generated it all, from the Fortuitous Commixture of those Qualified Atoms. (Which no Improbable Opinion, though not Certain.) Because however, Anaximander supposed Life and Understanding, to be at least Secondary Qualities, and Accidents of Body, Generable and Corruptible. And not Fit, to multiply Forms of Atheism. 837

The Second Atheistick Corporealism, in the way of Unqualified Atoms, producing all things, even Life, and Understanding; from Figures, Sites, Motions, and Magnitudes of Parts. From whence it will also follow, That Mind is no Primordial Thing, but Secondary, Compounded, and Derivative; Creature, and no Creator. This called Democritick; not because Democritus was the First Inventer of the Dissimilar Atomology; but because he was the First Atheizer of it, or the First, who made Dissimilar Atoms, the Principles of All things whatsoever, even of Life and Understanding. ibid.

Not to be Denied, But that from these Two things Granted, That All is Body, and, That the First Principles of Body are devoid of Life and Understanding; it would follow unavoidably, That there is no God. Therefore the Stoicks, who were Corporeal Theists, denied the Latter; they

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they supposing an Understanding Fire, Eternal and Unmade, the Maker of the whole Mundane System. Truly Observed by Origen, That this Corporeal God of the Stoicks, was but by Accident Incorruptible, and Happy; and onely because Wanting a Destroyer. This no Genuine Theism. Page 837, 838

But an Absolute Impossibility, in both these Atheistick Corporealisms; not onely, because they suppose no Active Principle; but also, because they bring Life and Understanding, that is, Something, out of Nothing; or Make them without a Cause. Where the Atomick Atheists, of the Two, most to be Condemned; because so grossly Contradicting themselves. From that True Principle, That Matter as such, is devoid of Life and Understanding; an Absolute Necessity of another Substance Incorporeal, which is Essentially Vital and Intellectual. That All Life, cannot possibly be Facitious and Accidental, Generable and Corruptible; but there must be Substantial Life; and also some Eternal. 838, 839

The Truth of this Understood and Acknowledged by the Hylozoists; That there must of Necessity be, both Substantial and Unmade Life and Understanding: who therefore Attribute the same to all Matter as such; but without Animality; which, according to them, is all Facitious and Accidental. Wherefore, this Hylozoick Atheism also, brings Conscious Life and Animality out of Nothing; or Makes them without a Cause. The Argument of the Epicurean Atheists, against Stratonism or Hylozoism, Unanswerable: That upon this Supposition, there must be, in every Man and Animal, a Heap of Innumerable Percipients, as many as there are Atoms of Matter; and so no One Thinker. The Pretence of the Hylozoists, That all the Particles of Matter, in every Animal, do Confederate; Ridiculous, and Impossible. 839, 840

Thus the Fifth and Sixth Atheistick Argumentations, fully Confuted; and from that True Supposition in them, That Matter, as such, is Devoid of Life and Understanding, Incorporeal Substance plainly Demonstrated: Which was our Second Undertaking. 840

The Third and Last; That there being Undeniably, Substance Incorporeal, the Two Following Atheistick Argumentations, (built upon the Supposition of the Contrary) altogether Insignificant. The Seventh not properly directed against Theism, but against a Religious kind of Atheism or Theogonism; which supposed a God or Soul of the World, Generated out of Senseless Matter; and the Offspring of Night and Chaos. A Sober and True Sense, of the World's Animation; That there is a Li-

ving, Sentient and Understanding Nature, Presiding over the whole World. But the Sense of Pagan Theists, That the Whole Corporeall World Animated, is a God, Exploded by us. This Argument therefore being not against Theism, but Theogonism; the Confutation thereof might be here well Omitted, without any Detriment to our Cause. But because the denying of a Living Understanding Nature, presiding over the World, is Atheistickall; the Ground of this Assertion briefly Declared; That Life and Understanding are Accidents of Bodies, resulting onely from Such a Contexture of Atoms, as produce Flesh, Blood, and Brains, in Bodies Organized; and, That there is no Reason to be found any-where, but onely in Humane Form: which also Confuted. A Brutish Passage, of a Modern Writer, That it is Unconceivable by Men, How God can Understand without Brains. Page 840, 841

The Next, (which is the Eighth Atheistick Argumentation) That there can be no Living Being Immortall, nor Perfectly Happy; built upon that False Supposition also, That all Life and Understanding results from a Contexture of Dead and Senseless Atoms, and therefore is Dissolvable and Annihilable. But that there is Life Essentiall, and Substantiall, which Naturally Immortall; as also a Necessity, of an Eternal Life, and Mind Unmade, and Unannihilable; which Perfectly Happy. 841, 842

S E C T. IV.

THE Epicurean Atheists further Endeavour, to Disprove a God, from the Phenomena of Motion, and Cogitation; in the Three Following Argumentations, the Ninth, Tenth, and Eleventh. From Motion, thus; That from this Principle, Nothing can move It Self, but Whatsoever is Moved, is moved by Another, it will follow, That there can be no First Cause, and Unmoved Movers; but One thing Moved Another, from Eternity Infinitely; Because Nothing could Move Another, which was not It Self First Moved by Something else. 842, 843

Answer: The meaning of this Axiome; Not, That Nothing can Act from It Self, as the Atheist Supposes; he taking it for granted, that every Thing is Body, and that all Action is Locall Motion; but, That no Body Resting, could ever Locally Move It Self. A False Supposition of the Atheists, and some Cartesians; That were there but once Motion in the Matter, this would of it Self continue to all Eternity. True, that of Aristotle; That to make an Infinite Pro-

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Progress in the Causes of Motion, and no First Mover; is all one as to say. That there is No Cause at all thereof; or, That all the Motion in the World, is a Passion without an Agent, or Comes from Nothing. Clearly Impossible, That there should be any Motion at all, were there Nothing Self-Moving or Self-Active. Page 843

Wherefore from this Principle, That no Body can Move It Self, it follows Undeniably; That there is Some other Substance in the World besides Body, that hath an Active Power of Moving Body. 843, 844

Another Corollary from the same Principle; That there is another Species of Action, distinct from Local Motion, and which is not Heterokinesy, but Autokinesy. That the Action by which Local Motion is first Caused, could not be it self Local Motion. All Local Motion Caused Originally by Cogitation. Thus the Ninth Atheistick Argument from Motion Confuted; and from hence, That no Body can Move it Self, Demonstrated, That there is Something Incorporeal, the First Cause of Local Motion, by Cogitation. ibid.

But the Atheists further Pretend to Prove, That Cogitation it self is Heterokinesy, the Passion of the Thinker, and the Action of some other External Agent upon him; Because, Nothing taketh Beginning from It Self; and, No Cogitation can rise of It Self, without a Cause. That therefore, Thinking Beings themselves are Machines, and Cogitation Local Motion. And, No Understanding Being, a First Cause, nor Perfectly Happy; because Dependent upon something else. 844, 845

Answer. True, That no Substance taketh Beginning from it Self; as also, That no Action causeth it Self. But False, That No Action taketh Beginning from the Immediate Agent; or, That Nothing can Act otherwise, then as Acted upon by Something else. Atheists here Affirm only, what they should Prove, and so Beg the Question. If Nothing Self-Active, then all the Motion and Action in the Universe, must Come from Nothing, or be Made without a Cause. 845

True also, That our Humane Cogitations are frequently occasioned from Externall Objects, and that the Concatenations of Thoughts and Phantasms, often depend upon Mechanick Causes. But False, That all Cogitations are Obtruded upon us from without; and, That no Transition in our Thoughts, which was not Before in Sense. The Humane Soul a Principle of Actions, and therefore also of Cogitations. This a Bubbling Fountain of Thoughts. But that there is such a Perfect Mind, as at once Comprehends all Truth, and was Before Sensibles. 845, 846

This a Prodigious Paradox, and Falsity of Atheists; That Cogitation, Local Motion; and Thinking Beings, Machines. Here a Correction of what we wrote before, P. 761, and a Change of our Opinion, upon further Consideration; That not onely a Modern Writer, but also the Ancient Atheistick Atomists, did conclude, Cogitation to be Really nothing else but Local Motion. Nevertheless, these men troubled with the Phancy of Cogitation; which because they cannot make Local Motion, they would persuade us to be no Reality, or Nothing. Atheists aware, That if there be any Action besides Local Motion, there must then be some other Substance acknowledged besides Body. They who make Cogitation Local Motion, and Men, Machines, no more to be distinguished with, then Senseless Machines. Page 846, 847

To Affirm, That no Understanding Being can be Happy, nor a God, because Dependent upon Something without it; all one as to Affirm, That Senseless Matter is the Most Perfect of all things; and, That Knowledge, as such, speaking Imperfection, is but a Whistling and Phantastick thing. But of this more afterwards. Thus the Tenth Atheistick Argument Confuted. 847

Another Atheistick Argument, From the Nature of Knowledge and Understanding. That the World could not be made by an Understanding Being, because there was no Knowledge before Things, which are the Objects of it; and the onely Things are Sensibles, which Knowledge a Passion from. Therefore all Mind, as such, a Creature, and none a Creatour. ibid.

This already fully Answered, Page 729, and so forwards. Where Proved, That Singular Bodies are not the Onely Things, and Objects of the Mind, but that it containeth its Intelligibles within it Self. And, That Knowledge, is Archetypall to the World, and the Maker of All. So the Existence of a God, Demonstrable, from the Nature of Knowledge and Understanding. 847, 848

That the Atheists can no more Salve the Phenomenon of Cogitation, then that of Local Motion; Evident from their Many Hallucinations concerning it; whereof a Catalogue subjoyned. First, That all Life and Understanding, a meer Accidentall thing, Generable and Corruptible, and no Life nor Mind Substantiall or Essentiall. This before Confuted. 848

Again, That Life and Mind, no Simple and Primitive Natures, but Compounded Syllables of things; and therefore none Immortal nor Incorruptible. Answer; That Life and

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Understanding are Active Powers, and could never result from meer Passive Bulk; nor can any Composition of Dead and Senseless Matter, possibly beget Life and Understanding. Though no Necessity, That there should be any Eternal Unmade Red or Green, because these might be Made out of things not Red nor Green; nor That there should be Eternal Motion, because Motion might be produced from a Self-Active Principle; nor That there should be any Eternal Unmade Matter, because were there none, it might notwithstanding be Created, by a Perfect Incorporeal Being: yet an Absolute Necessity of Eternal Unmade Life and Mind; because had there been once none, there could never have been any. Page 848, 849

Another Atheistick Hallucination, That there is Nothing of Self-Activity in Cogitation; nor any thing could Act otherwise, then as it is Made to Act by Something else. This to bring all Action from Nothing, or to suppose it without a Cause. 849, 850

Another Madness of theirs already mentioned, That Cogitation, Locall Motion; and Thinking Beings, Machines. This Equall Sottishness or Impudence, as to affirm, Number to be Figure, &c. 850

Another Paradox of the Epicurean and Democritick Atheists, That Mentall Cogitation, as well as Sensation, the meer Passions of the Thinker, and the Actions of Bodies Existing without him: Some of them supposing Thoughts, to be Caused by certain Finer Images, then Sensations; Others, that they are the Remainers of the Motions of Sense, formerly made. Answer: That Sensation it self, is not a meer Corporeal Passion, but the Perception of a Passion, in a way of Phancy; much less Mental Cogitations such; and least of all Volitions. 850, 851

But Consistently hereunto, these Atheists Determine, all Knowledge and Understanding, to be Really the same thing with Sense. From whence follow Two Absurdities. First, That there can be no such thing as Error, because all Passion is True Passion, and all Sense, True Sense; that is, True Seeming and Appearance. This Absurdity owned by Protagoras. Epicurus Endeavoured to avoid this, but in vain, and contradictionally to his own Principles. 851, 852

A Second Absurdity consequent thereupon; That there is no Absolute Truth nor Falsehood, but all Knowledge Private and Relative, and nothing but Opinion. This freely owned likewise by Protagoras. Sometimes also by Democritus. Who therefore but a Blunderer neither, in the Atomick Philosophy; which plainly supposes a Higher Faculty of Reason and Un-

derstanding, that judges of Sense, and discovers the Phantasticality thereof; it reaching to Absolute Truth. Page 852, 853

Another Atheistick Error; That Singular Bodies are the onely Objects of Mentall Conception, as well as of Sensation. This imputed by Aristotle, to Democritus and Protagoras. But sufficiently before Confuted. 853, 854

The better to maintain this Paradox, Added by a Modern Atheistick Writer, as his own Invention; That Universals are Nothing else but Names, by which Many Singular Bodies are called; Axiomes or Propositions, the Addition and Subtraction of Names; and Syllogistick Reasoning, the reckoning the Consequences of them: and that therefore besides the Passions of Sense, we know Nothing at all of any thing, but onely the Names by which it is Called. Whence it would follow, That Geometrical Truths, not the same in Greek and in Latine, &c. 854

That the Atheists, according to these premised Principles, endeavour to Depreciate Knowledge and Understanding, as that which speaks no Higher Perfection, then is in Senseless Matter. Thus the Atheists in Plato, make it but a Ludicrous, Umbratile and Evanescent thing; the meer Image of Bodies, the onely Realities. Their Design in this, to take away the Scale, or Ladder of Entities. 855, 856

All the Grounds of this again briefly Confuted; and Particularly, that Opinion so much favouring Atheism, That there is Nothing in the Understanding, which was not Before in Sense; out of Boetius. Just and Unjust, Greater Realities in Nature, then Hard and Soft, &c. Unquestionably, a Scale or Ladder of Entities; and therefore Certain, that the Order of Things must be in way of Descent, from Higher Perfection to Lower, and not of Ascent, from Lower to Higher. The Steps of this Ladder not Infinite: the Foot thereof, Inanimate Matter; the Head, a Perfect Omnipotent Being, Comprehending in It self all Possibilities of Things. Mind by Nature Lord over all; and Sovereign King of Heaven and Earth. 856, 859

The Reason why we so much Insist upon this; Because Atheists Pretend, not onely to Salve the Phenomenon of Cogitation without a God; but also from thence to Demonstrate the Impossibility of his Existence. Though Modern Writers not so much aware hereof; yet is the Controversy betwixt Theists and Atheists, thus Stated by Plato; Whether Soul and Mind Juniors to Senseless Matter, and the Offspring thereof; or else Substantiall Things, and in Order of Nature Before it. Accordingly Plato confuteth Atheism no otherwise, then by proving Soul not to be Junior to Inanimate Matter, and

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and Generated out of the same. Evident, That Plato by Soul here understood, not only the Mundane Soul, but also that Whole Rank of Beings, called Soul; and, That no Life was Generated out of Matter. Page 859, 860

Those professed Christians, who Generate Rationall Souls out of Senseless Matter, plain Betrayers of the Cause of Theism. 860, 861

Nor is the Case much different, as to others; who, though they professedly Generate only Sensitive Souls, yet making the Rationall, but meer Blanks, which have Nothing in them, but what was Scribbled upon them by Sense; and so Knowledge, in its own Nature, Junior to Sense and Sensibles; Highly Gratify the Atheists hereby. 861

If any Life and Cogitation may be Generated out of Dead and Senseless Matter, then can no good Reason be given, why All should not be. Life not partly Accidental, partly Substantiall; but either All Conscious Life, Accidental, Generable and Corruptible; or else None at all. ibid.

The Doctrine of Reall Qualities Generable and Corruptible, favourable to Atheism also. And though the Atheistick Atomists Explode all the other Qualities, Because, Nothing can come from Nothing; yet, contradicting themselves again, do they make Life and Understanding, Reall Qualities, Generated out of Matter, or Caused by Nothing. 861, 862

There being a Scale or Ladder of Entities in Nature, to Produce a Higher Rank of Beings, out of a Lower; as Life and Cogitation, out of Matter, and Magnitude; is to Invert the Order of this Scale, from Downwards, to Upwards; and so to lay a Foundation for Atheism. Wherefore great Reason, to maintain this Post, against the Atheists; That no Souls can be Generated out of Matter. 862, 863

The Grand Objection against the Substantiality of Sensitive Souls, from that Consequence of their Permanent Subsistence after Death. Cartesius so Sensible thereof; that he would rather make Brutes to be Senseless Machines, then allow them Substantiall Souls; which he granted they must have, if Thinking Beings. What clearly Demonstrable by Reason, not to be abandoned, because attended with some Difficulties, or seemingly Offensive Consequences. 863

The Pythagorick Hypothesis; That Souls all Created by God, not in the Generation of Animals, but in the Cosmogonia. These therefore, first Clothed with Thin and Subtile Bodies, Aeriall or Ætheriall Ochmata, wherein they Subsist, both before their Ingress into Terrestrial Bodies, and after their Egress out of

them. Thus Boëtius and Proclus. Ammonius his Irrationall Demons Mortall; Brutish Souls, in Aeriall Bodies. Since the First Creation, no New Substantiall thing Made, or Destroyed, and therefore no Life. This looked upon by Macrobius as a Great Truth. Page 863, 864

That the Pythagoreans would Endeavour to gain some Countenance for this Hypothesis, from the Scripture. 865, 867.

But if these Aeriall Vehicles of Brutish Souls be exploded for a Whimsy, and none but Terrestrial Bodies allowed to them; though after Death they will not Vanish into Nothing, yet must they needs remain in a State of Insensibility, and Inactivity, till re-united to other Terrestrial Bodies. Wherefore these in one Sense Mortall, though in another Immortall. Silkworms dying, and reviving in the Form of Butterflies, made an Emblem of the Resurrection, by Christian Theologers. 867, 868

But no Absolute Necessity, That the Souls of Brutes, though Substantiall, should have a Permanent Subsistence after Death, either in a State of Activity, or Inactivity; Because, whatsoever Created by God, may Possibly by him be Annihilated. The Substantiality only of the Rationall Soul, Demonstrable by Reason; or that it will not of it Self vanish into Nothing; but not that it is Absolutely Impossible, for it to be Annihilated; The assurance of this Depending upon a Faith in the Divine Goodness. Porphyrius his Assertion, That Brutish Souls are Resolved into the Life of the Universe. The whole Answer to this Objection, against the Substantiality of Brutish Souls; That they may notwithstanding, Possibly be Annihilated in the Deaths of Animals, as well as they were Created in their Generations; but if they do Subsist (without Aeriall Vehicles,) they must remain in a State of Inactivity and Insensibility. 868, 869

That this the Doctrine of the Ancient Pagan Theologers, That no Life, or Soul, Generated out of Dead and Senseless Matter; but all Produced by the Deity, as well as Matter; Proved out of Virgil: though sundry other Testimonies also, might be added thereunto. 869, 870

The Hylozoick Atheists themselves, so Sensible hereof, That there must be some Substantiall and Unmade Life, (from whence the Lives and Minds of all Animals are Derived) That they attribute the same to Matter; and conclude, That though the Modified Lives of Animals, and Men, be Accidentall, Generated and Corrupted, yet the Fundamental Life of them, is Substantiall, and Incorruptible. These also asserted, a Knowledge before Sense, and Undersived from Sensibles. 870, 871

This Hylozoick Atheism again Confuted. Absurd

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Absurd to suppose, Knowledge and Understanding, without Consciousness; as also, That the Substantiall and Fundamentall Life, of Men and other Animals, should never Perish, and yet their Souls, and Personalities, Vanish into Nothing. That no Organization can produce Consciousness. These Atheists not able possibly to give an Account, whence the Intelligible Objects and Ideas, of this their Knowledge of Matter, should spring. This Hylozoick Atheism, Nothing but the Crumbling of the Deity into Matter. Page 871

Concluded, That the Phænomenon of Mind and Understanding, can no way possibly be Salv'd by Atheists, without a God; but affordeth a Solid Demonstration of his Existence. 871, 872

SECT. V.

THERE now Remaining onely, the Atheistick Objections against Providence, their Queries, and Arguments from Interests; Their First Objection, From the Frame of the World, as Faulty. Or, Because Things are Ill Made, that therefore not made by a God. This directed against the Sense of the Ancient Theologers; That God being a Perfect Mind, therefore made the World after the Best manner. Some Modern Theologers Deviating from this, as if the Perfection of the Deity consisted not at all in Goodness, but in Power and Arbitrary Will onely. The Controversy betwixt these and Atheists; but Whether Matter Fortuitously Moved, or a Fortuitous Will Omnipotent, be the Originall of all things. No Ground of Faith in a meer Arbitrarious Deity. To have a Will Undetermined to Good, no Liberty, nor Sovereignty, but Impotency. God to Cellus, the Head or President of the Righteous Nature. This not onely the Sense of Origen, but of the Ancient Christians in Generall. Plotinus; The Will of God Essentially, That which Ought to be. God an Impartiall Balance, Weighing out Heaven and Earth. The Deity, not Servilely Bound to doe the Best; but this the Perfection of its Nature. No Atheist able to prove, The World to be Ill Made. 872, 874

Not to be Concluded, That whatsoever we cannot find out the Reason or Use of, is therefore Ineptly Made. For example; The Intestinum Cæcum, though seemingly an Odd Appendix, and which the Generality of Anatomists give little Account of; yet that, with the Valve at its Entrance, both together, an Artificiall Contrivance of Nature, to hinder the Regurgitation of the Fæces. 874, 875

The First Atheistick Instance of the Faultiness

of things; In the Disposition of the Equator and Ecliptick, Intersecting each other in such an Angle, whereby the Terrestrial Globe rendered not so Habitable as it might have been. This Objection Founded upon a False Supposition, That the Torrid Zone Uninhabitable. But this the Best Disposition; which being Contrary to Mechanick Causes, therefore its Continuance, together with the Constant Parallelism of the Earth's Axis, a manifest Eviden of Providence; and that the T^o B^lANNEY, The Best, is a Cause in Nature. Page 875

In the next place; The Atheists would prove against some Theists, That All things not Made for the Sake of Man. This at First but the Doctrine of Streight-laced Stoicks onely; recommended afterward by mens Self-Love. Whereas Plato's Doctrine, That the Whole not made for any Part; but the Parts for the Whole. Nevertheless, Things in the Lower World, made Principally (though not Onely) for Man. Atheists no Judges of the Well or Ill-Making of Worlds, they having no Standing Measure of Good. That Nature a Step-Mother to Man; but a froward Speech of some discontented Persons, seeking to Revenge themselves, by Railing upon Nature, that is, Providence. 875, 876

Evils in Generall, from the Necessity of Imperfect Beings, and Impossibility of things. 876

Men Afflicted more from their own Phancies, then Reality of things. Pain (which a Real Evil of Sense) often Link'd with Pleasure, according to the Socratick Fable. This not the Evil of the Whole Man, but of the Outside onely. Serviceable, to free men from the Greater Evils of the Mind. Death, according to the Atheistick Hypothesis, an Absolute Extinction of all Life; but according to Genuine Theism, onely a Withdrawing into the Tiring-House, and putting off the Terrestriall Cloathing. The Dead Live to God. Christian Faith gives assurance of a Heavenly Body hereafter. The Christian Resurrection, not the Hope of Worms. This the Confutation of the Twelfth Atheistick Argument. 876, 877

The Thirteenth; but Second Objection against Providence, as to Humane Affairs; Because all things Fall alike to all; and sometimes Vicious and Irreligious Persons, most Prosperous. 877, 878

Granted, That this Consideration hath too much Staggered weak Minds in all Ages. Some concluding from thence, That there is no God, but that blind Chance Steereth all. Others, That though there be a God, yet he Knows nothing done here below. Others, That though he do know, yet he Neglecteth Humane Affairs. 878

Unres.

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Unreasonable to require, That God should Miraculously Interpose at every turn; or to think, That every Wicked person should presently be Thunder-struck. That which Steers the whole World, no Fond and Passionate, but an Impartial Nature. Yet, That there want not Instances of an Extraordinary Providence. Good Reasons for the Slowness of Divine Vengeance. The Notoriously Wicked, commonly met with at the long Run. Page 878, 879

The Sometimes Impunity of Wicked Persons, so far from Staggering Good men, as to Providence; that it confirms them in their Belief, of Future Immortality, and Judgement after Death. The Evolution of Humane affairs, a kind of Dramatick Poem, and God Almighty the Skilful Dramatist; who always Connecteth that of Ours, which went before, with what of His follows after, into Coherent Sense. A Geometrical Distribution of Rewards and Punishments. 879, 880

That there ought to be a Doubtful and Cloudy State of things, for the Exercise of Faith, and the more difficult Part of Virtue. Had there been no Monsters to Subdue, there could have been no Hercules. Here, we to Live by Faith, and not by Sight. 880

But that to make a full Defence of Providence, would require a large Volume. The Reader therefore referred to others for a Supplement. Onely some Few Considerations to be here propounded, not so much for the Confutation of Atheists, as Satisfaction of Theists, sometimes apt to call in Question the Divine Goodness, though the very Foundation of our Christian Faith. ibid.

First; That in Judging of the Works of God, we ought not to consider the Parts of the World alone by themselves, but in order to the Whole. Were Nothing made but the Best, there could have been no Harmony, for want of Variety. Plotinus, That a Limner does not make all Eye, nor place Bright Colours every-where; nor a Dramatist introduce onely Kings and Heroes, upon the Stage. 880, 882

Secondly; That we ought not to Confine God's Creation to the Narrowness of Vulgar Opinion, which Extends the Universe, but little beyond the Clouds; and Walls it in, with a Sphear of Fixed Stars. The World Uncapable of Infinity of Magnitude, as well as of Time. Nevertheless, as the Sun is much Bigger then we can Imagine it, so much more may the World be. The New Celestiall Phænomena, widen the Corporal Universe, and make those Phansied, Flaming Walls thereof, to fly away before us. Not reasonable to think, That all this Immense Vastness, should be Desert and Uninhabited. 882, 883

Thirdly; That we cannot make a Right Judgement, of the Ways of Providence, without looking both Forwards, upon what is Future; and Backwards, upon what is Past; as well as upon the Present. That the Platonists and Pythagoreans, salv'd many Phænomena, from the τὰ ἀεὶ ὄντα, Things done in a Præ-Existent State. Our Common Christianity supposeth but a kind of Imputative Præ-Existence; to Salve the Pravity of Mankind, and the Evils of this State. The different Fates and Conditions of Men here in this Life, to be resolv'd into a Just, though Occult Providence. Page 883

The Third Objection against Providence; or Fourteenth Atheistick Argument; That it is Impossible, for any One Being, to Animadvert and Order all things: and if it were Possible, that it would be Distractious, and Inconsistent with Happines. Moreover, That an Irresistibly Powerfull and Happy Being, would not concern it self in the welfare of others: Benevolence arising onely from Imbecillity. 883 884

The Reply; That because our Selves have but a Finite Animadversion, and Narrow Sphear of Activity; to measure the Deity accordingly, is but an Idol of the Cave or Den. Certain, that were there Nothing, but what we could fully Comprehend, there could be no God. Had the Sun Life, Equally Coextended with its Rays, it would perceive every thing touched by them. Creatures but the Rays of the Deity. Men able to manage affairs, in many distant places, without Distractiō. And innumerable Notions, lie together in our Minds, without Crowding one another, or any Disturbance to w. 884

But for the easing the Minds of weak Mortals, already Suggested; That there is no Necessity, God should Himself Immediately do all things; he having Ministers Under him, Executioners of his Providence: as, an Artificial, Plastick Nature, (for this reason partly before insisted on;) Instincts also in Animals, a Part of that Divine Fate, which is the Servant of Providence. Above which, other Knowing and Understanding Ministers of the Deity, appointed to Preside over Humane Affairs. But all over-look'd by the watchfull Eye of God Almighty, who may Himself Extraordinarily Interpose. 884, 885

Wherefore no need to Confine Providence, to a Few Greater things onely; to free the Deity from Distractiō. Small things (upon which Greater often depend) not Neglected by it. Nevertheless the Chief Employment of Divine Providence, in the Oeconomy of Souls, by Plato Reduced to this Compendium; The Translating of them into Better or Worser States, according to their Demeanours. Thus may the slow wits of Mortals,

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more easily conceive, Providence not to be Laborious and Distracting to the Deity. Page 885

But that all Benevolence arises from Imbecillity, and that what is Perfectly Happy, would be troubled with no Business, but enjoy its own Ease; Idols of the Atheists Den. These other, The Narrow Contractedness of their Minds, by Vice and Immorality. 885, 886

The Atheistick Queries, next to be Answered. The First Querie. If there were a God, who was Perfectly Happy in himself, Why would he go about to make a World? Answ. The Reason of God's making the World, was from his Overflowing and Communicative Goodness, That there might be other Beings Happy, besides Himself. This consistent with God's making the World, for his own Glory. The reason why Plotinus would explode that. True, that God did not make the World, merely to Ostentate his Skill and Power; but to Display his Goodness, which is Chiefly his Glory. The Atheists further Demand; What hurt would it have been for us, never to have been Made? Answ. No other then this, That we could never have Enjoyed Good, nor been Capable of Happiness. If no hurt not to have been Made, then none to be Annihilated; the Distance being as great, from Nothing to Something, as from Something to Nothing. 886

The Second Atheistick Querie. If God's Goodness were the Cause of his making the World, Why then was it not made Sooner? This Question capable of a Double Sense. First, Why was not the World from Eternity? The Reply; This not from any Defect in the Divine Goodness, but because there is an Impossibility of the Thing it self; the Necessity and Incapacity of such an Imperfect Being Hindering it. Our selves Prone to Think, That Could the World have been from Eternity, it should have been so. Thus Philoponus, in his Confutation of Proclus his Arguments, for the World's Eternity. And now no place left, for those Atheistick Cavils, against the Novity of the Creation; as if God must therefore have Slept from Eternity; or had Contracted a Satiety of his former Solitude. Another Sense of the Question; Why, though the World could not be from Eternity, yet was it not made Sooner? Answ. The World could not Possibly have so been made in Time, as that it should not have been once, but a Day Old; and also once, no more then five or six Thousand years Old. 886, 887

The Third Atheistick Querie. How could God move the Matter of the whole World; especially if Incorporeal? Answ. That all things being derived from the Deity, and Essentially depending on him, they must needs be Commandable by him, and Obsequious to him.

And since no Body can Move it self, that which first Moved the Matter, must be Incorporeal, and not move it by Machines and Engines, but by Cogitation or Will onely. That Conceit, That an Incorporeal Deity, could not Move Matter, because it would Run through it; Absurd; This moving not Mechanically, but Vitally. That Cogitative Beings have a Natural Power of Moving Matter, Evident from our own Souls, Moving our Bodies, not by Machines or Engines, but merely by Thought. More easy for the Deity, to move the Whole World, by Will and Cogitation; then for us our Bodies. Page 887, 888

The Last Head of Atheistick Argumentation, From Interest. First; That it is the Interest of Particular Persons, there should be no being Infinite Powerfull, who hath no Law but his own Will. The First Reply; Wishing is no Proving. Nor will any man's Thinking, make Things otherwise then they are. 888

But Secondly; This Wish of Atheists, Founded upon a Mistaken Notion of God Almighty, That he is nothing but Arbitrary Will Omnipotent. God's Will, not meer Will; but Law and Equity; Ought it self Willing. Nor does Justice in God, clash with Goodness; but is a Branch, or Particular Modification thereof. The Interest of none, There should be no God, unless perhaps of such, as are Irreclaimably Wicked, and wilfully abandon their own True Good. 888, 889

To be Without God; to be Without Hope. No Faith nor Hope in Senseless Matter. According to the Atheistick Hypothesis, no Possibility of Happiness, nor Security of Good. 889

God such a Being, as If he were not, Nothing more to be Wished for. To Believe a God, to Believe the Existence of all Good and Perfection; and that things are all Made and Governed as they Should be. Peccability, from the Necessity of Imperfect Free-Willed Beings. Infinite Hopes from a Being Infinitely Good, and Powerfull. Democritus and Epicurus, however cried up so much of late; but Infatuated Sophists, or Witty Fools, and Debauchers of Mankind. 889, 890

The Last Atheistick Argumentation. That Theism or Religion is Inconsistent with the Interest of Civil Sovereigns. Their First Pretence for this, That the Civil Sovereign Reigns onely in Fear; and therefore there must be no Power, nor Fear, Greater, then that of the Leviathan. 890

In Answer to this, The Atheistick Ethicks and Politicks to be Unravell'd. Their Foundation laid, in the Villanizing of Humane Nature. That there is no Natural Justice, Equity, nor Charity. No Publick nor Common Nature

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in Men, but all Private and Selfish. That every Man by Nature, hath a Right to every thing, even to other Mens Bodies and Lives. That an Appetite to Kill and Torment, by Nature, gives a Right. That Nature hath brought men into the World, without any Fetters or Shackles, of Duty and Obligation; the Hindrances of Liberty. Lastly, That Nature absolutely Dissociates and Segregates Men from one another, by reason of the Inconsistency of Appetites, and Private Good. Every Man by Nature, in a State of War, against every Man.

Page 890, 891

But in the next place, They adde, That though this State of Nature, which is Belluine Liberty, and Lawless Freedom to every thing, be in it self the Best; yet by Accident, and by reason of mens Imbecillity, does it prove the Worst. Wherefore, when Men had been weary of Hewing and Slashing, they then bethought themselves at length of Helping Nature by Art; By Submitting to a Lesser Evil, for the Avoiding of a Greater; Abating their Infinite Right, and Yielding to Terms of Equality with others, and Subjection to a Common Power.

891

Where, these Atheists First Slander Humane Nature; and then Debase Justice and Civil Authority, making it the Ignoble and Bastardly Brat of Fear; or a Lesser Evil Submitted to, out of Necessity, for the avoiding of a Greater. According to which Atheistick Hypothesis, No man is Willingly Just. This no New Invention of the Writer De Cive, but the old Atheistick Generation of Justice, and of a Body Politick, Civil Society, and Sovereignty; (before Plato's time;) it being fully described, in his Second Book of a Common-wealth. Where the Philosopher concludes, Justice, according to these, to be but a Middle thing, betwixt the Best, and the Worst; Loved, not as Good in it Self, but onely by Reason of Mens Imbecillity: Or, That Justice is indeed, Another man's Good, and the Evil of him that is Just. The same Hypothesis also, concerning Justice, as a Factitious thing, that sprung onely from Fear and Imbecillity, and was chosen but as a Lesser Evil; Insisted on by Epicurus.

891, 893

The vain Attempts of our Modern Atheistick Politicians, to Make Justice by Art, when there is None by Nature. First, by Renouncing and Transferring mens Right, by Will and Words. For If Nothing Naturally Unlawfull, then can no man, by Will and Words, make any thing Unlawfull to himself. What Made by Will, may be Destroyed by Will. The Ridiculous Conceit of these Atheistick Politicians, That Injustice is nothing but Dati Repetitio, and such an Absurdity in

Life, as is in Disputation, when a man Denies a Proposition, he had before Granted; No Real Evil in the Man, but onely a Relative Incongruity in him as a Citizen. Again, These Justice-Makers and Authority-Makers, pretend to derive their Factitious Justice, from Pacts and Covenants. But Pacts and Covenants, without Naturall Justice, (as themselves confess) Nothing but Words and Breath; and therefore can have no Force to Oblige. Wherefore they make another Pretence also, from certain Counterfeit Laws of Nature, of their own Devising, that are Nothing but meer Juggling Equivocation; they being but the Laws of Fear, or their own Timorous and Cowardly Complexion. They Ridiculously Dance Round in a Circle, when they Derive the Obligation of Civil Laws from Covenants; of Covenants from Laws of Nature; and of Laws of Nature again, from Civil Laws. Their vain Attempt, by Art to Consociate, what Nature hath Dissociated, like tying Knots in the Wind or Water. Their Artificial Obligation, or Ligaments, by which the Members of their Leviathan are held together, more slender then Cobwebs.

Page 893, 895

These Artificiall Justice-Makers and Obligation-Makers, Sensible of the Weakness of these Attempts, Artificially to Consociate, what Nature hath Dissociated; therefore fly at last from Art, to Force and Power; making their Sovereign, to Reign onely in Fear. This the True meaning of that Opinion, That all Obligation is derived from Law; that is, the Command of him who hath Power to Compell. If Obligation, to Obey Civil Laws, onely from Fear of Punishment, then is no man Obligated to hazard his Life for the Safety of his Prince; and whoever can promise themselves Impunity, may Justly Disobey. If Civil Sovereigns Reign onely in Fear, then is their Authority Nothing but Force; and Power would Justify Rebellion. Lastly, If Civil Right or Authority, Nothing but Force and Violence, then could it not last long: What Naturall, prevailing against what is Violent.

895

Wherefore since Civil Authority and Bodies Politick, can neither be meerly Artificiall, nor yet Violent things, there must be some Naturall Vinculum, to hold them together; such as will both Oblige Subjects to Obey the Commands of Sovereigns, and Sovereigns in Commanding, to seek the Good of their Subjects: Something of a Common, Publick and Conglutinating Nature: Which, no other then Naturall Justice. The Authority of God himself, Founded in Justice; of which Civil Authority, a Participation. Sovereignty, no Creature of the People, and of Mens Wills; but hath

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a Stamp of Divinity upon it. Had not God made a City; Men, neither by Art, or Political Enchantment, nor by meer Force, could have made any. The whole World, One City, of God and Rational Beings. The Civil Sovereign no Leviathan; that is, No Beast, but a God. He Reigns not in meer Brutish Force and Fear, but in Naturall Justice and Conscience, and the Authority of Godhimself. Nevertheless, need of Force and Fear too, to compell Some to their Duty; nor is the Sovereign's Sword here alone Sufficient, but he must Reign also in the Fear of God Almighty. Page 895, 896

The Second Atheistick Pretence, to Make Religion Inconsistent with Civil Sovereignty; Because it Limits and Confines that, which in its own Nature Is, and Ought to be Infinite. The Reply; That the Atheists Infinite Right and Authority of Civil Sovereigns, is nothing but Belluine Liberty: But true Right and Authority is Essentially Founded in Natural Justice; there being no Authority to Command, where there is not an Obligation to Obey; and Commands not Creating Obligation, but Presupposing it, without which they would signify Nothing. The First Originall Obligation not from Will, but Nature. The Error of those Theists who derive all Obligation to Morall Things, from the Will and Positive Command of God, as Threatning Punishments, and Promising Rewards. From whence it would follow, that no man is Good and Just, but By Accident onely, and for the Sake of Something else. Justice a different Species of Good, from that of Private Utility. Infinite Justice, as Absurd, as an Infinite Rule or Measure. If no Infinite Justice, then no Infinite Right and Authority. God's own Authority bounded by Justice: His Will ruled by Justice; and not Justice by his Will. Atheists, unde a Pretence of giving Civil So-

vereigns Infinite Right, Really Devest them of all Right and Authority, leaving them nothing but Brutish Force. Proved here, That the Summæ Potestates, must of necessity be *divine & divine*. Page 896, 898

The Last Atheistick Pretence, for the Inconsistency of Religion with Civil Power; Because Conscience is Private Judgement of Good and Evil. Answer. That not Religion, but Atheism, introduceth such Private Judgement, as is Absolutely Inconsistent with Civil Sovereignty, it acknowledging nothing in Nature, that tends to Publick and Common Good; but making Private Appetite the onely Rule or Measure of Good; and Utility, of Justice. The Desperate Consequence from hence; That Private Utility may justify Rebellion and Parricide. The Atheists Professed Assertion, That they who have once Rebelled, may Justly Defend themselves afterward by Force. Though Private Persons must make a Judgement in Conscience for themselves, (the Atheists Publick Conscience, being Nonsense and Contradiction;) yet is the Rule of Conscience, not Private, but Publick, except onely to Mistaken Fanaticks; who therefore Sometimes make a Pretence of Conscience and Religion, in order to Sedition and Rebellion. Religion and Conscience Oblige Subjects, in all Lawfull things, Actively to Obey the Sovereign Power; in Unlawfull, Not to Resist. 898, 899

The Conclusion of the Whole Book; That all the Atheistick Grounds being fully Confuted, and the Impossibility of Atheism Demonstrated; it is certain, That the Original and Head of all things, is no Blind and Inconscious Nature, but a Perfect Understanding Being, Self-Existent; Who hath Made all that was fit to be Made, and after the Best manner, and Exerciseth a Just Providence over all. To whom be All Honour and Glory, &c. *ibid*.

The End of the Contents.

ERRATA.

Page 15. Line 2. read, XIV. Besides. p. 49. l. 9. to 16. read, (And thus—Body;) p. 61. l. 8. read. *ὁδὸν* 63. 9. *ἀγνῶν* 66. 10. Unextended. 76. 25. dele. but. Lin. ult. read, To this purpose. 102. l. ult. dele, with. 103. l. 3, 4. read, could not rise from an Egg of the Night, nor be the Off-spring of Chaos, but must be something— 106. Title, r. *Hylozoist* 168. 19. r. Irregularity 173. 19, 20. Reason and Und— Line 37. a *Perseid* 201. 9. *πεῖρα* 212. 34. read, Scholiast upon him, writing thus, 231. 27. *plures erunt* 251. 12. *μὴν πρὸς* 276. 22. *Longinianus* 299. 36. *ὁδὸν* 300. 5. *Συμμετρῶν* 304. 30. Excerptio 331. 9. Manifested 339. Title, r. Invisible 344. 17. *Phornutius* 351. (false printed 411.) l. 22. *ἄλλαν* 354. (f. pr. 414.) l. 27. *τὸ τοῦ ἀναφορέμανδον* 355. 9. *πλάτωνος* 357. 37. *ἡ δὲ ἀναφορέμανδον* 358. 21. *γένηται*, 363. 17. dele *Justin Martyr*, 364. 31. read, Third and Fourth Verses, 379. 31. *χερσὶν* 385. 31. *ὁμὴ πᾶσι*—*νεμερμύων*, 397. Title, read, Very Good. 404. Marg. l. ult. r. L. 10. 433. 30. *ἀμειβομένη* 457. 18. *πυλὸς ὁρμαῖος* 461. 10. *ἔστι*. Lin. 30. *συμμετρῶν* 482. 29. by him determined, 508. 14. respectively, 516. 14. his Fecundity, 518. 4. adored 519. 30. Nature, or Natures— 543. 29. *ὄν* 549. 13. (as an Image in a Glass) 553. 37. *πυλὸς ὁρμαῖος* 566. 34. *ὁρμαῖος ἀνθρώπου*, 582. 2. The Word 585. 18. *τὸ λόγος θεός*, 587. 6. Son, and Grandson, 620. 31. it is there— 624. Title, add, Trinity 632. 31. if need be, for another 684. 17. therefore not— 696. l. ult. as it was, 717. 39. and also 742. 5. Similar Atoms 745. 23. that their Souls cannot 752. 2, 3, 4. read, *Proclus*, and other Platonists, expressly denied it to have been *ἀγέννητον*, Unmade, or Self-Existent, and— 753. 8. no not that 765. 24. Matter, together 777. 37. *ἡ δὲ ἀναφορέμανδον* 787. 16. Inasslated, 794. 31. the Unevenness 798. 11. Earth, in— Line 33. dele, it 805. Marg. l. 14. *solvetur* 815. 35. ought to be 831. l. penult. Extended Outside, and an Unextended Inside, 843. 38. dele, yet 883. Marg. l. 9. *ἐπὶ ἄν* 884. 35. was One Reason.

F I N I S.